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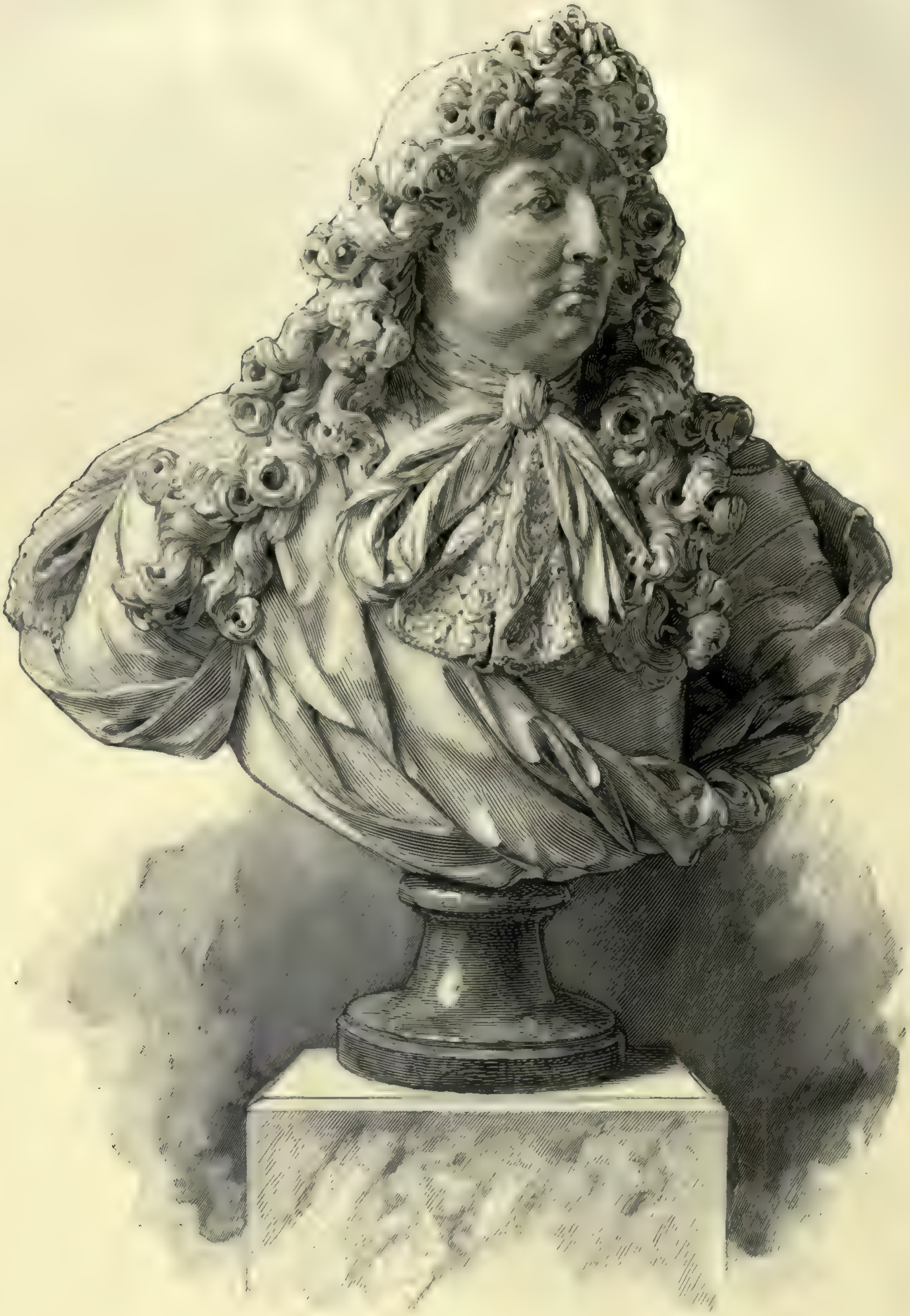
# THE CENTURY OF LOUIS XIV

## ITS ARTS—ITS IDEAS



LOUIS XIV.

Engraved on wood by Florian after the Marble Bust by Coysevox.

(Musée de Versailles.)

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# THE CENTURY

## [illegible] XIV

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# THE CENTURY
OF
# LOUIS XIV

## ITS ARTS—ITS IDEAS

FROM THE FRENCH OF
ÉMILE BOURGEOIS
*LECTURER AT THE ÉCOLE NORMALE SUPÉRIEURE, OF PARIS*

BY
MRS. CASHEL HOEY

LONDON
SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND COMPANY
*LIMITED*
St. Dunstan's House
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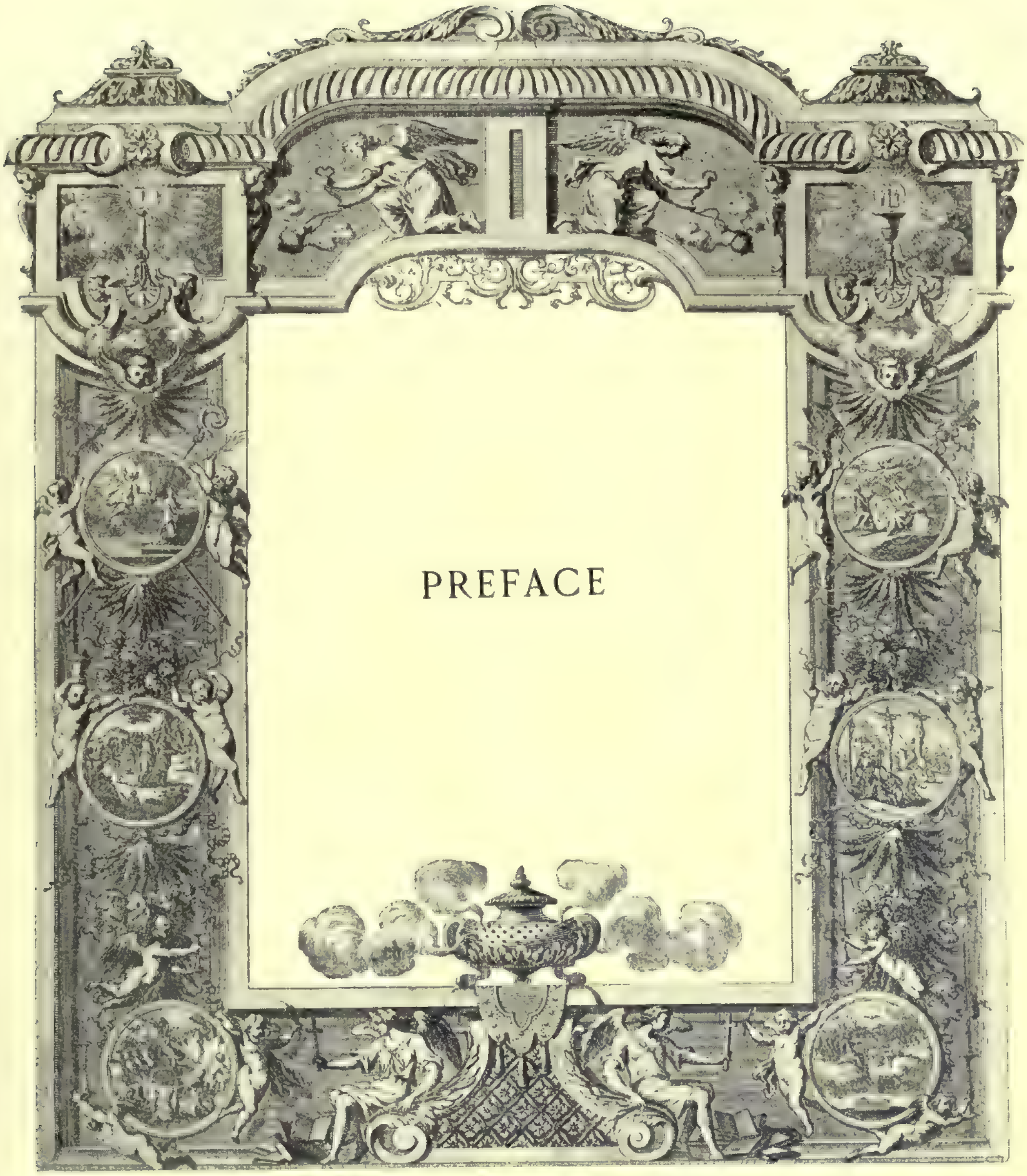
# PREFACE



FRONTISPIECE FROM A DRAWING BY BÉRAIN.

(Cabinet of Prints.—Bibliothèque Nationale.)

LOUIS XIV. GIVES PLENTY TO FRANCE.

(From an engraving in the Cabinet of Prints.)

# PREFACE

AN ORNAMENTED LETTER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

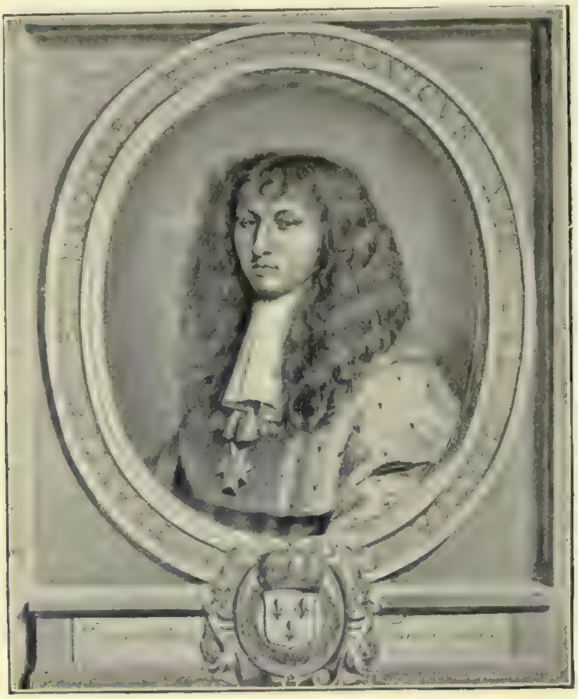
(From the Collection of Frontispieces in the Bibliothèque Nationale.)

HISTORY of Louis XIV. is neither the title nor the subject of this book. It is for a master only to take up that history again, and to write it from the documents which have been discovered and elucidated since the days of Voltaire.

Voltaire himself, when he conceived his Essay on the century of Louis XIV., did not propose to undertake the general and political study of the reign. As a man of letters rather than a writer of history, his project was a picture, not a narrative, of the preceding epoch. He would gladly have left the politicians to their negotiations and the heroes to their battles so that he might observe and portray the men and the manners of that century—"the most enlightened that has ever been." He did not do this; but of the whole of his life-work he rated most highly the portion which is now before us in the form of an appendix to history properly so-called; his anecdotes of the King and the Court; the effect of the government on conduct and conditions; the picture of ideas, arts, and creeds.

I regarded the removal of this picture of the Great Century from the frame in which it was afterwards placed by Voltaire, so as to restore its value and its perspective, as all the more legitimate, because it supplies a certain means of serving, by his aid, the same cause that he served; the cause of the Frenchmen who made France so great two hundred years ago. This volume has no other pretension, claim, or reason for existence.

The age we live in delights in inquiry into the private lives of great men, and into the spirit of society in the past. It loves to interrogate them directly, so that it may get at the secrets of their passions and find out their state of mind at different periods. It neglects the "boards" for "behind the scenes," and would fain mingle familiarly with those who are usually seen only as actors playing their parts. This curiosity is not culpable. "It almost ceases to be curiosity," said Voltaire, "when it has epochs and men who attract the gaze of posterity for its object."

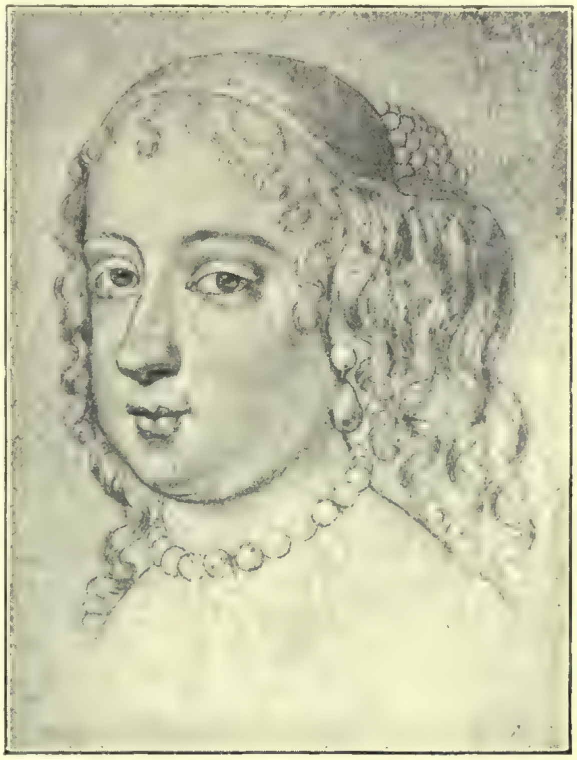


LOUIS XIV. AT THE PERIOD OF HIS MARRIAGE.
(From the original portrait by Mignard, engraved by Poilly.)

This commendable instinct moreover ought not to be exclusive, it should apply itself to the epoch of Louis XIV. as well as to the periods of the Revolution, Napoleon, and the Restoration.

The Great Century presents an object of general curiosity which yields to no other in interest. Because it is classic, because our forefathers of that date wore wigs, we must not come—like the combatants of the Romantic school in the thick of the fight—to the conclusion that the French of the period, trammelled by rigid social rules, stifled under the scenery, decoration and costume of Versailles, had no free, intelligent and merry life of their own, at Court, in their homes—nay, even in the street. The Loves, the Graces, and the Muses had their place in the order which Louis XIV. imposed upon himself and enjoined upon all around him. The King himself set the example; he enjoyed perfect health, was eager for pleasure, delighted in sports and fêtes; never was there a more powerful ruler or a more ardent lover. To know the men whom he associated with his work and with his Court, we need only look into their private lives.

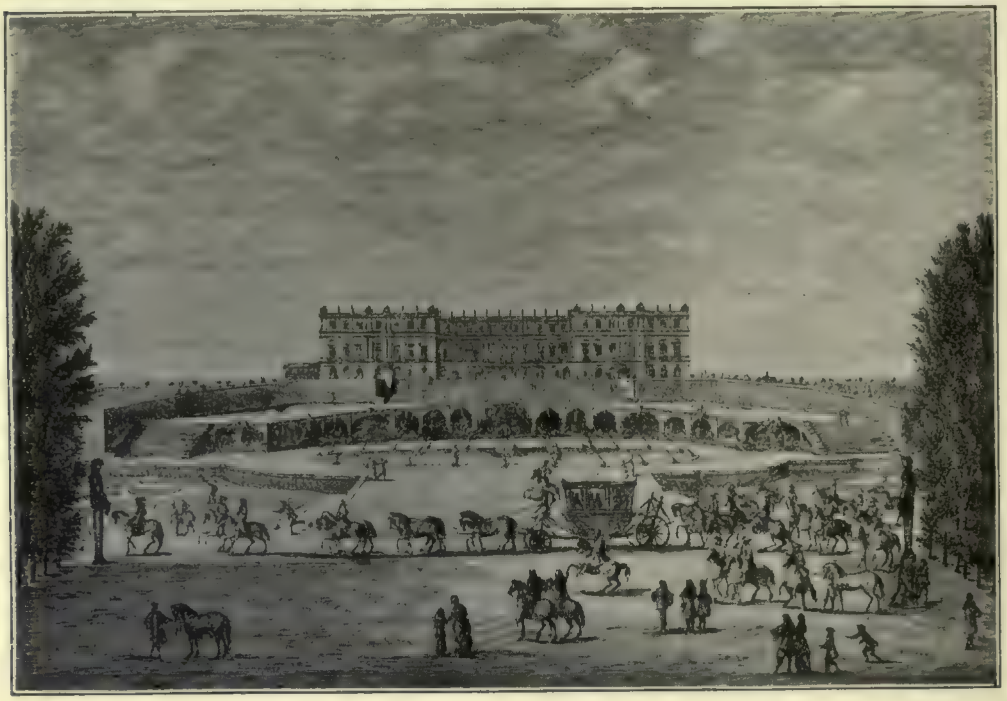
Voltaire is one of the best guides to such intimacy. He was young in the reign of Louis XIV. "I am," he said, "almost an eye-witness." That which he had not seen he had learned from older men whose reminiscences he collected in time to understand them. When he fails us, we can still complete and verify the living image of the Great Century by contemporary memoirs. This I have done, with the help of Saint-Simon, Dangeau, Madame de Sévigné, Labruyère, Ormesson, Choisy, Mesdames de Motteville, Lafayette, Lavallière, Spanheim (the German), or less distinguished individuals, such as Laporte (the King's valet), and the editor of the *Mercure*. But I have always been careful to indicate the exact point at which we part with Voltaire, and resort to fresh witnesses, so that his picture may be left intact.



MARIE-THÉRÈSE.

From a drawing by Nanteuil.
(Cabinet of Prints.)

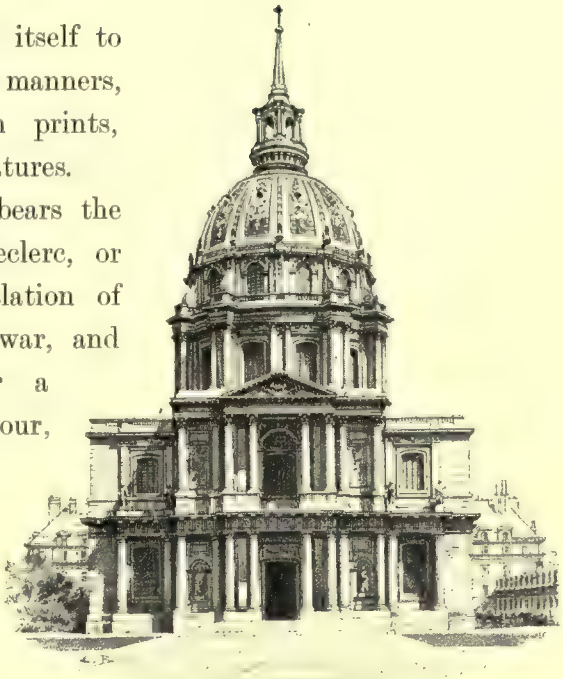
Moreover, the secret of an epoch is almost always to be read in the art which it has bequeathed to us. The art of the seventeenth century is not sufficiently interrogated. It is judged by Versailles, its ceilings and its panels, its garden "baths" and formal cut yew-trees. The whole is ascribed to Lebrun and Le Nôtre, and the perpetual decoration is fatiguing, although the great ability of the decorators is everywhere evident, and frequently compels admiration. Nevertheless, the case is the same with the art as with the literature and the society of that time. Closely examined, it is living, bright, highly finished, full of the grace and charm of the purely French genius which produced it. It does not speak, when it is heard aright, the eternally conventional language ascribed to it. The portraits by Poilly, those by anonymous painters preserved at the Louvre and at Versailles, the busts by Coysevox and Warin, the medals by Warin, Mauger, Loir, Molart and Bertinetti, the famous wax medallion by Antoine Benoist, show us a very different Louis XIV. at every age from the King in Court costume whom H. Rigaud painted. And how true and natural his Ministers and his whole following appear in the works of Cl. Lefebvre, Chauveau, Nanteuil, S. Bourdon, Coysevox and Desjardins. French sculpture, with Van Cleve, Tuby and Ballin, was so rich, even at Versailles, in genius, spirit and elegance, that the eighteenth century might well have been envious of its predecessor.



VERSAILLES.—PRINCIPAL FRONT, LOOKING ON THE GARDENS.

(From a print by Israel Silvestre.)

The engravers are, of all artists, the most valuable to students of the reign of Louis XIV. Their art, which reaches its height in Mellan, Morin, Nanteuil, Chauveau, S. Leclerc, Edelinck, and G. Audran, is not limited to great compositions and portraits, it lends itself to subjects of every kind, scenes of life and manners, views of cities and buildings, fashion prints, designs for furniture, almanacs and caricatures.



THE CHAPEL OF THE INVALIDES.

Each page of the calendar which bears the names of such masters as Chauveau, Leclerc, or de Poilly, is either an eloquent translation of the complaint of the people ruined by war, and suffering from cold and hunger, or a presentment of the Court in its splendour, that royal circle of lords and ladies over which Louis XIV. majestically presides. The famous caricature by Guérard, "Paysan né pour la peine" (Peasant born for toil), forms a commentary on the fine phrase which the compassion of La Bruyère for the humble folk suggested. Certain engravers are bitter against the luxury of the bourgeoisie, others take pleasure in describing it. Saint-Jean, who has the *entrée* to boudoirs and dressing-rooms; Bonnart, who is up to the very latest date of fashion, illustrate the progress and the influence of the middle class by the wealth and luxury which its members display. The work of the engravers is therefore a veracious and complete chronicle of the Great Century, which does not lessen, but explains it.

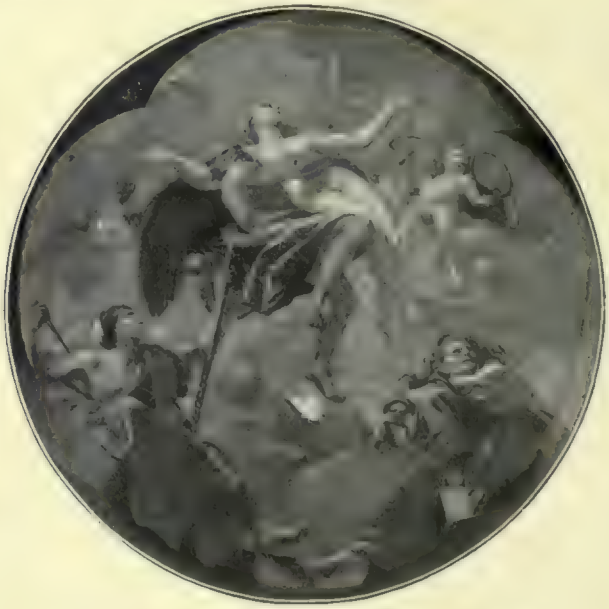
FRANCE TRIUMPHANT.
A group by Tuby and Coysevox, recently restored.
(Gardens of Versailles.)

Time would have failed me for the formation of that gallery of seventeenth century pictures which I purposed to add, as a new and necessary explanation, to the Essay of Voltaire, but for the advice and encouragement that I have received. My task being ended, I now have the pleasure of recording my indebtedness to the kindness of M. Henry Roujon, Director of the Beaux Arts; to the learning of M. P. de Nolhac, Conservator of the Museum of Versailles, which is being transfomed under his rule, to the advantage of history and art; to MM. Taphanel and H. Léonardon, Curators of the Versailles Library. I also desire to thank MM. Duplessis and Bouchot, of the Cabinet of Prints at the Bibliothèque Nationale. And I shall always gratefully remember the reception accorded me at the Gobelins, the Mint, the Garde-Meuble, and the Château de Fontainebleau. I have been aided in my desire to make my readers like and understand the art of the seventeenth century by the fine and correct taste of Baron Jérôme Pichon, and the accomplished art-lovers who have given me free access to their private collections. I beg to express my profound gratitude to them.

If, as I hope, the Great Century, being made more intimately known, shall recover in ours the favour it deserves, that reversion to truth and justice will be largely due to those who have thus aided me.

ÉMILE BOURGEOIS.

VERSAILLES, November 24, 1895.



TIME SHIELDS TRUTH FROM THE ATTACKS OF ENVY AND DISCORD.

By Nicolas Poussin.—Musée du Louvre.
(*From the plate by Braun, Clément & Co.*)

THE LOVES LAYING BY THEIR ARMS.

(A heading by Francois Chauveau for the Collection of the *Courses de têtes et de bagues* in the Imprimerie Royale.)

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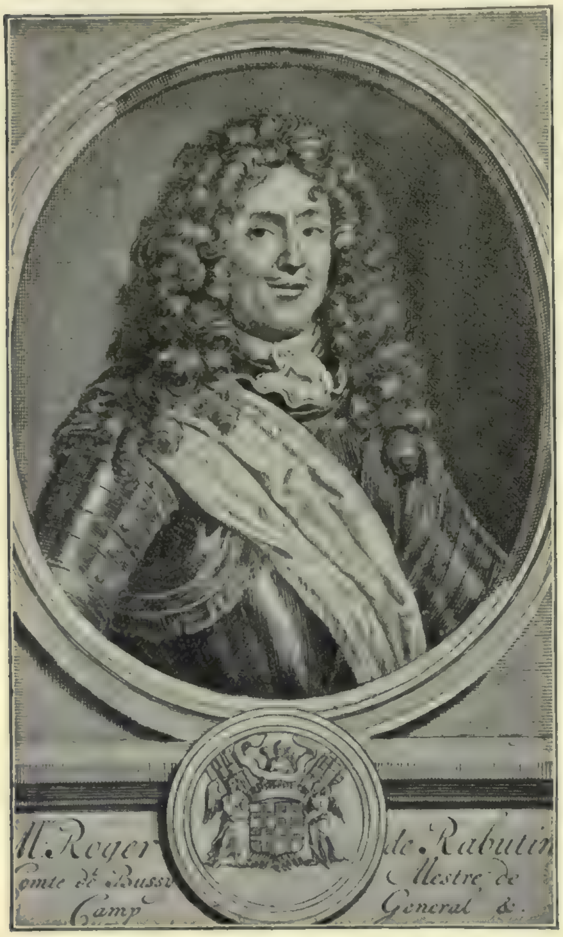

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(From a print in the Hennin Collection.)

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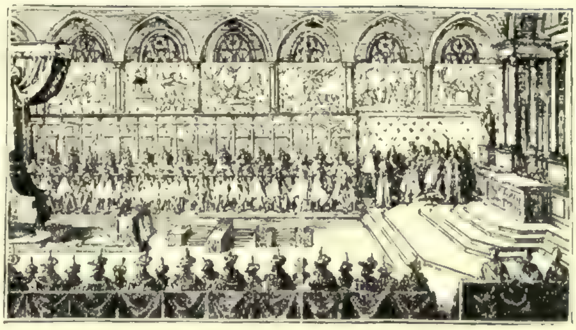

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(Composition and print by S. Leclerc.)

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LOUIS XIV. IN 1690.

(From a silver crown with the eight "L's" crowned.)

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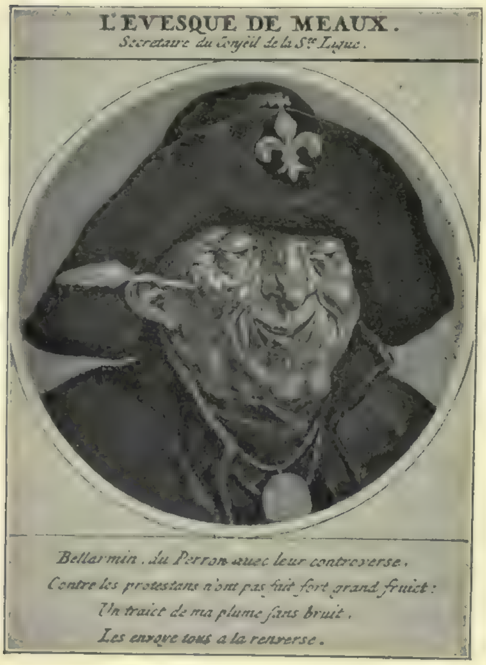
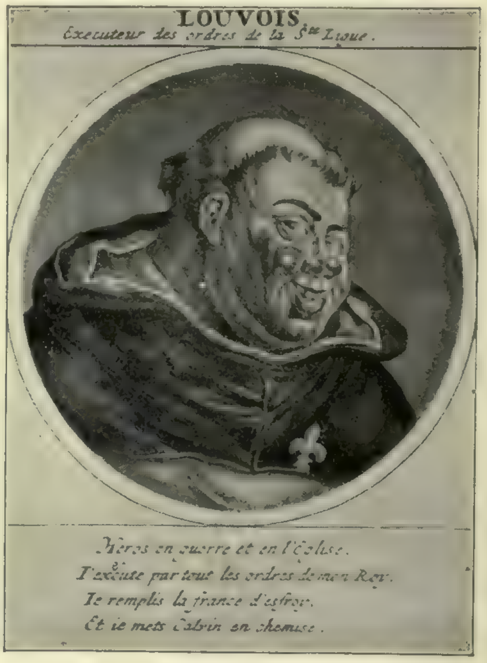
MILITARY DISCIPLINE.

(A medal by Mauger, struck for the establishment of the Companies of Cadets, 1665.)


L'EVESQUE DE MEAUX.
Secretaire du Conseil de la Ste Ligue.
Bellarmin, du Perron auec leur contreverse,
Contre les protestans n'ont pas fait fort grand fruict:
Un traict de ma plume sans bruit,
Les enuoye tous a la renverse.

BOSSUET, PERSECUTOR OF PROTESTANTS.

(A caricature in mezzotint.)


LOUVOIS.
Executeur des ordres de la Ste Ligue.
Heros en guerre et en l'Eglise.
I'execute par tout les ordres de mon Roy.
Ie remplis la france d'effroy.
Et ie mets Calvin en chemise.

LOUVOIS, PERSECUTOR OF PROTESTANTS.

(A caricature in mezzotint.)

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THE KING, A BENEFICENT SUN.
(From a medal by Loir, 1660.)

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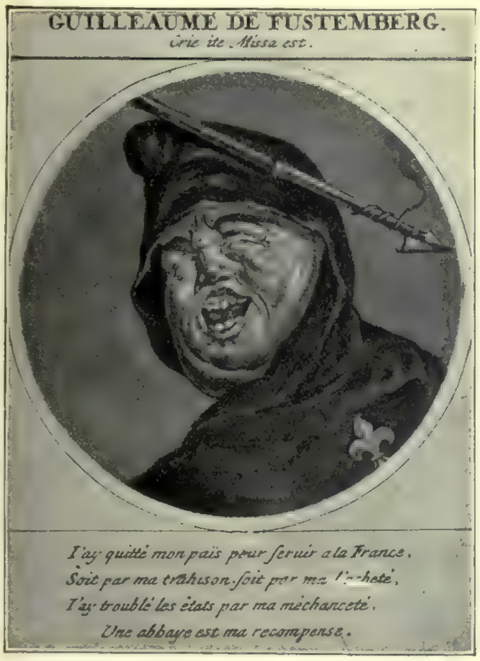
GUILLEAUME DE FUSTEMBERG.
Crie ite Missa est.
J'ay quitté mon païs pour ſeruir a la France,
Soit par ma trahison soit par ma lâcheté,
J'ay troublé les états par ma méchanceté.
Une abbaye est ma recompense.

CARDINAL FURSTENBERG.
(A caricature in mezzotint.)

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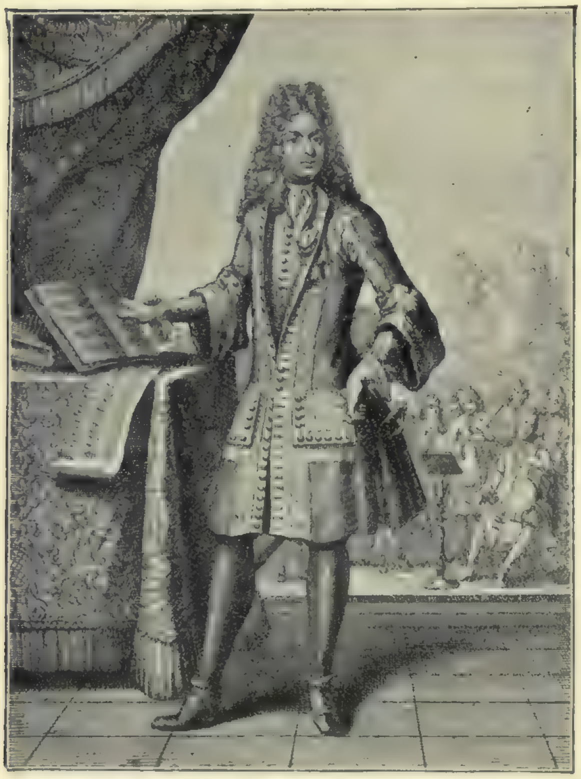

LULLI AND HIS ORCHESTRA.
(From a print by Bonnart.)

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THE PEASANT AT HIS PLOUGH.

(From a coin in commemoration of the capture of Cambray, 1677.)

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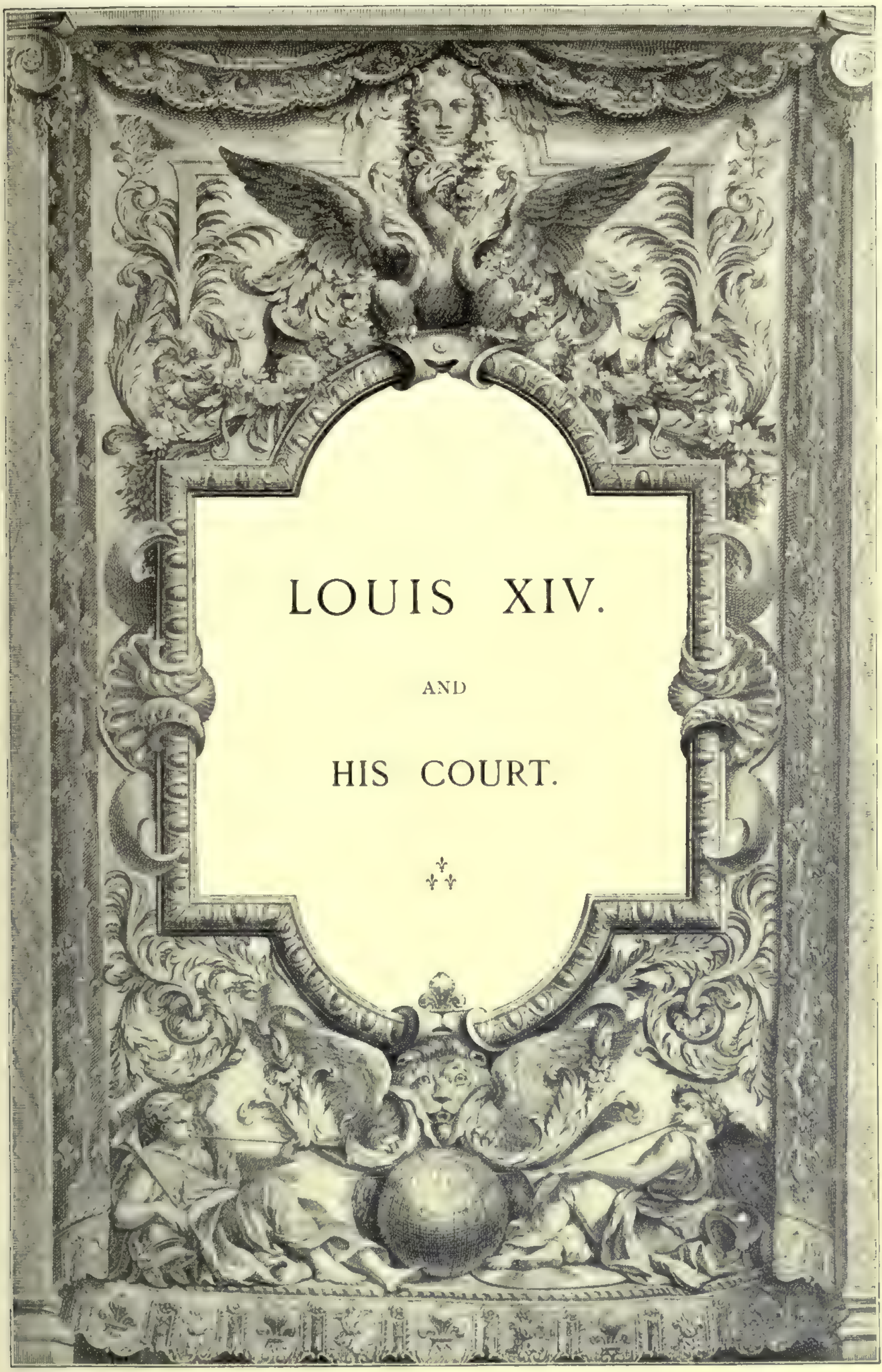
ORNAMENTED LETTER.

(Composition and engraving by S. Leclerc.)

## ERRATUM

The reader is requested to substitute "revenue-farmers" for "partisans" when the latter word occurs in relation to the finances of the kingdom of France under Louis XIV.



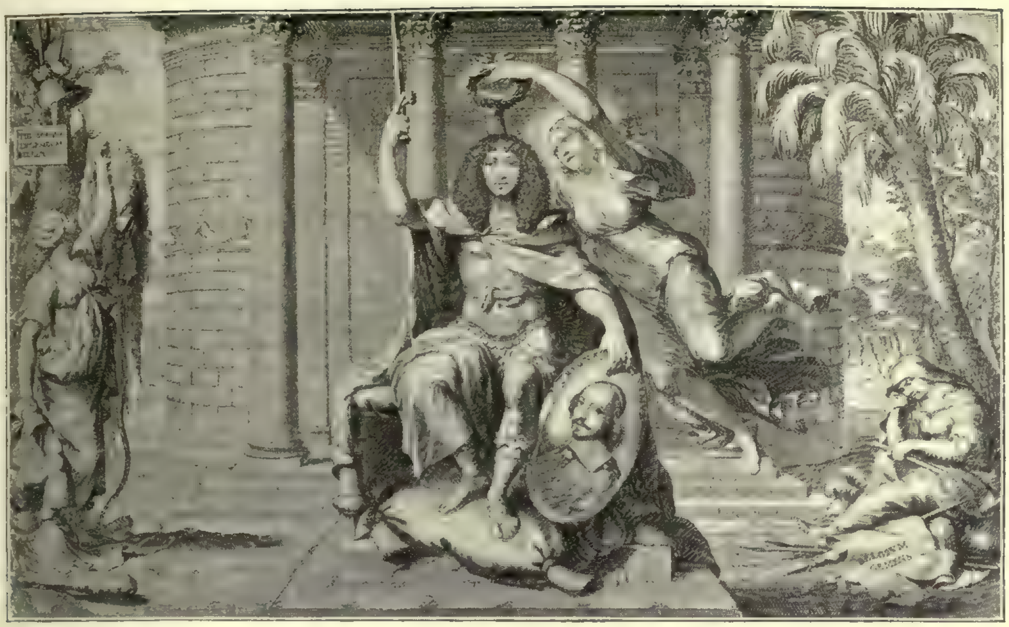
# LOUIS XIV.

AND

# HIS COURT.

⁂

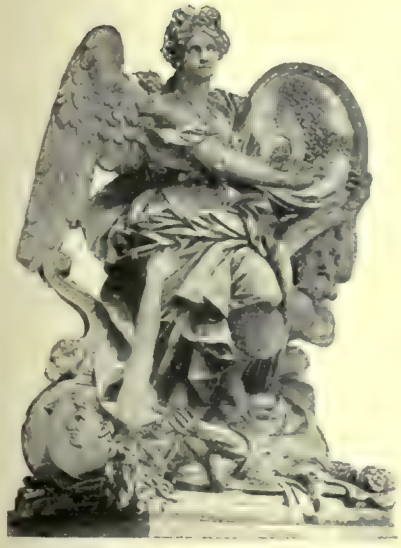
DECORATION BY LEBRUN, EXECUTED FOR THE AMBASSADORS' STAIRCASE
(Château de Versailles.)



LOUIS XIV. AS CONQUEROR: A TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF MAZARIN.
(Print by Poilly, 1660.)

## I.

## THE PREFACE TO THE REIGN: THE YOUTH AND EDUCATION OF THE KING.

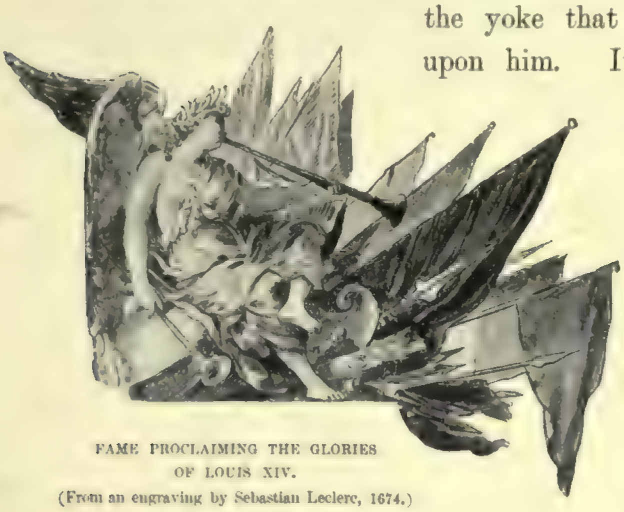


FAME ENTRUSTS TO TIME THE IMAGE OF LOUIS XIV.
(Group by Lebrun and Guidi.—Gardens of Versailles.)

LOUIS XIV. made his Court as well as his reign so magnificent and brilliant that the smallest details of his life seem to interest posterity, even as they aroused the curiosity of all the Courts of Europe and all contemporaries. The splendour of his rule extended to his least actions. Readers are more eager, especially in France, to learn the particularities of his Court than the revolutions of some other countries. Such is the effect of great reputation. We would rather learn what went on in the cabinet and the Court of Augustus than the details of the conquests of Attila or Tamerlane.

Therefore have all the historians published the early love affairs of Louis XIV. with the Baronne de Beauvais, and Mademoiselle d'Argencourt, with Cardinal Mazarin's niece—who was married to the Comte de Soissons, Prince Eugène's father—and especially with Marie Mancini her sister, who afterwards married Colonne, a Constable of France.

His real reign had not yet begun when these amusements occupied the idleness to which Cardinal Mazarin, who governed despotically, condemned him. The affair of Marie Mancini was the only important one, for he loved her well enough to be tempted to marry her, and was sufficiently master of himself to part with her. That victory over himself first made it known that the young king had been born with a great soul. A victory more signal and more difficult was his allowing Mazarin to retain absolute power. Gratitude forbade him to shake off the yoke that was beginning to weigh heavily upon him. It was a current anecdote at Court that he said after the Cardinal's death: "I do not know what I should have done if he had lived longer."



FAME PROCLAIMING THE GLORIES OF LOUIS XIV.
(From an engraving by Sebastian Leclerc, 1674.)

During this leisure time he occupied himself in reading, especially with Colonne, who was clever, as were also all his sisters. Louis liked the verses and romances which secretly flattered his own character in depicting gallantry and grandeur. He read the tragedies of Corneille, and formed his taste for the masterpieces of literature. The conversation of his mother and her ladies contributed not a little to his appreciation of intellect and wit, and trained him in that singular politeness which then began to characterise the French Court. Anne of Austria had brought into it a certain proud and lofty gallantry which belonged to the Spanish mind and manners of those days, and united this to the grace, gentleness, and becoming freedom which existed in France only. The King made more progress in that school of accomplishments, between his eighteenth and his twentieth years, than he had made in the sciences under the teaching of his preceptor, the Abbé de Beaumont, afterwards Archbishop of Paris. He had been taught hardly anything. It would have been well had he been instructed in history, and

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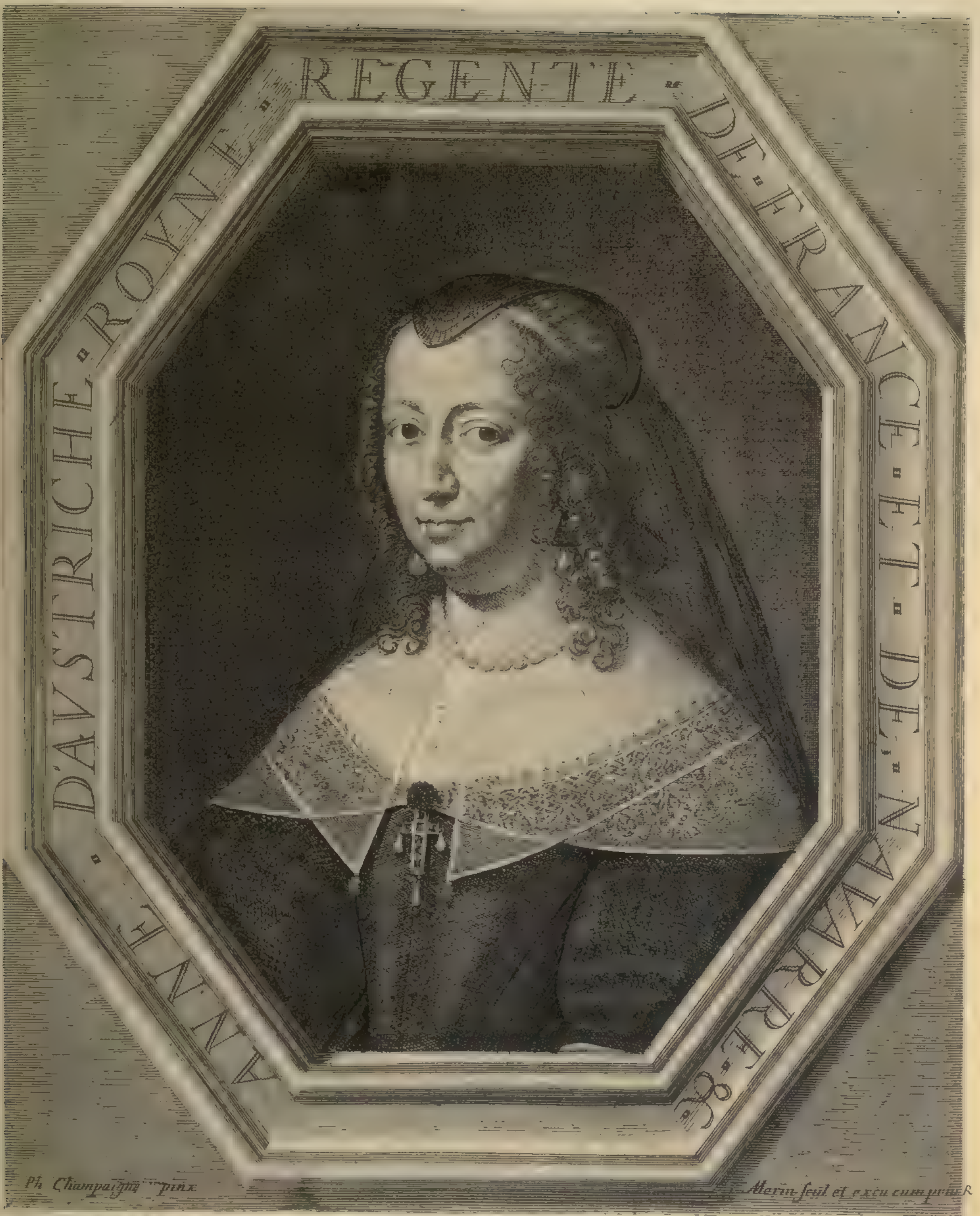
ANNE · D'AVSTRICHE · ROYNE · REGENTE · DE · FRANCE · ET · DE · NAVARRE
Ph Champaigne pinx
Morin ſculp et excu cum priuil R

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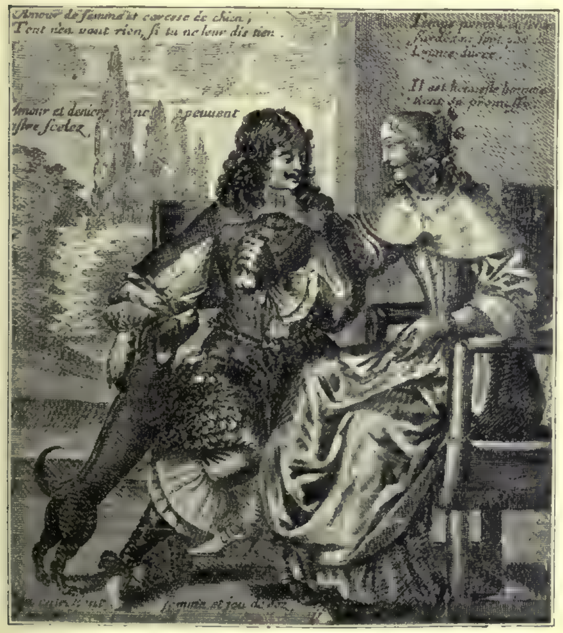
LOUIS XIV. IN 1658.
Statuette in Colour from the Theirs Collection.
(Musée du Louvre.)

especially in modern history, but the latter was as yet too ill-written. A translation of Cæsar's "Commentaries" was printed under his name, and a translation of "Florus" under the name of his brother; but neither the King nor the Prince had anything to do with those productions.

The Abbé de Beaumont, who presided over the education of the King under Marshal Villeroi, his "governor," was all that he ought to have been; but the civil strife interfered with the royal boy's lessons, and Cardinal Mazarin was quite willing that he should not learn very much. When he fell in love with Marie Mancini he learned Italian readily for her sake; but when the time came for his marriage he applied himself to Spanish with less success. His taking to long-neglected study, and the ignorance of affairs in which he was kept by Mazarin, led all the Court to anticipate that, like his father Louis XIII., he would be always governed instead of governing.


Amour de femme et caresse de chien,
Tout cela vaut rien, si tu ne leur dis tien.
Amour et deniers ne peuuent
estre celez.

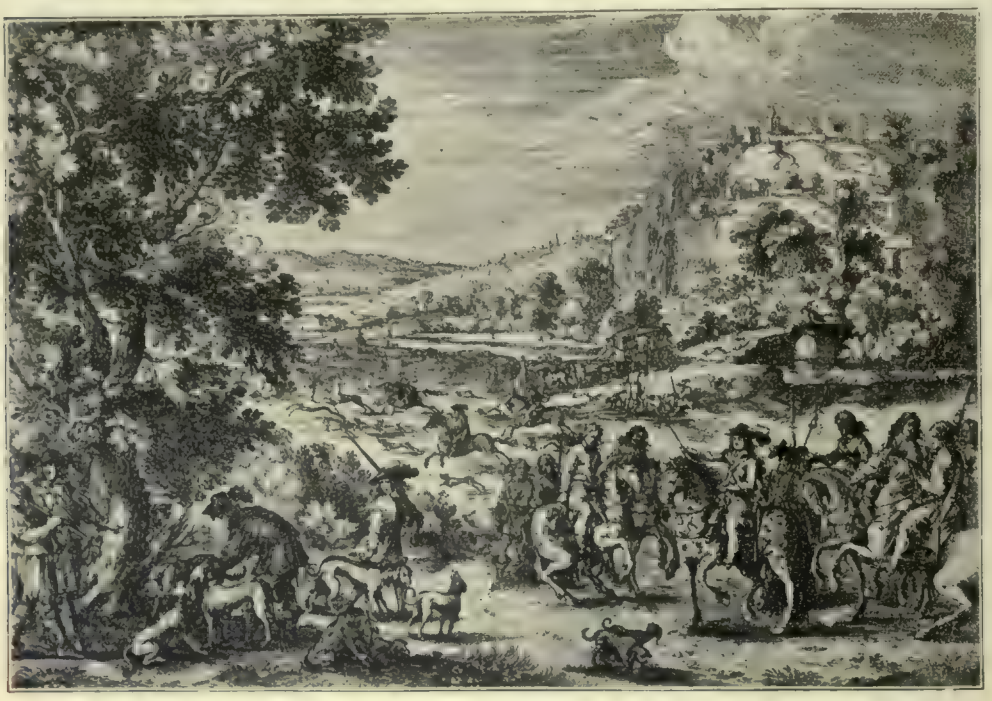
A NOBLE AND HIS WIFE.
(From *Les plus illustres Proverbes*, by Lagniet.)

⁂

On these points Voltaire and all his contemporaries are agreed. Laporte, the young King's valet, brings the grave accusation against Mazarin that he abandoned Louis XIV. to ignorance and frivolity, and

Laporte was in the confidence of Anne of Austria. His statements are no doubt those of an honest and upright, although somewhat self-conceited man, and we must consider them.

"In 1645," he writes, "the King was taken out of the women's charge. I was the first who slept in His Majesty's room, much to his surprise at first; but what troubled him most was that I could not tell him stories, with which they used to put him to sleep.



THE ROYAL HUNT AT VINCENNES, DURING THE YOUTH OF LOUIS XIV.

(Engraving by Moncornet.)

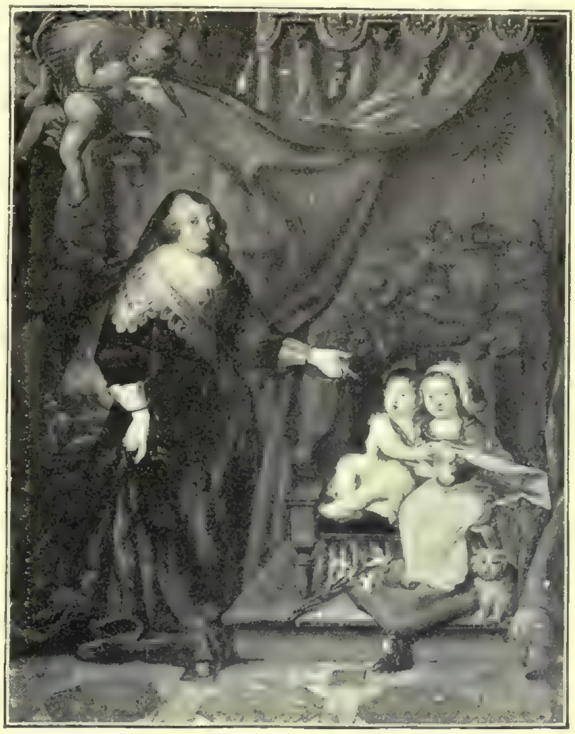
"I told this to the Queen, and added that if Her Majesty pleased I would read some good book to him. If he went to sleep, well and good; if he did not, he might get some profit out of the reading.

"The Queen approved, and I owe it to the truth to testify that she was always for the right thing when not prejudiced beforehand."

The valet turned tutor read Mézeray to the King every evening, and the young Prince did not go to sleep.

Neither did Mazarin, to whom the Queen had entrusted the superintendence of her son's education.

"The reading of history did not please the Cardinal, for one evening at Fontainebleau, the King being in bed and I in my dressing-gown, reading to him the history of Hugh Capet, His Eminence passed through the King's room to avoid the people who were waiting for him. He came inside the balustrade surrounding the bed—the King pretended to be asleep so soon as he perceived him—and asked me what book I was reading. I told him frankly that I was reading the history of France, because the King found it so difficult to go to sleep unless he had some story or another told him. He went away very abruptly, without approving of what I was doing, and said to his familiars at his own bedtime (*coucher*) that I was 'doing governor' to the King."

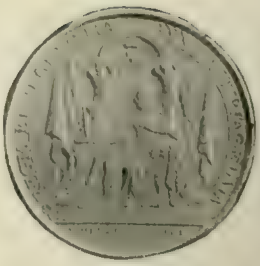


LOUIS XIV. AND HIS BROTHER THE DUKE OF ORLEANS WITH THEIR GOVERNESS, MADAME DE SOUVRÉ, MARQUISE DE LANSAC.
(Musée de Versailles.)

"I can say with truth that M. de Beaumont, His Majesty's preceptor, omitted no part of his duty. On the contrary once, when I was present with M. de Villeroi, on the King's idling, I, having vainly waited for the governor to act as became him, said all I could to make this child-king think of what he was and of what he ought to do, and after I had lectured him well the governor remarked: 'Laporte, you say what is true. Sire, Laporte tells you the truth.' I also told the Queen one day that she was spoiling him; that in his own abode nothing was allowed him, and in hers everything was permitted."

Laporte avenged himself on Cardinal Mazarin during his lifetime for having put him in his proper place by inciting the young King against him; and after his death, by accusing him to posterity of not teaching him to reign so that he (Mazarin) might reign in his place.

Saint-Simon has condensed the criticism of Laporte.



THE REGENCY OF ANNE OF AUSTRIA.
(Medal of the 18th of May, 1643.)

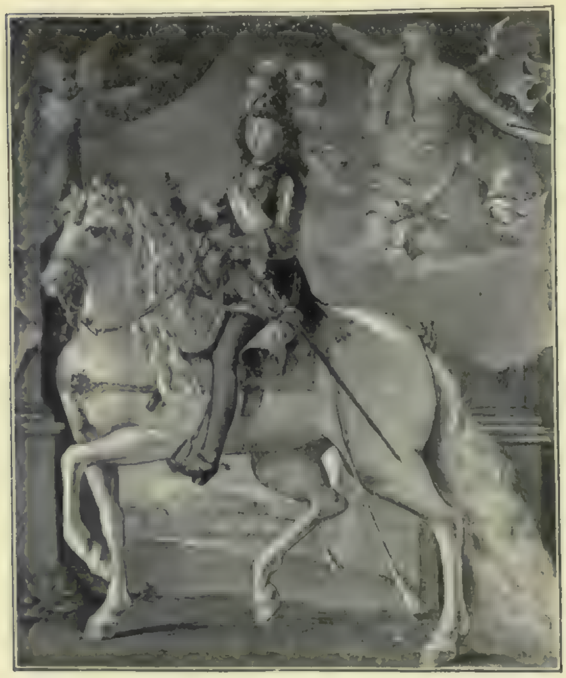
"The King's intelligence was below mediocrity, but very capable of improvement. The fault really lay elsewhere. His early education was so neglected that nobody ventured near his apartment. He was often heard to advert to that time with bitterness, and told how he was found one evening, having fallen into the garden of the Palais Royal where the Court was then in residence.

"Eventually his dependence on others was extreme. He was barely taught to read and write, and he remained so ignorant that of the best known matters of history, events, fortune, careers, birth, laws, he never knew a word."

Spanheim, the Envoy from Brandenburg, writes as follows in 1690:—

"His natural intelligence, which was neither brilliant nor lofty, and was moreover limited by the little care that was taken to cultivate it in his youth, and by the dependent state in which he was kept during the life of the Cardinal, afterwards gained greater strength."

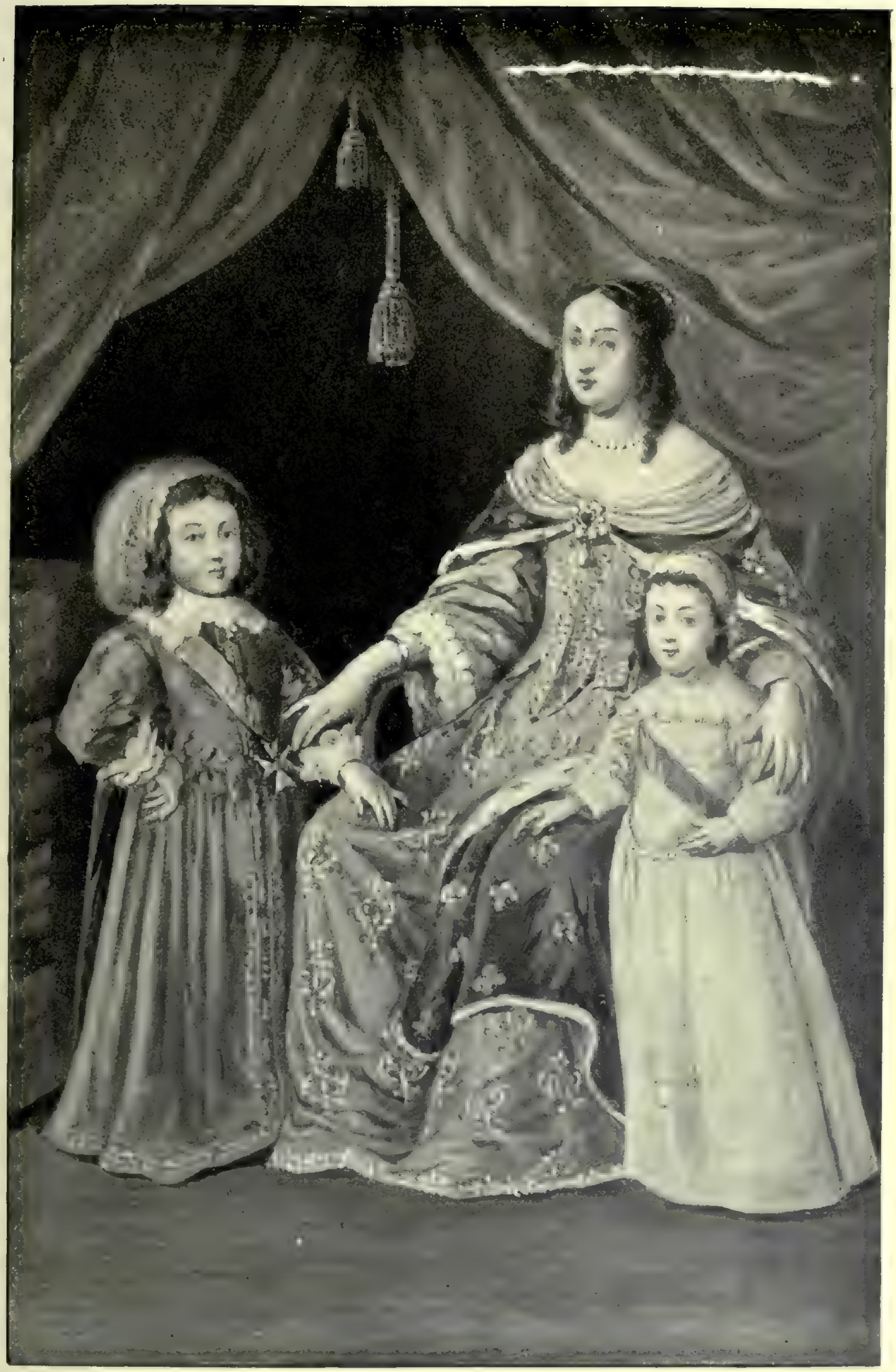
In reality Mazarin had been careful to instruct Louis XIV., but by object-lessons rather than by books. He made him come to the Council, he took him to the army, thus teaching him politics and war at the head-quarters of each.



LOUIS XIV., WHEN YOUNG, ON HORSEBACK.
(School of Vouet.—Musée de Versailles.)

His tutor having told His Eminence one day that the King did not apply himself to study, and that he (the Cardinal) ought to use his authority and reprimand him, because it was to be feared that some day he might do the same in great matters, Mazarin answered—

"Do not trouble yourself. Depend upon me. He will know only too much. For, when he comes to the Council, he asks me a hundred questions on the matter in hand."



ANNE OF AUSTRIA AND HER CHILDREN.

(From a picture in the Musée de Versailles, presented by Anne of Austria to Le Pelletier, her house-steward.)

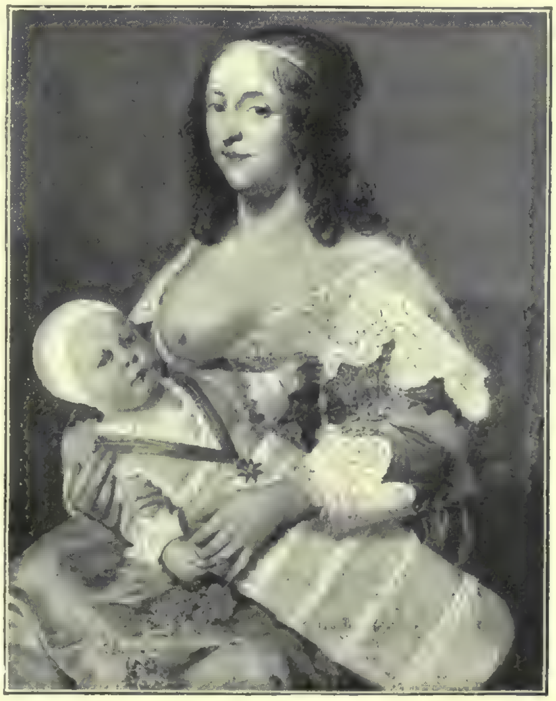
LOUIS XIV. IN 1644.
(From a gold coin.)

Mazarin considered Louis XIV. capable of teaching himself the business of a king. And in fact the King did teach himself, without appearing to do so. He tells us this. "Although very young," he says, "I preferred in my mind a high reputation to all things, and even to life itself, if I could acquire it. I was never weary of exercising myself in private and without any confidants, reasoning by myself and in myself on all the events that occurred, full of hope and joy when I discovered sometimes that my first thoughts were the very same as those at which able and mature minds had come to a stop."

The men of the seventeenth century have wondered at that education in action, which was not according to their custom, but was a practical and realistic *régime* more like our own. Was it not, after all, the best for a strong and sturdy child full of life and eager for movement?

His unexpected birth in 1638 had given rise to gossip at Court and among the people, for the relations of Anne of Austria and Louis XIII. were not intimate, and when Louis XIV. was born he came to France as a miracle. France thanked God for that miracle, and followed with the keenest interest the progress of Louis the God-given.

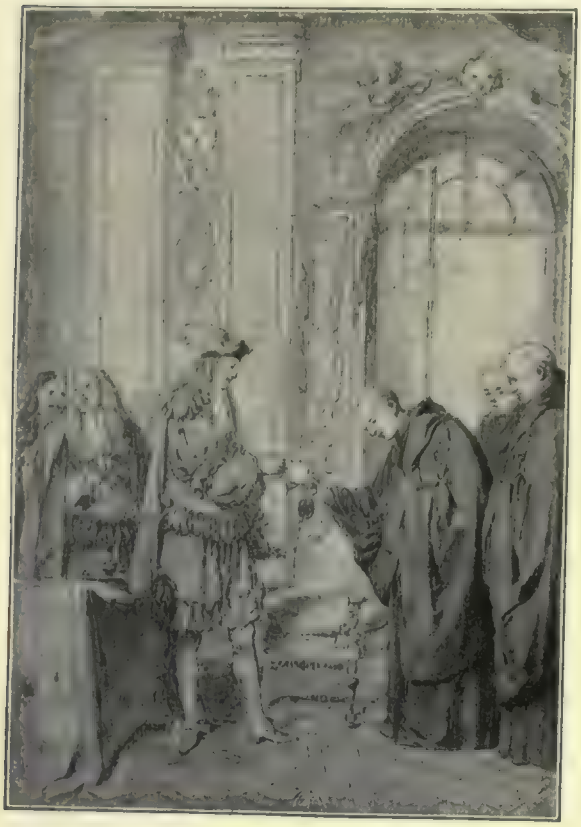
The country rejoiced to learn that in three months the lusty infant had exhausted three nurses. The first was a noble lady, Mademoiselle de la Giraudière, the wife of a lawyer employed in the Orleans Treasury. The others—the "dame" Hamelin, for instance—



LOUIS XIV. IN THE ARMS OF HIS NURSE.
(Musée de Versailles. Recent acquisitions.)

were more difficult to find. The milk-teeth of the young King were formidable. The enemies of Louis XIV. afterwards maintained that the greediness of his babyhood was a presage of his rapacious and brutal deeds. It was at all events a proof of vigour.

He gave other proofs as he grew older. Laporte has recorded some of these. "One night, after he was undressed, he set about making a hundred jumps and turning head over heels a hundred times on his bed before getting into it; but at last he made so big a jump that he came head foremost against the raised floor of the alcove on the other side with such a bump that I did not know what to think. I ran to the King and lifted him up on the bed. He had received only a slight hurt. The footcloth, which was laid on loose boards, had broken the force of the blow."



LOUIS XIV. GIVING LETTERS-PATENT TO THE BENEDICTINES, 1653.
(Print by Lahire.)

To this uncommon robustness the young King added the lively and fearless disposition not uncommon in children who feel their strength.

"The King, having had a fort built in the garden of the Palais Royal, got into such a heat in attacking it that he perspired profusely. He was told that the Queen was about to take her bath, and ran quickly to get into it with her, commanding me to undress him, which I would not do. He went off to tell the Queen, and she dared not refuse. I told Her Majesty that it might be the death of him. She said that the permission of Vautier, his first physician, must be asked."

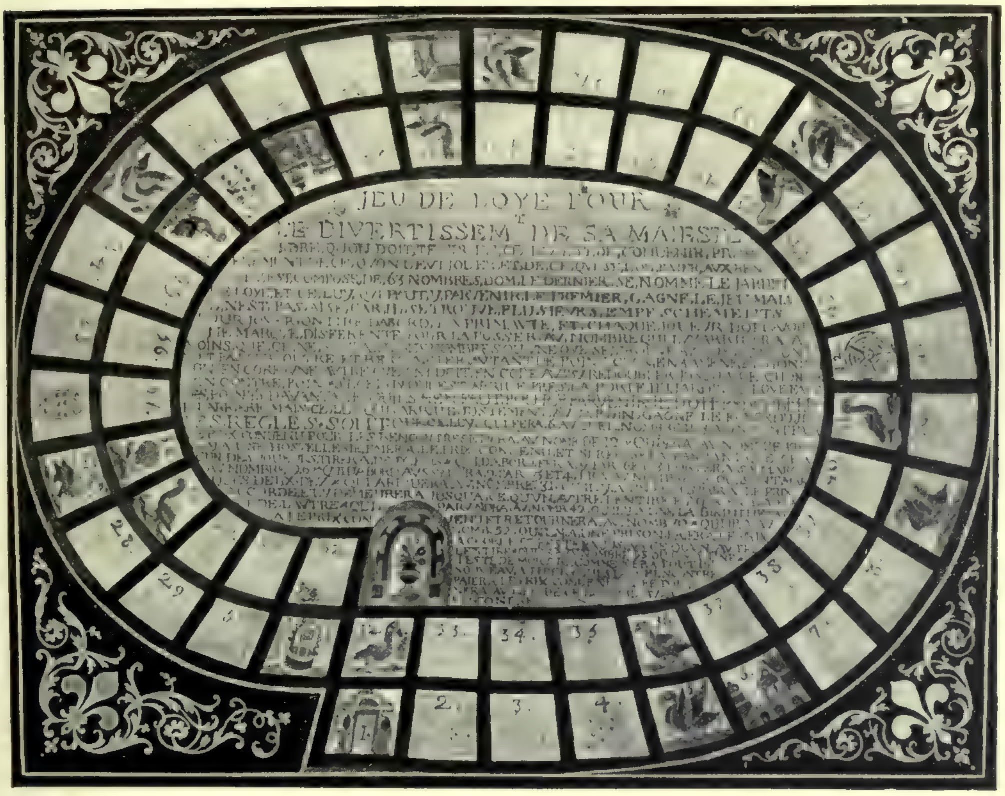
Louis XIV. had to bow to the fiat of the faculty, and, moreover, to put up with a lengthy admonition from Laporte in the evening.

LOUIS XIV. WHEN FIVE YEARS OLD.
(From a medal by Mauger. May, 1643.)

LOUIS XIV. WHEN THIRTEEN YEARS OLD.
(From a medal by Mauger for his majority. September, 1650.)

Sometimes there were terrible battles between the King and his young brother, and this continued to be the case when they were both big boys, as we learn from a scene that was witnessed by Mademoiselle de Montpensier.

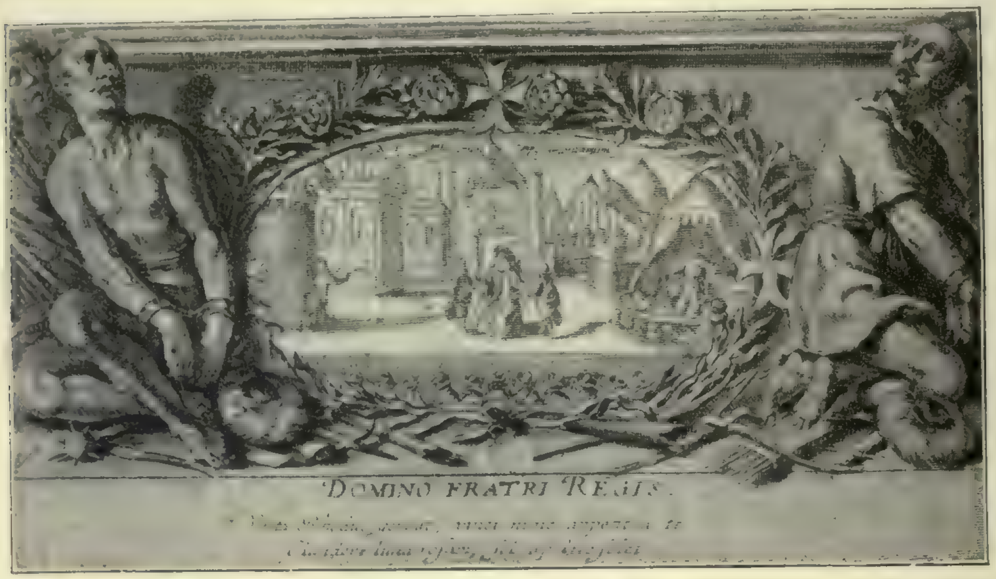
"Monsieur had broken Lent, and ate in his room. He came one day into the Queen's just as she was about to dine with the King. He found a small pan of bouilli, and showed it to the King, who told him not to eat it. Monsieur said he would. The King replied, 'I engage you don't.' The King snatched at the plate, and some of the meat-soup fell on Monsieur, who is very handsome, and extremely proud of his fine head of hair. This made him angry, and he flung the plate in the face of the King, who did not at first lose his temper. But some of the Queen's women stirred him up


JEU DE L'OYE POUR
LE DIVERTISSEM^T DE SA MAJESTE

THE "ROYAL GAME OF GOOSE," FOR THE DIVERSION OF HIS MAJESTY.
(From the Collection of Baron Jérôme Pichon.)

against Monsieur, so that he said if it were not for his mother he would kick him out. Monsieur went away and shut himself up in his room. The Queen and the Cardinal reconciled them the next day." But this *enfant terrible* was not bad hearted.

"When he wanted to go to sleep," says Laporte, "he would make me lay my head near to his own; and if he woke in the night he would come to sleep with me. Many times I carried him back to his own bed still sleeping. He liked to be with the Queen, for whom he always had great affection—much more than children of that condition usually have for their mothers."

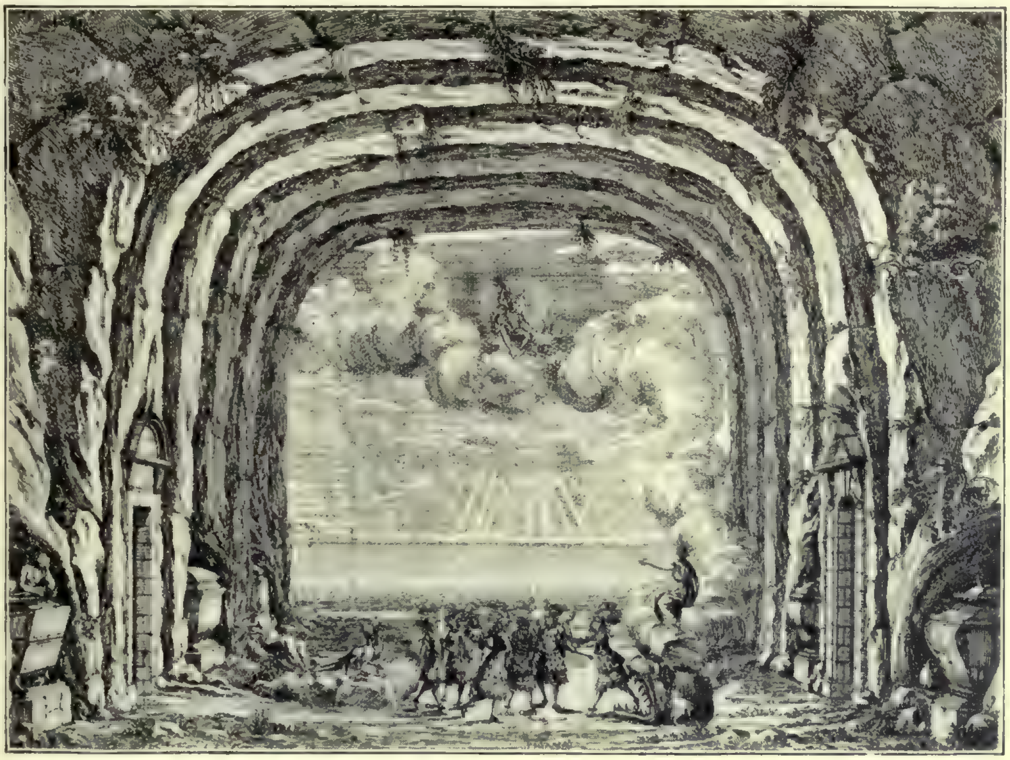

DOMINO FRATRI REGIS.

COMEDY AT COURT IN 1656.
(The Theatre at Clermont. From a print in the Hennin Collection.)

Louis XIV. shared his affection for his mother with Mazarin. Perhaps he suspected the bond that existed between them. "My mother, who knew him thoroughly," writes the Abbé de Choisy, "told me a hundred times that the King's heart betrayed his head in the unbounded gratitude which he displayed towards Cardinal Mazarin. He believed himself to be under the deepest obligations to him."

⁂

Only on one occasion were observers of sound judgment afforded a forewarning of what the King was going to be: this was in 1655, when, after the civil wars, his first campaign and his coronation, the Parliament had met again for the discussion of certain edicts. The King left Vincennes in his hunting dress, followed by the whole Court, entered the Parliament Hall in his big boots, whip in hand, and pronounced these words: "The harm your assemblies have done is well known. I command that those which have been begun upon my edicts shall cease. Monsieur the first President, I forbid you to suffer meetings to take place, and every one of you to demand them!"



"LES NOCES DE THÉTIS."
(The first opera played in Paris in 1654. Engraving by Silvestre.)

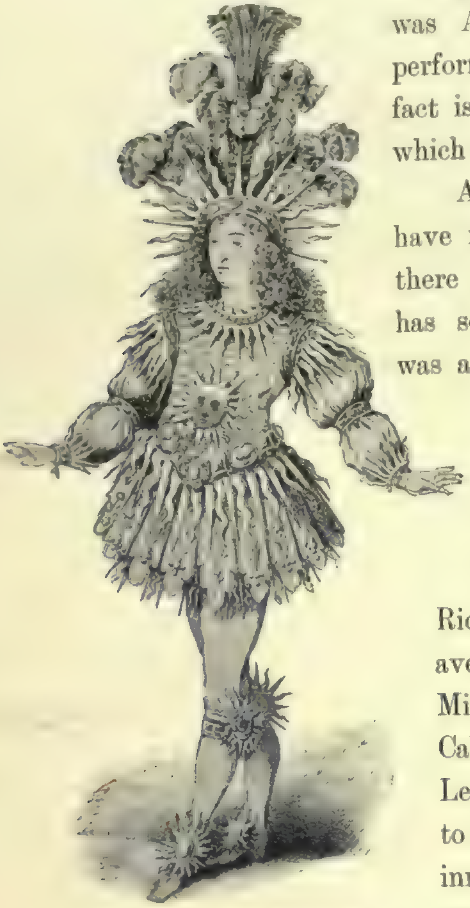
These early blossoms of his greatness seemed however to wither away immediately afterwards, and the fruits did not appear until after the death of the Cardinal.

The Court, since the return of Mazarin, was occupied with plays, ballets, comedy—newly born in France, and not yet an art—and tragedy, which had become a sublime art in the hands of Pierre Corneille. A curé (parish priest) of Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois, who inclined towards the Jansenists, had frequently written to the Queen concerning these plays in the early years of her regency. He asserted that the penalty of witnessing them was damnation, and induced seven doctors of the Sorbonne to sign this anathema. The Abbé de Beaumont, however, provided himself with a greater number of documents by learned doctors in approval than the severe curé could produce in condemnation. Thus he appeased the scruples of the Queen; and when he was Archbishop of Paris he formally authorised the performances which as abbé he had defended. This fact is stated in the Memoirs of Madame de Motteville, which are trustworthy.

After Cardinal Richelieu introduced the plays which have rendered Paris the rival of Athens, not only was there always a special bench for the Academy—which has several ecclesiastics among its members—but there was a special one for the bishops.

In 1646 and 1654 Cardinal Mazarin had Italian operas, executed by singers from Italy, represented on the stage of the Palais Royal and the Petit Bourbon, near the Louvre.

The Jansenists, whom the two cardinals, Richelieu and Mazarin, respectively desired to suppress, avenged themselves upon the pleasures which those Ministers had procured for the nation. Lutherans and Calvinists had done the same in the time of Pope Leo X. The same minds which would overturn a State to establish an opinion (frequently absurd), condemn the innocent pleasures which a great city needs, and the arts that contribute to the splendour of a nation. The abolition of plays would be an idea more worthy of the age of Attila than of the century of Louis XIV.

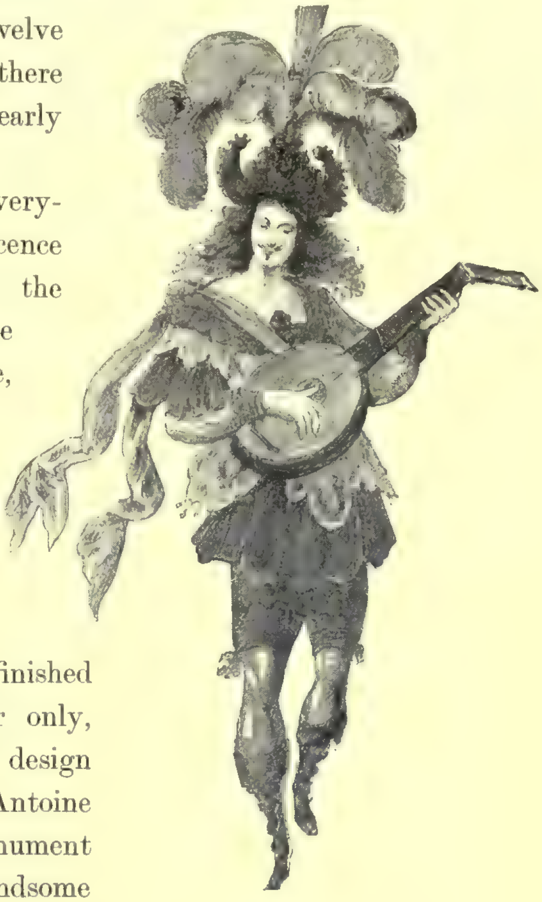

LOUIS XIV. IN COSTUME AS THE SUN-KING.
(In the ballet of *La Nuit*.)

The dance, which may also be reckoned among the arts, because it is subjected to rules, and makes the body graceful, was one of the chief amusements of the Court. Louis XIII. had danced only once, in 1625, in a ballet of a coarse character, which gave no promise of what the arts were to be in France thirty years after. Louis XIV. excelled in stately dances, which suited the majesty of his face, and did not take from that of his rank. The ring races, which sometimes took place with great display, exhibited his proficiency in all sorts of exercises. The pleasure and splendour of those days were small things indeed in comparison with the magnificence of the King's real reign, but astonishing after the horrors of civil war and the gloom of the sombre life of Louis XIII. That sickly and morose monarch had not been housed or served like a king.

The Crown jewels were not worth a hundred thousand crowns. Cardinal Mazarin left only twelve hundred thousand crowns' worth; and to-day there are gems in the regalia to the value of nearly twenty millions of francs.

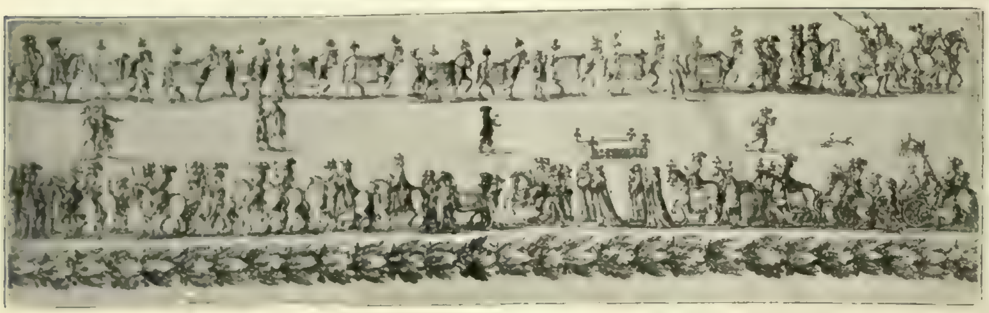
(1660.) At the marriage of Louis XIV. everything bore a more marked character of magnificence and taste. When he made his entry with the Queen, his wife, Paris greeted the young bride with respectful admiration. She was fair to see, borne in a superb car of novel construction; the King on horseback by her side, adorned with all that art could add to his manly and heroic beauty, attracted every eye.

At the end of the Vincennes alleys a triumphal arch was erected on a base of stone, but time did not admit of its being finished in durable material; it was erected in plaster only, and has since been entirely demolished. The design was by Claude Perrault. The Porte Saint-Antoine was rebuilt for the same ceremony; a monument inferior in taste, but adorned with some handsome pieces of sculpture. Those who had beheld the bodies of many dead or dying citizens carried back into Paris through that gate after the battle of Saint-Antoine, and now witnessed that far different entry, blessed God and returned thanks for so beneficent a change.


A GENTLEMAN OF THE COURT IN COSTUME

(In the ballet of *La Nuit*, 1653.)

Cardinal Mazarin had the Italian opera entitled *Ercole Amante* performed at the Louvre in celebration of the royal marriage. It did not please the French. They cared only to see the King and Queen, who danced. The Cardinal wanted to distinguish himself by a spectacle more suited to the taste of the nation, and de Lyonne, the Secretary of State, undertook



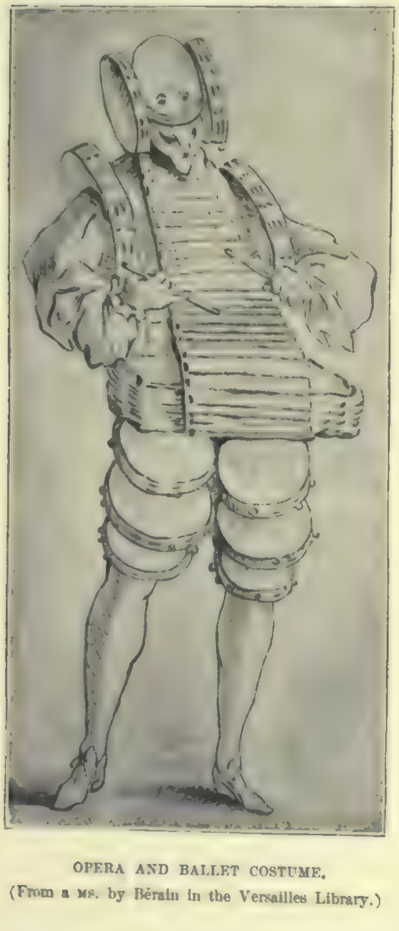
ENTRY OF LOUIS XIV. AND MARIE THÉRÈSE INTO PARIS AFTER THEIR MARRIAGE.
(From the official account published in 1662 by the City of Paris.)

to have a kind of tragic allegory, in the style of *L'Europe*, which was partly by Richelieu composed. It was lucky for the great Corneille that he was not chosen to execute such a task.

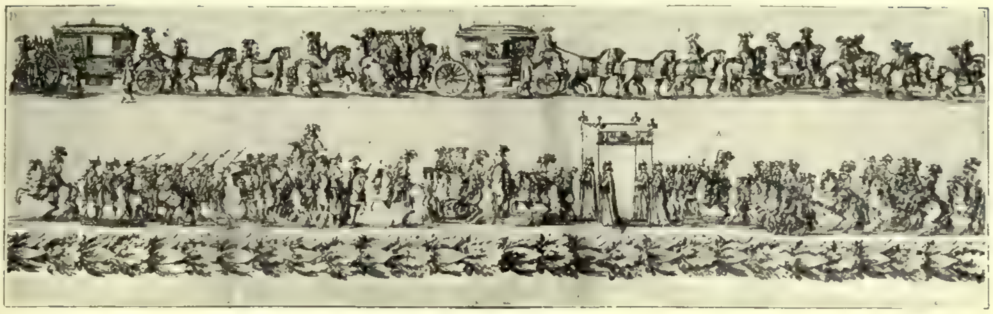
The subject was *Lysis and Hesperia.* Lysis signified France and Hesperia Spain. Quinault was employed to compose the piece. He had just made a great reputation by his *Faux Tiberinus*, which, though bad, had achieved a prodigious success. *Lysis* had no such good fortune. It was performed at the Louvre.

Its only attraction was the machinery. The Marquis de Sourdeac, to whom the establishment of Opera in France was afterwards due, had *La Toison d'Or* by Pierre Corneille performed at his château of Neubourg with machinery. Quinault, who was young and good looking, had the Court on his side. Corneille had his name and France. And so it is the fact that France owes opera and comedy to two cardinals.

The King's wedding was followed by a long series of fêtes; the general rejoicing was increased by the marriage of Monsieur, the sovereign's brother, with Princess Henrietta of Great Britain, sister of Charles II. The festal period was interrupted in 1661 by the death of Cardinal Mazarin.



OPERA AND BALLET COSTUME.
(From a MS. by Bérain in the Versailles Library.)



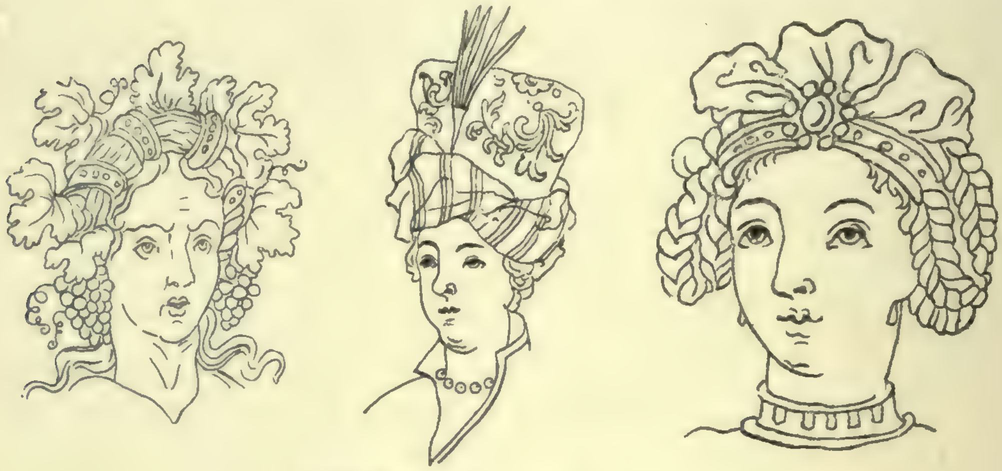
ENTRY OF LOUIS XIV. AND MARIE-THÉRÈSE INTO PARIS AFTER THEIR MARRIAGE.
(From the official account published in 1662 by the City of Paris.)

Some months after the Cardinal-Minister's decease an event which has no parallel in history occurred, and, strange to say, all the historians have ignored it. A prisoner, more than common tall, young, with a finely-shaped head and a noble mien, was secretly conveyed to the château of the Île de Sainte-Marguerite. The captive wore a mask with steel springs which enabled him to eat without removing it. He remained in the island until an officer named Saint-Mars, who was made governor of the Bastille in 1690, took him away to the State Prison, still masked. The Marquis de Louvois had visited him before his removal, and had spoken to him, standing, with courtesy and observance. The unknown person was comfortably lodged at the Bastille, considering the accommodation at the disposal of the governor, and he was refused nothing that he asked for. His particular fancy was for extraordinarily fine linen and lace. He played the guitar; he was supplied with the daintiest food, and the governor rarely took a seat in his presence. An old doctor in the service of the Bastille, who attended this strange man, has stated that he never saw his face, although he had frequently examined his tongue and the rest of his body. He was very well made, of dark complexion, had a most attractive voice, made no complaints and never allowed a glimpse of his possible identity to be obtained.

OPERA AND BALLET COSTUME.
(From a MS. by Bérain in the Versailles library.)

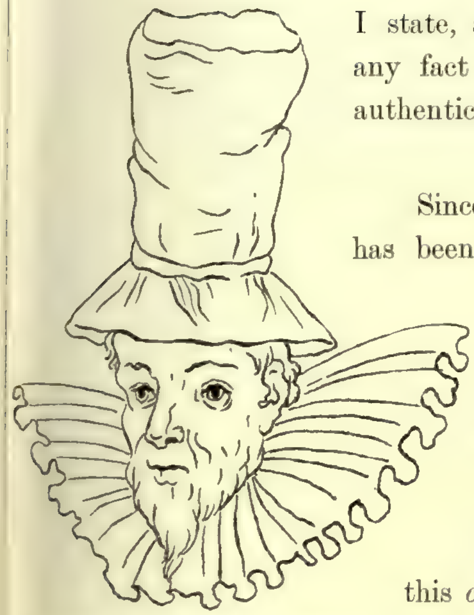
This unknown person, familiar to tradition, romance and drama as "the Man with the Iron Mask," died in 1705, and was buried by night in the parish of Saint-Paul. His story is more strange for the fact that at the period of his being sent to the Île de Sainte-Marguerite, no man of mark in Europe disappeared. That the prisoner was "somebody" is indubitable, for, from the day of his arrival the governor himself set the dishes on his dinner-table, and then retired after having locked the doors. One day the prisoner wrote with a knife on a silver plate, which he threw at a boat drawn up on the river bank at the foot of the tower. The owner of the boat brought it to the governor.

"Have you read what is written on this plate?" he asked; "and has any person seen it in your hands?" "I cannot read," replied the fisherman. "I have only just found the plate; nobody has seen it." The man was detained until the governor was fully satisfied that he was not able to read, and that nobody had seen the plate. "You may go," he said then. "It is well for you that you do not know how to read."

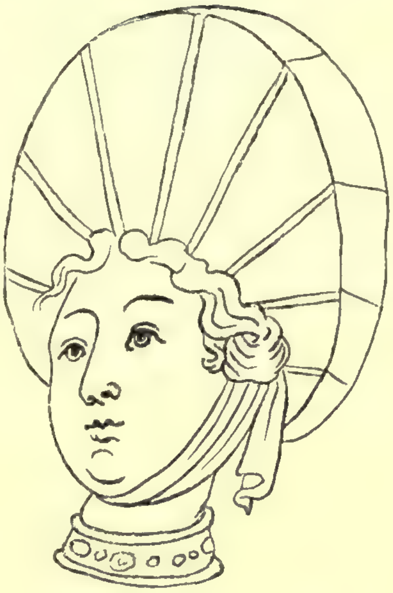


GROTESQUE FACES FOR BALLETS AND OPERAS.
(MS. by Bérain in the Versailles Library.)

Among persons who had authentic knowledge of this fact, one is still living. M. de Chamillart was the last Minister in possession of the strange secret. The second Marshal de la Feuillade, his son-in-law, told me that when the Marshal was dying he entreated him to tell him the truth concerning the identity of the Man with the Iron Mask. Chamillart made answer that it was a State secret, and he had sworn never to reveal it. Lastly, many of my contemporaries depose to the truth of what



GROTESQUE DANCER FOR BALLETS AND OPERAS.



GROTESQUE DANCER FOR BALLETS AND OPERAS.

I state, and I am not acquainted with any fact more extraordinary or better authenticated.

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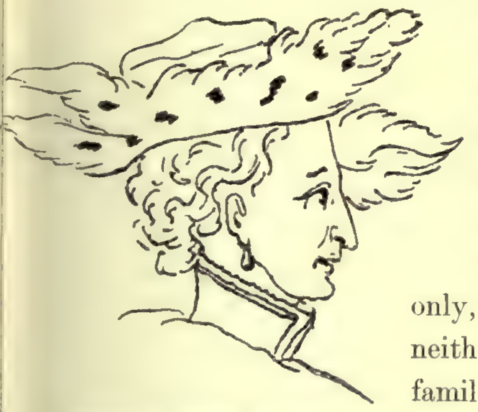
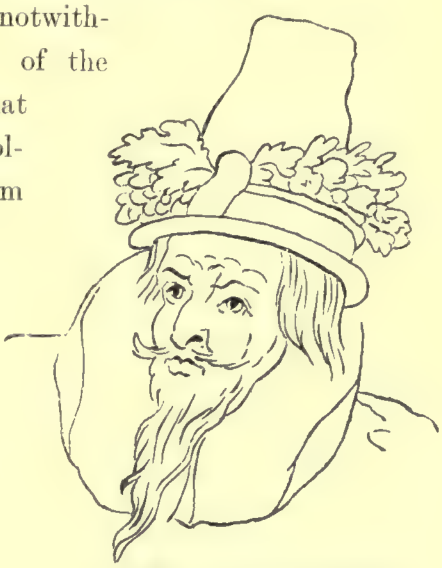
Since Voltaire's time this legend has been public property, and it has never yet been satisfactorily explained. Not one of the contemporaries of Louis XIV. referred to it. It was only in 1745 that the author of "Mémoires Secrets pour servir à l'Historie de la Perse" brought this *cause célèbre* into fashion. Voltaire immediately undertook the investigation of it; he entered eagerly into this police incident of the Court of the great King. At Paris he cross-examined the son-in-law of the physician who had attended the masked prisoner—a former commissariat officer at Cannes, who had information respecting the detention of the captive—and also others whose testimony he invokes. Proud of having set forth this problem, he left the solution of it to posterity.

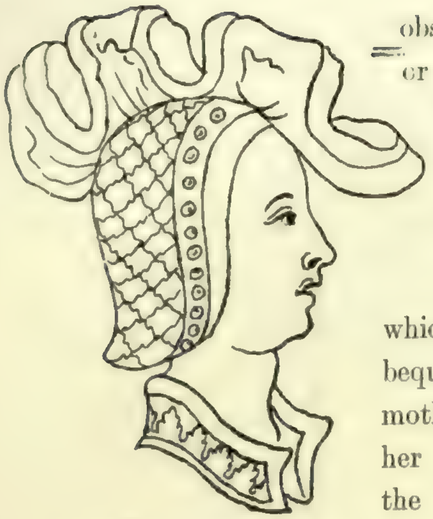
It has been thought that the masked man was Fouquet, or the Duc de Vermandois, or even the Duke of Monmouth, notwithstanding the circumstantial details of the execution of the unfortunate son of Charles II. It is almost certain that in stimulating curiosity Voltaire has departed from history. The captive existed, it is true, but his imprisonment was less strict than is believed; his mask was of velvet only, not of iron. He was neither a personage of the royal family nor a celebrated man, but probably either one Mattioli, an



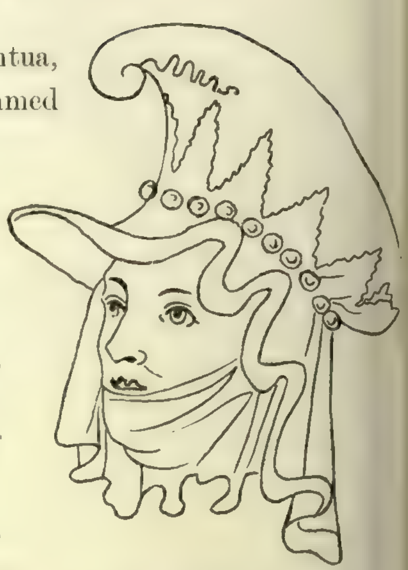
GROTESQUE DANCER FOR BALLETS AND OPERAS.



GROTESQUE DANCER FOR BALLETS AND OPERAS.



GROTESQUE DANCER FOR BALLETS AND OPERAS.



GROTESQUE DANCER FOR BALLETS AND OPERAS.

obscure agent of the Duke of Mantua, or a mere *valet de chambre* named Eustache Dauger.*

It is more profitable to contemplate the pretty picture of the young Court and the united royal family which Madame de Lafayette has bequeathed to us. "The Queen-mother," she writes, "in virtue of her rank, held the first place in the royal house, and according to appearances she ought to have held it by her influence; but the same disposition that had made the royal authority a heavy burden to her when it was entirely in her hands prevented her from wishing to have any part in it after it ceased to be so. Her mind seemed to be anxious and occupied with affairs during the life of her husband, but no sooner had she become mistress of herself and of the kingdom than she thought only

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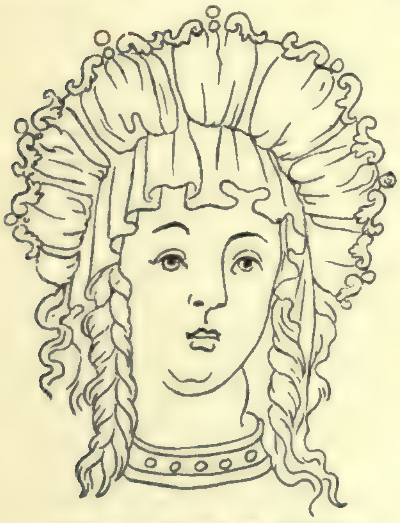
* The author does not mention the most plausible of all the suppositions respecting the identity of the Man with the Iron Mask, viz., that he was the son of Anne of Austria and Mazarin. It is easily to be understood that the King and his Ministers would be anxious to conceal the existence of such a person, and that the death of Mazarin would enable them to do so by imprisoning him. It is curious that the "particular fancy" of the prisoner in the Bastille, which M. Bourgeois records, furnishes a piece of circumstantial or at least presumptive evidence of the relationship of the masked man to the Queen. It was Anne of Austria who raised luxury in lace and *lingerie* to the height of a craze in the French Court, and of whom it is told that she said her purgatory would surely be having to sleep in coarse sheets. The details of cuffs, guipure, and suggestion of under-dress in the portrait of the Queen-mother-Regent, by Philippe de Champagne, and in that presented by Anne of Austria to her steward, M. Le Pelletier, reproduced in this work, are worth examining, if the reader cares to entertain the notion of heredity in taste.—*Translator's Note.*



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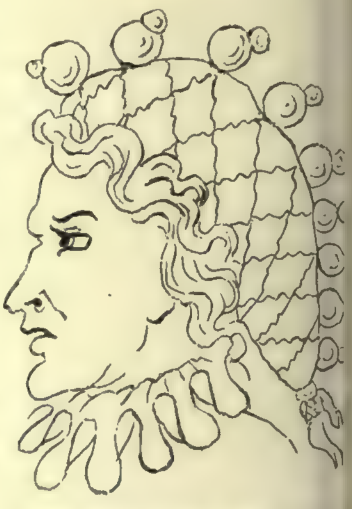

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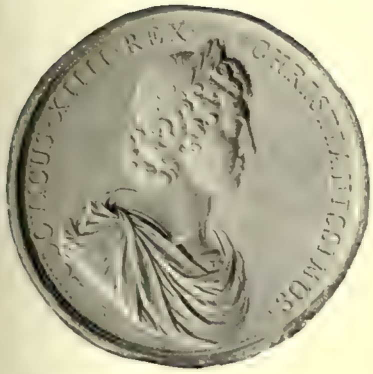
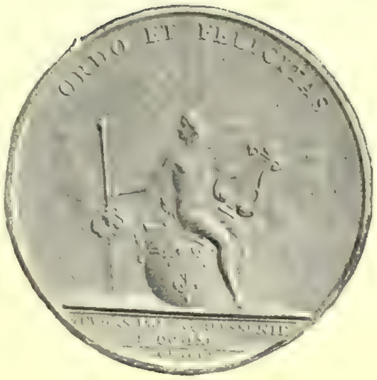


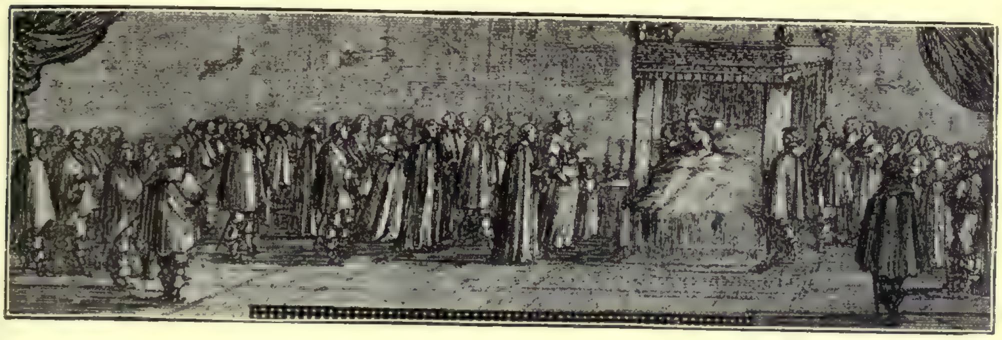
THE KING ASSUMING THE GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE.



MEDAL BY MOLART.
(1661.)

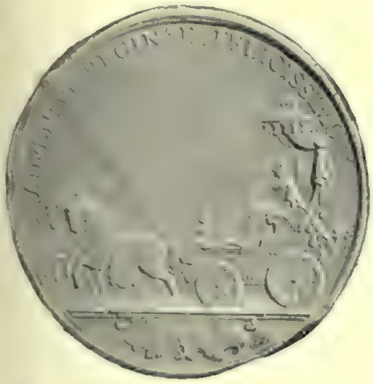
of leading a quiet life, and occupying herself with devotional exercises. Thenceforward she displayed great indifference to everything.

"Nevertheless she did care for the affection of her children. She had brought them up with herself so tenderly that she felt some jealousy of the persons with whom they sought their pleasures. She was, however, satisfied if only they paid her the attention of visiting her.

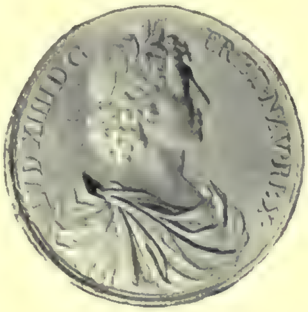


THE DEATH OF CARDINAL MAZARIN.
(From a contemporary print.)

"The young Queen was twenty-two years old; her figure was good, and she might fairly be described as handsome, though not pleasing. She was but little known, and there was not any great desire to know her better, for she was entirely absorbed in a passionate attachment to the King, and in all the rest of her actions she kept close to the Queen her mother-in-law, making no distinction of persons or diversions, and suffering on account of her jealousy of the King.



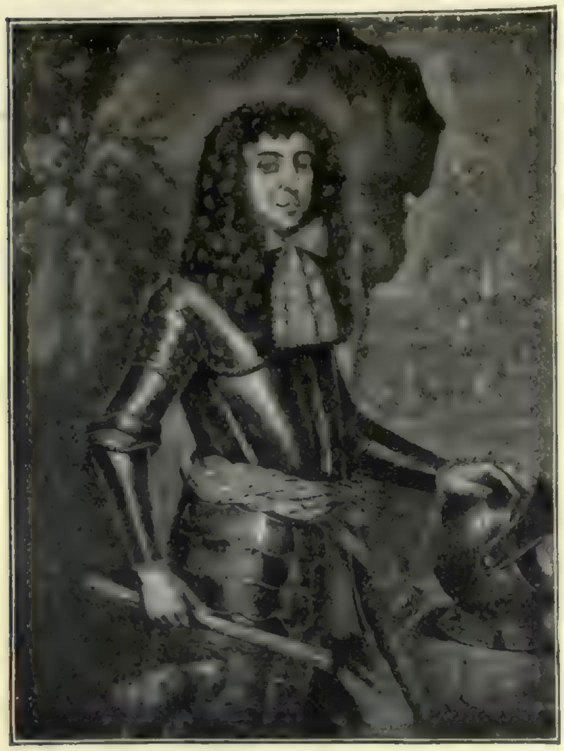
THE QUEEN'S ENTRY INTO PARIS, 1660.
(Medal by Molart.)



LOUIS XIV. IN 1660.
(Medal by Loir.)

"Monsieur, the King's only brother, was no less attached to his mother. His inclinations were as much in the direction of feminine occupations as the King's were the reverse. He was handsome and well made, but his face and his stature would have become a princess better than a prince. He cared more for winning universal admiration by his personal attractions than for gaining the love of women. His self-conceit seemed to render him incapable of any other attachment.

"When the marriage of Monsieur took place everybody was surprised by the gracefulness and the courteous behaviour of Madame. As the Queen-mother kept her constantly with herself, the English Princess was only seen in the Queen's circle. It was a new discovery to find her mind as attractive as her person. She was the universal subject of conversation, and everybody was loud in her praise.



PHILIPPE, "FILS DE FRANCE," BROTHER OF THE KING.
(From a portrait by Lely.)

"After a prolonged sojourn in Paris Monsieur and Madame went to Fontainebleau, and the presence of the Princess made everything bright. The King, when he came to see more of her, knew how unjust he had been in not regarding her as the fairest of the fair. He became greatly attached to her, and treated her with the utmost kindness and distinction. She arranged the parties of pleasure; they were all made up for her. It was the middle of summer. Madame bathed; every day she went in a coach, followed by all the Court ladies. After supper they drove round the canal in open carriages, and to the music of violins, for a part of the night.

"Then it was that all France flocked to the palace where dwelt Madame. The men were all bent on paying court to her and the women on pleasing her.

"Mme. de Valentinois, sister of the Comte de Guiche, was one of those whom she selected as a companion in her pleasures. Mme. de

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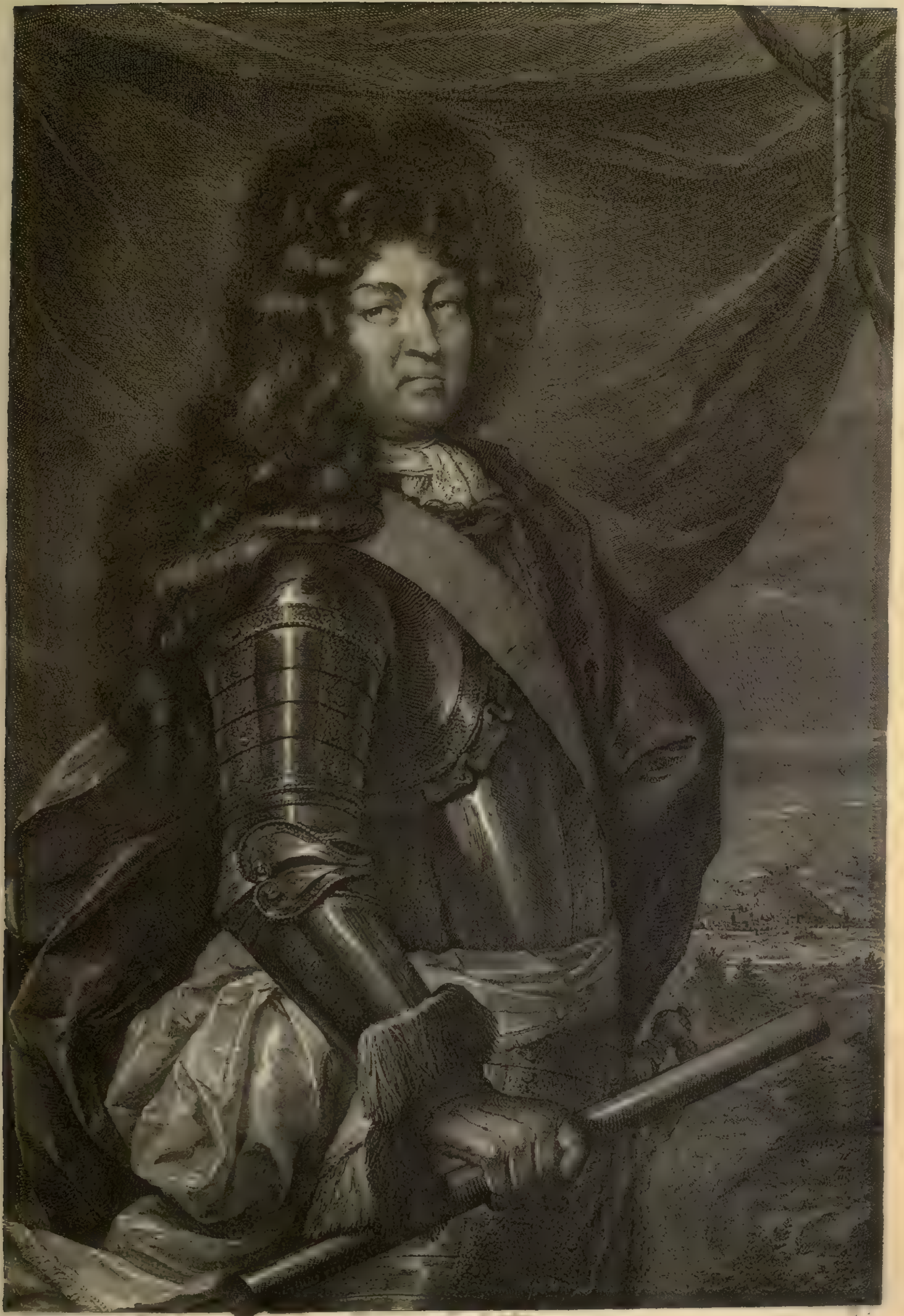

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Louis XIV, Roi de France
d'après J. de la Haye

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Maintenon, as well as other persons to whom she had shown kindness before her marriage, had the honour of seeing her frequently."

Mdlle. de la Tremouille and Mme. de Lafayette were of this number.

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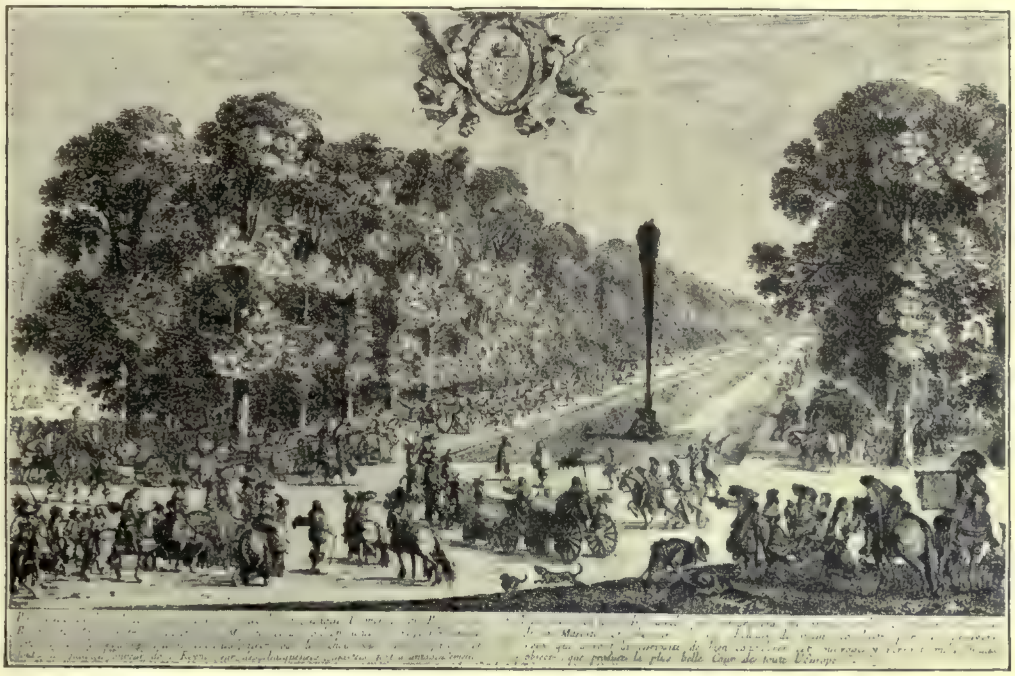
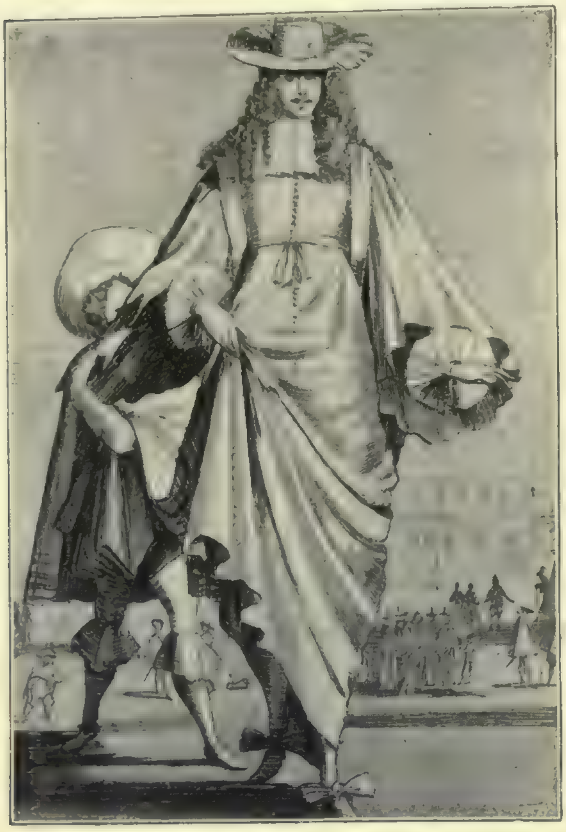
In the meantime Louis XIV. divided his time between the pleasures of his time of life and the affairs that constituted his duty. He held a council every day, and afterwards worked privately with Colbert. The latter custom was the origin of the downfall of the famous Superintendent Fouquet, which entailed that of Guénégaud (Secretary of State), Pellisson, Gourville, and so many others. The fall of Colbert, who was much less open to reproach than Cardinal Mazarin had been, shows that there is more than one way of coming to disaster. The Minister's fate was already decided when the King accepted the magnificent fête which was given to him by Colbert at Vaux. The palace and gardens had cost him eighteen millions—the present equivalent of that sum would be about thirty-five millions. He had built the palace twice, and purchased three hamlets; the whole extent of these was inclosed in the immense

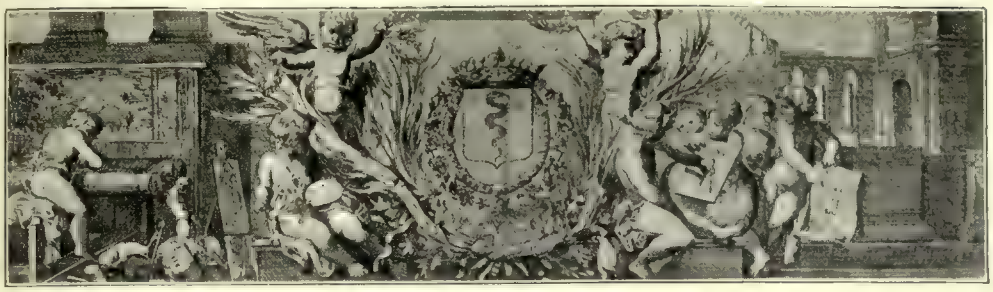


THE COURT AT FONTAINEBLEAU IN 1662—"THE GRANDEST COURT IN EUROPE."
(Print by Lepeautre.)

gardens, partly planted by Le Nôtre, and then regarded as the most beautiful in Europe. The fountains of Vaux, which afterwards appeared below mediocrity in comparison with those of Versailles, Marly and Saint-Cloud, were marvels at that time.

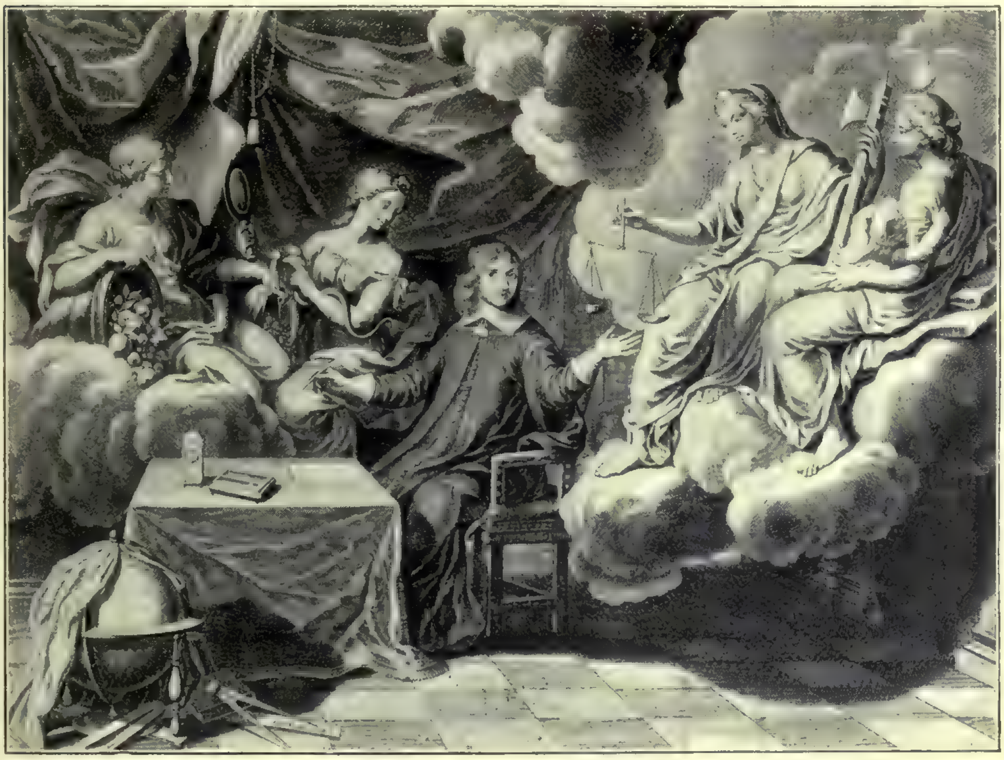
But however beautiful the house, that expenditure of eighteen millions—the accounts still exist—proved that Colbert's money had been spent as lavishly as he had expended the King's. Fontainebleau and Saint-Germain, the only "pleasure-houses" inhabited by the King, were much inferior to Vaux. Louis XIV. felt this, and it irritated him. All over the house the arms of Fouquet were to be seen with his device, a squirrel, and the words: "Quo non ascendam?" (Whither shall I not climb?) The King had them explained to him, and the ambition of this motto did not tend to mollify him. The courtiers remarked that the squirrel was painted everywhere, pursued by an adder, which was Colbert's arms. The fête excelled those which Cardinal Mazarin had given, not only in magnificence but in taste. The *Fâcheux* of Molière was represented for the first time on this occasion. Pellisson had written the prologue, which was much admired. Had it not been for the Queen-mother, the Superintendent and Pellisson would have been arrested at Vaux on the day of the fête itself. The King's resentment was increased by the fact that Mademoiselle de La Vallière, for whom he was beginning to feel a real passion, had been the object of one of Fouquet's passing fancies. The Superintendent, whom she unhesitatingly rejected, having afterwards perceived what a


COUNCILLOR TO THE PARLIAMENT.
(In *Les conditions de la vie humaine*, by S. Leclerc.)



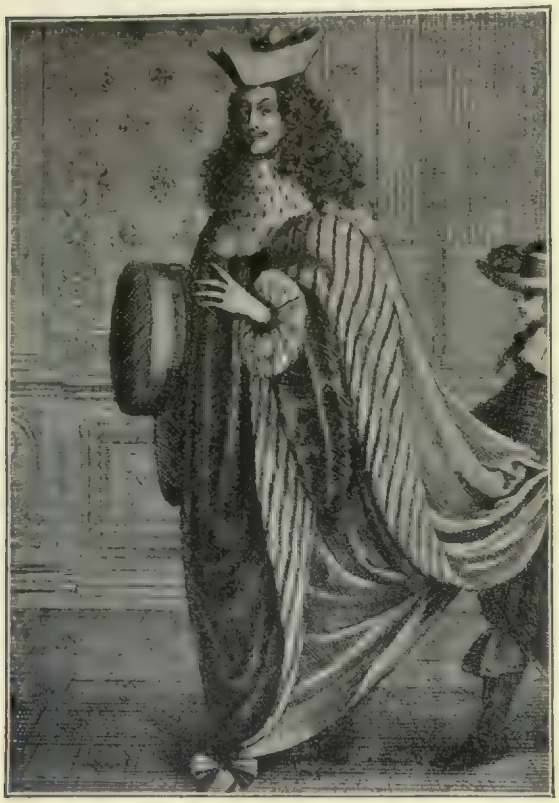
THE ARMS OF COLBERT WITH THE ADDER IN THE CENTRE.
(Heading in honour of Colbert.)

powerful rival he had, would have liked to be the confidant of the lady, and that too was an offence.. The King had been tempted, in the first impulse of his anger, to have the Superintendent arrested in the midst of the fête which he had accepted from him, but afterwards adopted unnecessary dissimulation. It looked as though the monarch, already all-powerful, feared the influence of the adherents whom Fouquet had gained.



FOUQUET PROTECTING THE ARTS AND SCIENCES, AND RENDERING JUSTICE.
(Print by Chauveau.)

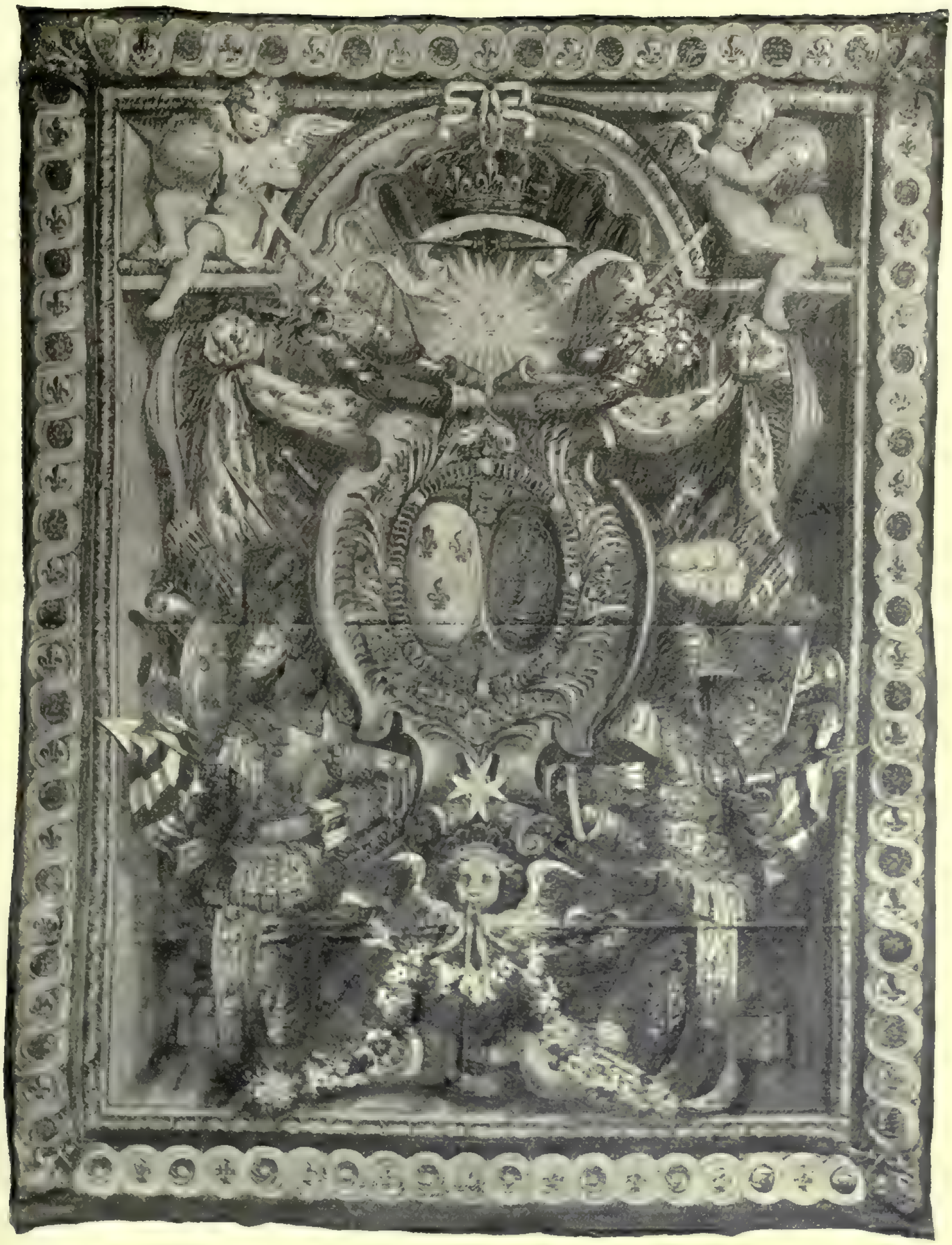
He was Procurator-General to the Parliament, and that office gave him the privilege of being tried by the assembled Chambers; but so many princes, marshals and dukes had been tried by commissaries that a magistrate might have been treated in the same way, since recourse had been had to unusual methods—a step which, without being unjust, always conveys a suspicion of injustice. Colbert induced him, by means that were not precisely honourable, to sell his post. He was offered eighteen hundred thousand livres for it—a sum which would now be equivalent to three millions and a half—and by a misunderstanding he sold it for only fourteen hundred thousand francs. The Duc de Guise, Grand Chamberlain to the King, had sold this Crown office to the Duc de Bouillon for eight hundred thousand livres.



A CHIEF JUSTICE.
(In *Les conditions de la vie humaine*, by S. Leclerc.)

It was the Fronde, the civil war of Paris, that had put this price upon places in the Judicature. It was one of the great defects and one of the great misfortunes of a heavily indebted Government that France was the only country in the world in which judgeships were vendible, but this came from the leaven of sedition. It was an insult to the throne that the post of Royal Procurator should cost more than the highest dignities of the Crown.

Fouquet, notwithstanding that he had wasted the finances of the State and his own, was a great-souled person. His depredations were committed in the spirit of magnificence and liberality (1661). He handed over the price of his place to the public treasury, and that noble action did not save him. A man whom a police-officer and two guards might arrest in Paris was induced to go to Nantes, and the King was conspicuously gracious to him on the eve of his disgrace. Louis XIV. seems to



TAPESTRY WITH THE KING'S ARMS AND MOTTO.
(Garde-Meuble Collection.)

have belied his character in this matter; but he was given to understand that Fouquet was making great fortifications at Belle Isle, and that he might have too many connections both outside and inside the kingdom. It became evident, when he was arrested and taken to the Bastille and to Vincennes, that his "party" was nothing else than the greed of certain courtiers and women who received pensions from him, and forgot him so soon as he ceased to be in a position to bestow them. Other friends he retained, and this proves that he deserved them. The famous Madame de Sévigné, Gourville, Mademoiselle Scudéry, with several men of letters, declared openly for him, and served his cause so ardently that they saved his life.

The accompanying verses against Colbert, the persecutor of Fouquet, written by Hesnault, the translator of Lucretius, are well known.

SONNET.

Ministre avare et lâche, esclave malheureux,
Qui gémis sous le poids des affaires publiques;
Victime dévouée aux chagrins politiques,
Fantôme révéré sous un titre onéreux;

Vois combien des grandeurs le comble est dangereux;
Contemple de Fouquet les funestes reliques,
Et, tandis qu'à sa perte en secret tu t'appliques,
Crains qu'on ne te prépare un destin plus affreux:

Sa chute quelque jour te peut être commune.
Crains ton poste, ton rang, la cour et la fortune.
Nul ne tombe innocent d'où l'on te voit monté.

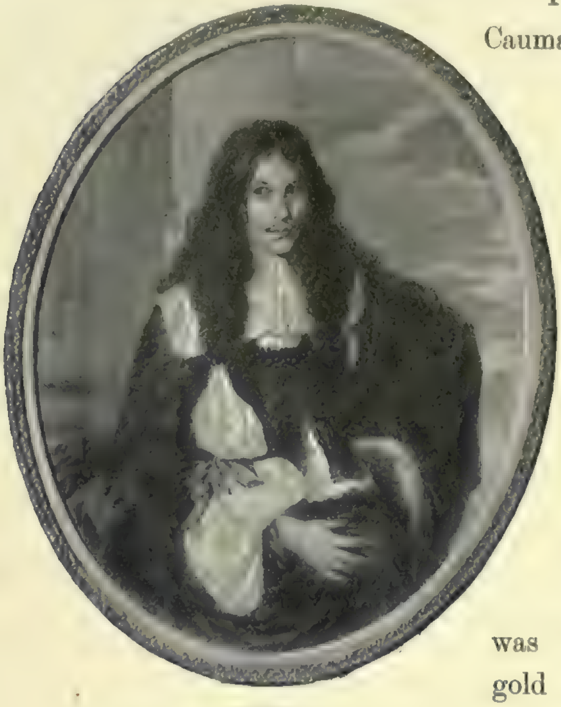
Cesse donc d'animer ton prince à son supplice;
Et, près d'avoir besoin de toute sa bonté,
Ne le fais pas user de toute sa justice.

Colbert, to whom this offensive sonnet was mentioned, asked whether the King was offended by it. He was told that His Majesty was not offended. "Then I am not," replied the Minister. Colbert appeared to be moderate, but in reality he eagerly desired the death of the Superintendent. It is a pity he was not so generous as he was vigilant.

One of Fouquet's most implacable persecutors was Michel Le Tellier, then Secretary of State, and his rival in repute. Le Tellier was afterwards Chancellor. But it was Chancellor Séguier, the President of the Commission, who sought his death most persistently and treated him with the greatest severity.

The fact was that to try the Superintendent was to accuse the memory of Cardinal Mazarin.

The most important depredations in the finances were his doing. He had arbitrarily appropriated to himself several branches of the State revenue; he had dealt in his own name and to his profit with munitions for the troops. "He imposed," says Fouquet, "extra sums upon the districts by arbitrary warrants (*lettres de cachet*). This had never been done except by him and for him, and is punishable by death according to the statutes." Thus it was that the Cardinal had amassed wealth great indeed beyond his own knowledge.



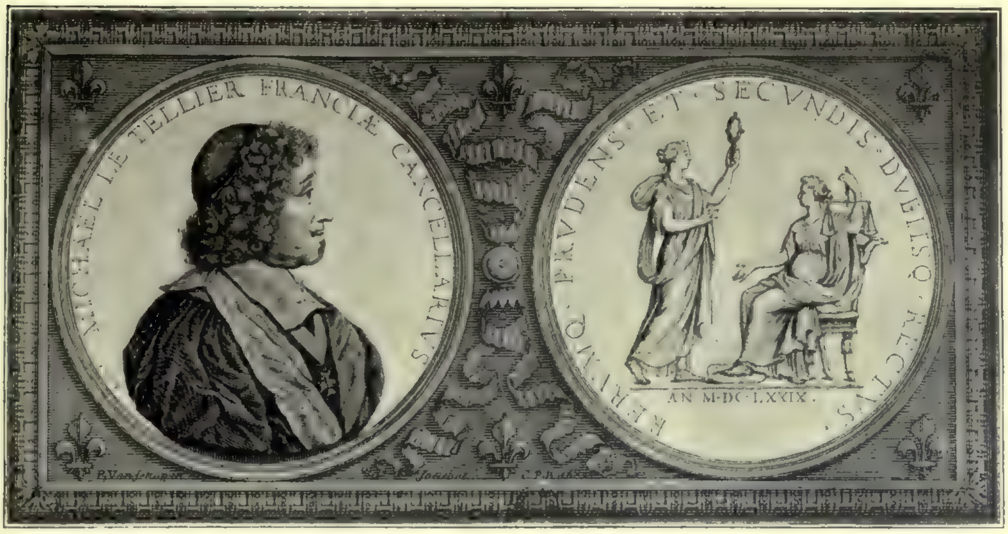
FOUQUET.
(By S. Bourdon.—Musée de Versailles.)

I have heard it related that M. de Caumartin, Comptroller of the Finances, when visiting the Palais Mazarin, the abode of the Duc de Mazarin, his heir, and the Duchesse Hortense, several years after the death of the Cardinal, saw there a large marquetry cabinet in a recess. The keys had been lost long before, and the drawers had not been opened. M. de Caumartin, much surprised at such negligence, said to the Duchesse de Mazarin that she might probably find curiosities in the cabinet. She had it opened: it was filled with quadruples, counters, and gold medals. The Duchesse flung these out of the palace windows to the people in handfuls during more than a week.

The abuse of his despotic power by Cardinal Mazarin did not justify the Superintendent; but the irregularity of the procedure in the case of Fouquet, the length of his trial, the animus shown by Chancellor Séguier, the lapse of time, which subdues public envy and inspires compassion for the unfortunate, lastly, the solicitations in favour of an unhappy man, which were more urgent than the demands of his enemies—all these combined to save his life.

Judgment was not given until 1664, at the end of three years. Of the twenty-two judges only nine voted for a sentence of death; the thirteen others voted for banishment for life. The King changed the latter penalty for a harder one. Such severity was not in conformity either with the ancient laws of France or with those of humanity.

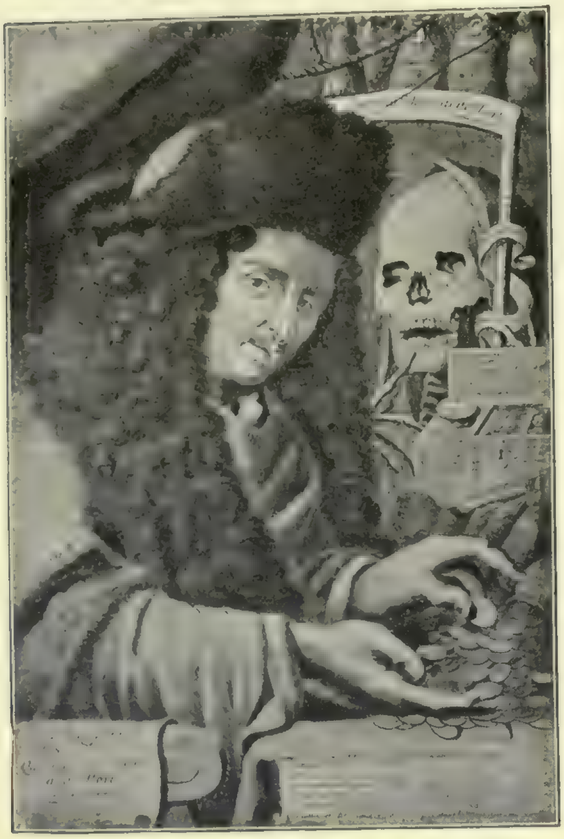
Public feeling was especially outraged by the act of the Chancellor in causing one of the judges, named Roquesante, who had chiefly influenced the tribunal towards leniency, to be exiled. Fouquet was imprisoned in the Château de Pignerol. All historians state that he died there in 1680; but Gourville asserts that Fouquet came out of prison some years before his death. The Comtesse de Vaux, his daughter-in-law, had already affirmed this to me personally; nevertheless the family gives no credit to it. And so it is not known where the unfortunate man, whose least actions and movements were so widely published in the days of his power, ended his life.


MICHAEL LE TELLIER FRANCIÆ CANCELLARIUS
PRUDENS ET SECUNDIS DUBIISQ. RECTUS
AN M·DC·LXXIX.
P. Van Schuppen

COMPOSITION IN THE FORM OF A MEDAL IN HONOUR OF CHANCELLOR LE TELLIER.
(By Van Schuppen, 1679.)

Guénégaud, the Secretary of State, who sold his post to Colbert, was prosecuted by the Chamber of Justice, notwithstanding, and deprived of the greater part of his fortune.

Saint-Évremond was connected with Fouquet in his disgrace. Certain papers entrusted to Madame du Plessis-Bellière, which had been seized by order of Colbert, and the manuscript letter of Saint-Évremond on the "Peace of the Pyrenees" was found among them. This jesting production was read to the King and made to appear as a State offence. Colbert, who did not deign to avenge himself upon Hesnault, an obscure person, persecuted in Saint-Évremond the friend of Fouquet, whom he hated, and the wit whom he feared. The King was so ruthless as to punish an innocent jest aimed long before at Cardinal Mazarin, whom he did not regret, and whom the Court had insulted, calumniated and proscribed with entire impunity during several years. The least cutting of a thousand satires upon the Cardinal-Minister was the only one ever punished, and that after his death.



THE REVENUE-FARMER, OR THE MISER.
(Engraving by Landry.)

Saint-Évremond lived and died in retirement in England, as a free man and a philosopher. The Marquis de Miremont, his friend, maintained that there was another cause for his downfall, and Saint-Évremond never could be induced to explain it. When Louis XIV. gave permission for Saint-Évremond to return to France at the close of his life, the philosopher disdained to regard the royal permission as a favour; he held that one's country is where one is happy, and he was happy in London.

The new Finance Minister, under the simple title of Comptroller-General, justified the severity with which he had acted, by re-establishing the order that his predecessors had disturbed, and working with unremitting energy for the benefit and greatness of the State.

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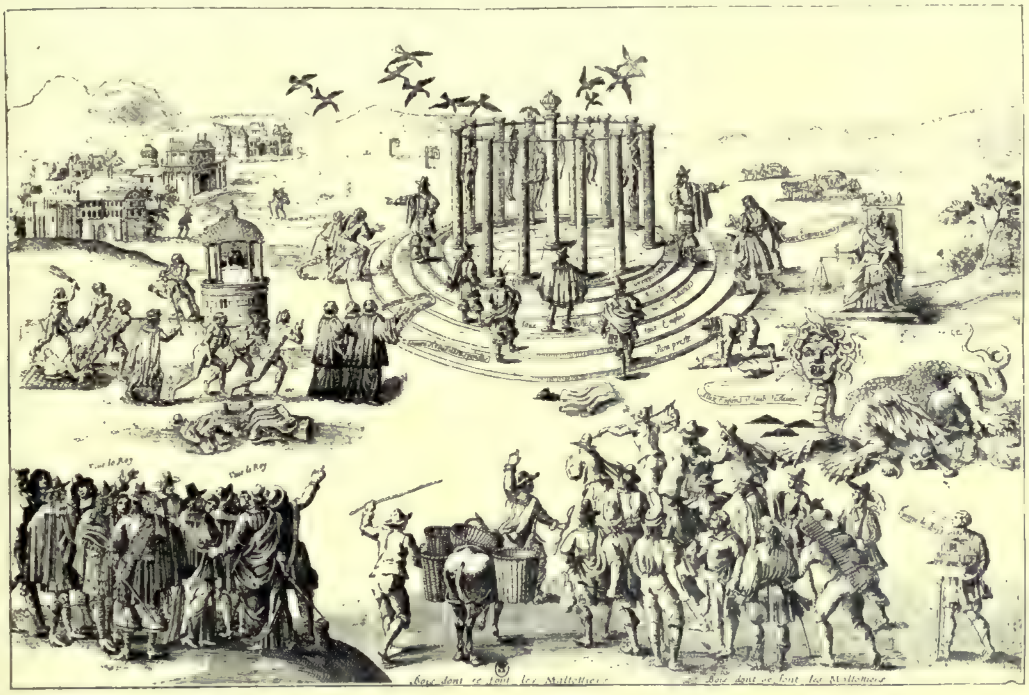
We have trustworthy testimony to the excessive severity of Colbert towards Fouquet, from d'Ormesson, who was "reporter" on the occasion of the trial, and forfeited the King's favour by saving the life of Fouquet.

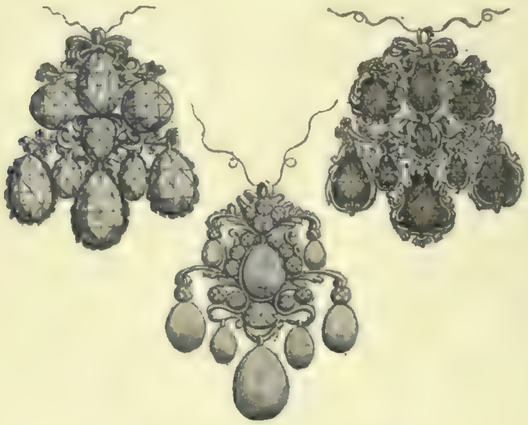
"Here is the end," he writes in his journal, "of that great trial of which all France talked from the day of its beginning until the day of its termination. Its greatness, however, consisted mainly of the quality of the accused and the importance of the affair, and principally of Berryer, who introduced a thousand useless things in order to make himself the most necessary and chief person in affairs, and to prolong the time so as to make his fortune secure. Such conduct he was acting against the interests of M. Colbert, who craved only for its end and its result, and he did not fail to throw the fault on all the most honest people of the Court. . . . The bias of enmity and the arbitrary use of authority which appeared in all the incidents of the trial, and the falsehoods of Berryer, have been the chief means of saving M. Fouquet from the capital sentence; and the disposition of men's minds in the matter has been manifested by the rejoicing of the public, from the highest to the lowest, in the safety of the ex-Superintendent. This has been carried to an excess not to be described, universal benedictions being lavished on the judges who saved him, and on the others curses and every mark of hatred and contempt—songs in the first place."


Vive le Roy
Vive le Roy
Bois dont se font les Maltotiers
Bois dont se font les Maltotiers

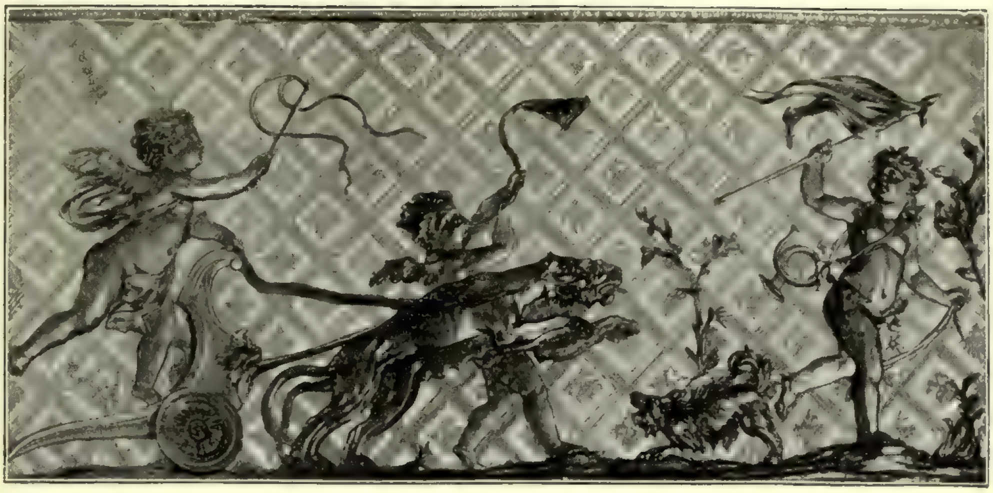
A SATIRICAL PRINT. THE REVENUE-FARMERS PUNISHED BY THE ROYAL JUSTICE. (1661.)

D'Ormesson is certainly less equitable, being embittered by resentment, when he judges and condemns the very popular proceedings which were instituted against the revenue-farmers after the trial and sentence of the Superintendent.

"On the 18th of October, 1665, M. Le Pelletier sent for me to go to supper at the house of M. Boucherat, with M. Brillac. There I learned that the taxes of the Chamber of Justice have been settled, and the contract signed before the King at a hundred and ten millions; this is a resolution which astonishes everybody. It ruins the creditors of the financiers; it ruins all money dealings with men of business; it ruins the King, because financiers, no longer having credit, will not be able to make advances to the King, and it is certain that after these taxes shall *not* have been paid this maximum will have to be abolished. It is certified every day that there are taxes so extraordinarily heavy that they amount to at least the whole property of the taxpayers, and it appears impossible that they can be realised. The hardship of these taxes is a subject of general complaint."



JEWELS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
(From drawings by Gilles l'Égaré.)

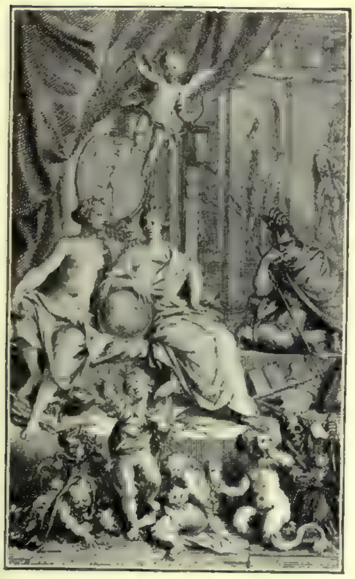


FRIEZE OF THE SALON DE L'ŒIL DE BŒUF.

(Bas-relief by Van Cleve in gilded stucco.—Château de Versailles.)

## II.

## THE BIRTH OF THE GREAT CENTURY.

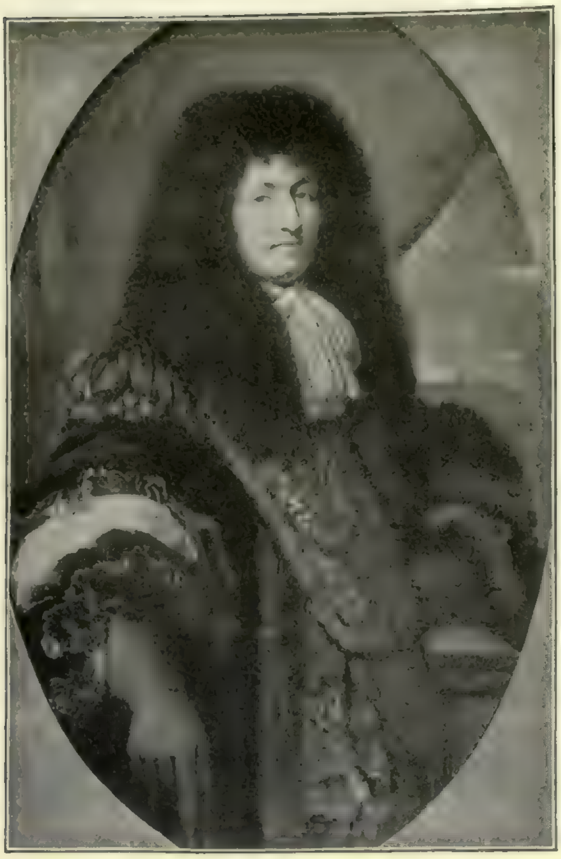


GALLANT FRANCE.

(Print, eighteenth century—touching the King's love affairs.)

THE Court became the headquarters of pleasure and the model of the other European Courts. The King piqued himself upon giving fêtes which should cast those of Vaux into the shade.

France boasted at that period the greatest men in all the arts, and all that was finest and fairest among men and women were assembled at the Court of her King. Louis surpassed all his courtiers in symmetry of form and the majestic beauty of his features. The tones of his noble and touching voice won the hearts of those who were intimidated by his presence. His gait and bearing became himself only and would have been ridiculous in any other. The embarrassment of persons who spoke to him was a secret gratification to his sense of superiority./ The old officer who grew confused, stammered in asking a favour of him, and at last, being unable to proceed, said: "Sire, I do not tremble thus in presence of your enemies," got what he wanted readily enough.



LOUIS XIV. AS A YOUNG MAN.
(From an anonymous picture in the Louvre.)

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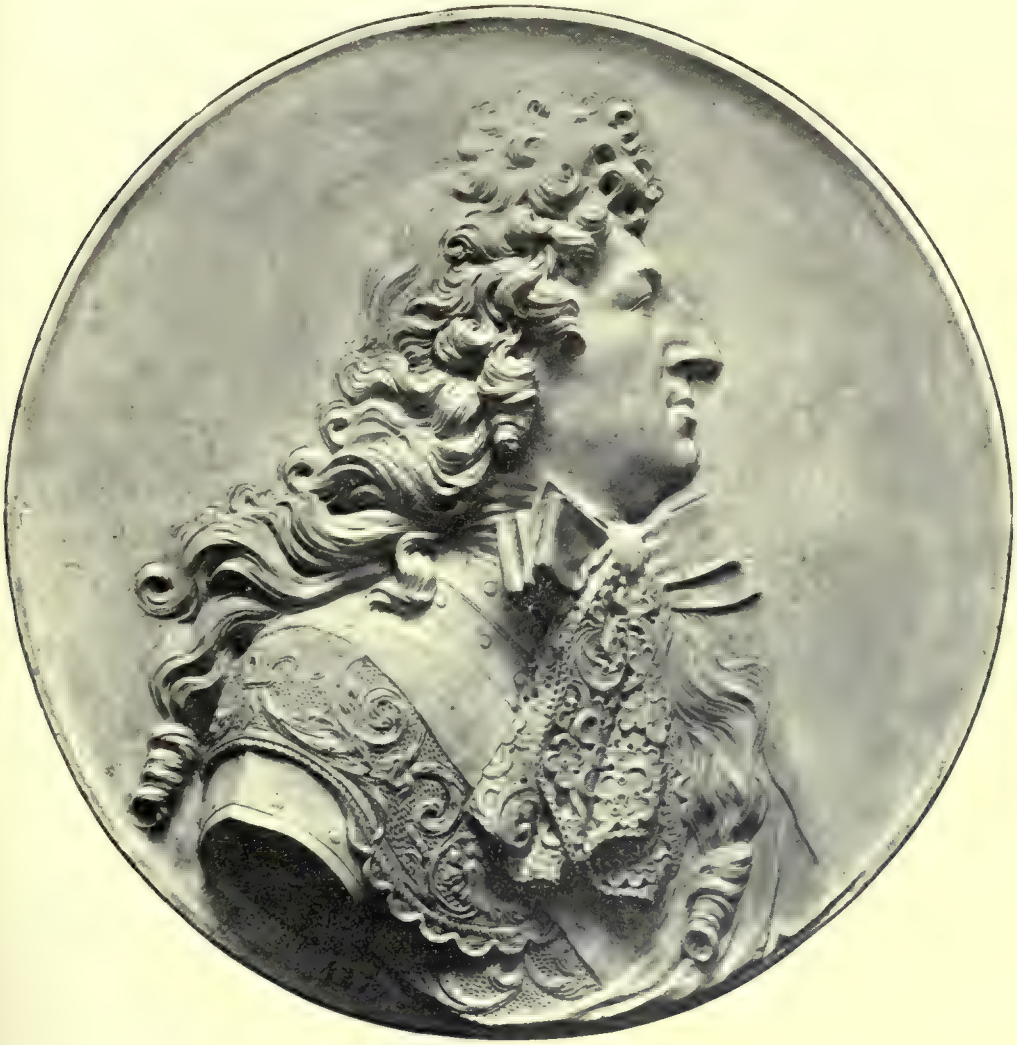
"He was," says Madame de Motteville, "amiable, kind and easy of access to everybody, with a lofty and serious air that inspired respect and fear in the public, and prevented those whom he held in most consideration from making free with him even in private, although he was familiar and merry with ladies."

Says Saint-Simon: "It was in this brilliant society that the King assumed the air of politeness and gallantry which he retained throughout his whole life, and so happily combined with propriety and majesty. It may be said that he was made for that Court, and that in the midst of all the other men his stature, his carriage, his beauty, and the grand mien which survived that beauty, even to the tones of his voice, and the alertness and naturally majestic grace of all his person, caused him to be distinguished to the hour of his death as 'the King of the bees.' It may also be said that, had he been born only a private gentleman, he would equally have possessed the secret of fêtes and pleasure, of gallantry and fascination.

MEDALLION OF LOUIS XIV., BY BERTINETTI.
(Collection of Baron Jérôme Pichon.)

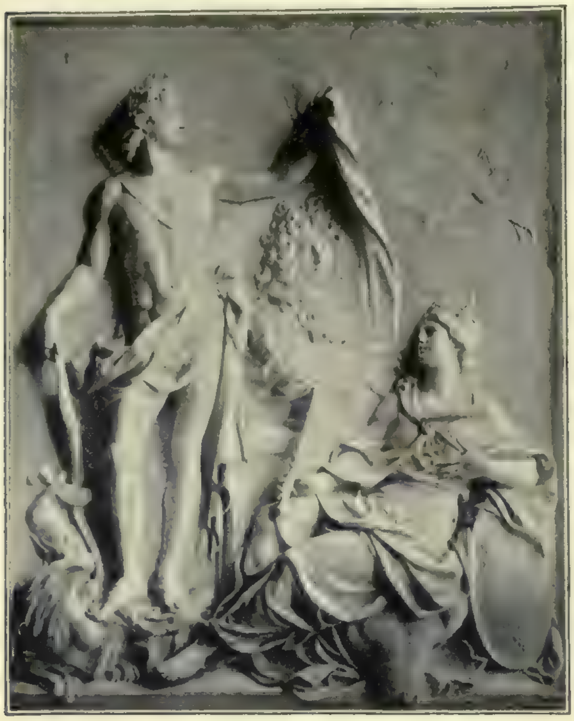
"His gallantry was always majestic, although it could sometimes be gay, and in public there never was anything unbecoming in it. But even to the slightest gesture, his walk, his deportment, his countenance, all was circumspect, becoming, noble, grand, majestic, imposing, and yet quite natural. To this the incomparable and unique superiority of his whole person gave great facility.



LOUIS XIV.—MEDALLION BY PIERRE PUGET.
(Musée de Versailles.)

"In serious things also, such as ambassadors' audiences, no man ever impressed me so deeply, and one had to begin by accustoming oneself to see him if one would not run the risk of stopping short in addressing him. His answers on these occasions were always brief, exact, full, and very rarely without something pleasing, sometimes even flattering, when the address deserved it. The respect also which his presence inspired, wherever he might be, imposed silence and even a sort of fear.

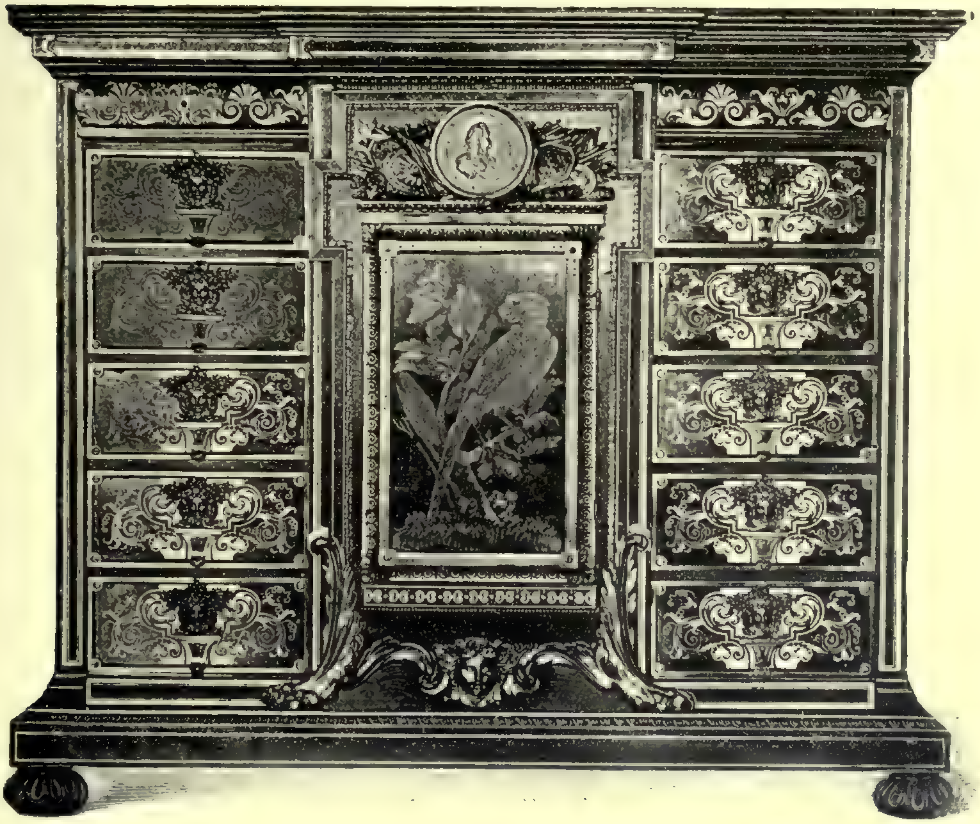
"He loved open-air exercise and sports. In youth he excelled in dancing, pall-mall and tennis. In his old age he was still an admirable horseman. He liked to see all these things done with skill and grace. To acquit oneself well or ill in them was to merit or to lose his favour. He said that things which were not necessary ought to be done well, or not done at all. He was very fond of shooting, and there was no such good shot as he. He had excellent setters, and kept seven or eight in his rooms, and liked to feed them himself, so that they should know him. He was very fond of stag-hunting, but followed on wheels, after he broke his arm in hunting at Fontainebleau, shortly after the death of the Queen. He sat alone in his equipage, a hooded carriage drawn by four ponies, with five or six relays, and he drove at full speed with skill equal to that of the best coachman, and always as gracefully as he did everything else."



APOLLO PRESENTING THE IMAGE OF LOUIS XIV. TO FRANCE.
(Bas-relief in marble by Couston.—Musée du Louvre.)

This last feature is the essential note of the fair portrait of Louis XIV. which Saint-Simon has drawn for us. Majestic and handsome in his youth, the King possessed above all "grace still more beautiful than beauty." His ascendency over all about him is unfairly judged if it be attributed to authority and the prestige of autocratic power only. Frenchmen, on first approaching him, recognised that leading quality—grace, and all combined with Saint-Simon to acknowledge and to praise it.

La Bruyère depicts him in his ideal sovereign: "How many gifts are needed for reigning well? August birth, an air of empire and authority, a face which satisfies the curiosity of the people, eager to behold the prince, and preserves respect in the courtier, a perfectly even temper, a ready and pleasant wit, an heart open, sincere, and into whose depths one may look to facility in making friends for himself, also creatures and allies, seriousness and gravity in public, brevity united with accuracy and dignity, whether in addressing ambassadors or in council, and a manner of conferring favours which doubles their value."



CABINET BY BOULE, WITH A MEDALLION OF THE KING IN THE CENTRE.

(From the Collection in the Mobilier National.
Château de Versailles.—The King's Chamber.)

Racine, praising Titus by the lips of Berenice, gives a similar picture of Louis XVI., his power and his grace :—

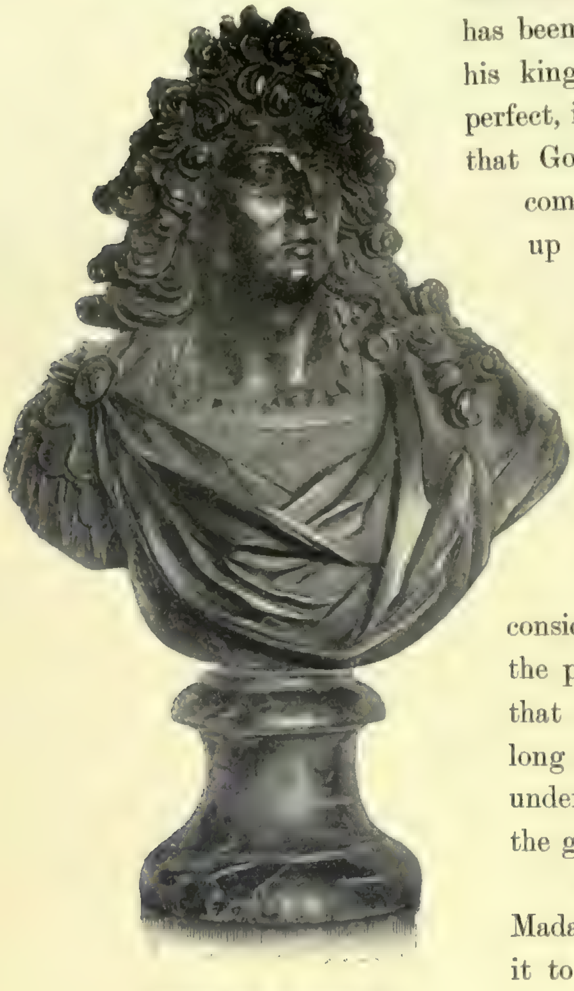
De cette nuit, Phénice, as-tu vu la splendeur ?
Tes yeux ne sont-ils pas tous pleins de sa grandeur ?
Ces flambeaux, ce bûcher, cette nuit enflammée,
Ces aigles, ces faisceaux, ce peuple, cette armée,
Cette foule de rois, ces consuls, ce sénat,
Qui tous de mon amant empruntaient leur éclat ;
Cette pourpre, cet or, que rehaussait sa gloire,
Et ces lauriers encor témoins de sa victoire ;
Tous ces yeux qu'on voyait venir de toutes parts
Confondre sur lui seul leurs avides regards ;
Ce port majestueux, cette douce présence.
Ciel ! avec quel respect et quelle complaisance
Tous les cœurs en secret l'assuraient de leur foi !
Parle, peut-on le voir sans penser comme moi
Qu'en quelque obscurité que le sort l'eût fait naître,
Le monde, en le voyant, eût reconnu son maître ?

Madame Lafayette gives the same impressions, even with her reservations. To his contemporaries he presented a type of the finished and perfect man.

"The King could only be depicted by his actions. A judgment of him may be formed by what we have to say. He will be regarded no doubt as one of the greatest kings that ever has been, and one of the most honest men in his kingdom, and it might be said the most perfect, if he were not so miserly of the intellect that God has given him, if he would let it come out completely, instead of shutting it up so closely in the majesty of his rank."

Bestowed by so clever a woman, this is no commonplace eulogium. It explains and comments upon the kind of adoration and worship of which Louis XIV. was the object, and which was offered at least as much to his person as to his rank and authority. "Whosoever shall consider," says La Bruyère, "that the face of the prince makes the felicity of the courtier, that he is occupied and satisfied all his life long with seeing it and being seen by it, can understand a little how it is God constitutes the glory and the happiness of the saints."

La Bruyère ridicules such adoration. Madame de Sévigné shared it, and described it to Madame de Guiche on her return from a sojourn at Versailles:—



BRONZE BUST OF LOUIS XIV.
(Château de Versailles.)

"That which gives me the utmost pleasure," she writes, "is to pass our four hours with the King, to be in his pleasures and he in ours; this is also the contentment of a whole kingdom, which passionately loves to behold its master."

Bossuet, while adding some criticism, so just that it enables us to regard him, not as a courtier, but almost as a judge, said before the face of Louis XIV. :—

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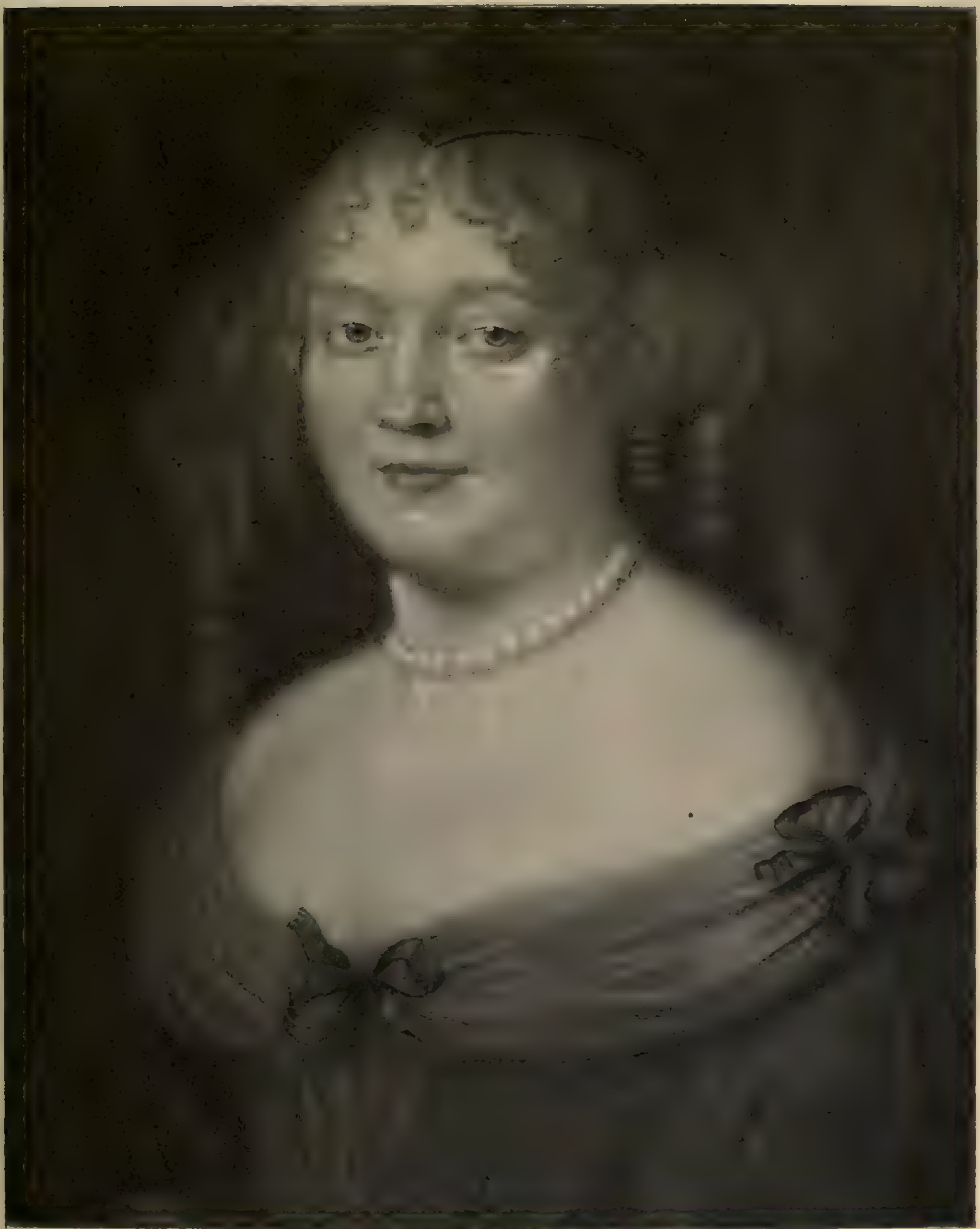

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La Marquise de Sévigné
Pastel de R. Nanteuil
Appartenant au Comte de Laubespin

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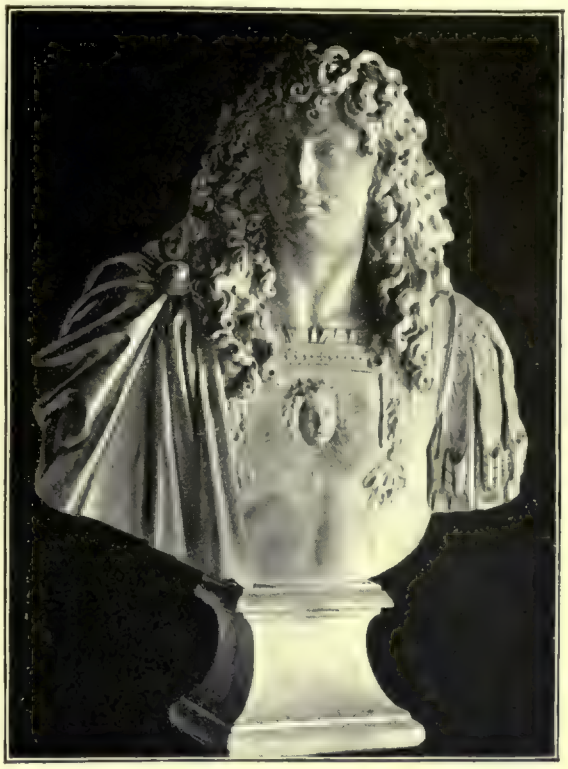
"It is no flattery of your Majesty, sire, to tell the King that he was born with great qualities. Yes, you were born to attract the love and respect of all your people. You ought to make it your high object to be feared by enemies of the State and evil-doers only; let all the rest love you, place in you their consolation and their hope, and receive relief for their ills at your hands. This, of all your obligations, is the most essential; this, Sire, is what God commands, and what He requires the more urgently from you, in that He has given you all the qualities for the execution of so fair a design: penetration, firmness, kindness, gentleness, authority, patience. . . ."

This testimony by French writers is supported by the evidence of foreigners, which may perhaps command more implicit credence.

Massi, the ambassador from the Republic of Venice, who saw the King at the outset of his career, writes, on the 3rd of February, 1660: "I cannot describe His Majesty, and at the same time the affability and the grace that he displayed."



BUST OF LOUIS XIV., BY WARIN.
(Musée de Versailles.)

Spanheim, the ambassador from Brandenburg, saw Louis XIV. thirty years later, in the full splendour of his reign, and passes the same judgment on him: "The attractions of his person are his figure, his carriage, air, and fine bearing, an exterior full of grandeur and majesty, and a bodily constitution fit to sustain the fatigues and the burden of so great a post, to which may be added that he most happily mingles greatness and familiarity in his private conversations, and bears himself in them without either haughtiness or over-condescension. His inclinations naturally tend to rectitude, justice and equity. He takes pleasure in doing good of his own choice or when moved to it."

To form a just conclusion, to know Louis XIV. as he really was, without a shadow of flattery, we must return to Saint-Simon. Have the painters and sculptors of the period left us a picture more full of colour or a statue more full of life than this?

"The stature of a hero, his whole figure so naturally endowed with majesty that it was equally evident in the slightest gestures and the most ordinary actions, without any air of pride, but simple gravity; so admirably well made and proportioned that sculptors might have sought him for their model; a perfect face, with the finest countenance and the grandest air that ever man had.

"All these advantages were enhanced by the most natural grace, and, what has been given to no other, he wore this air of grandeur and majesty in his dressing-gown, to the point of one's being unable to bear his glance, just the same as in the attire of fêtes or ceremonies, or on horseback at the head of his troops. He had excelled in all bodily exercises, and he liked to see them well done. Neither fatigue nor inclemency of weather told on him or made any impression on that heroic face; showing through rain, snow, cold, sweat, or covered with dust, it was always the same.

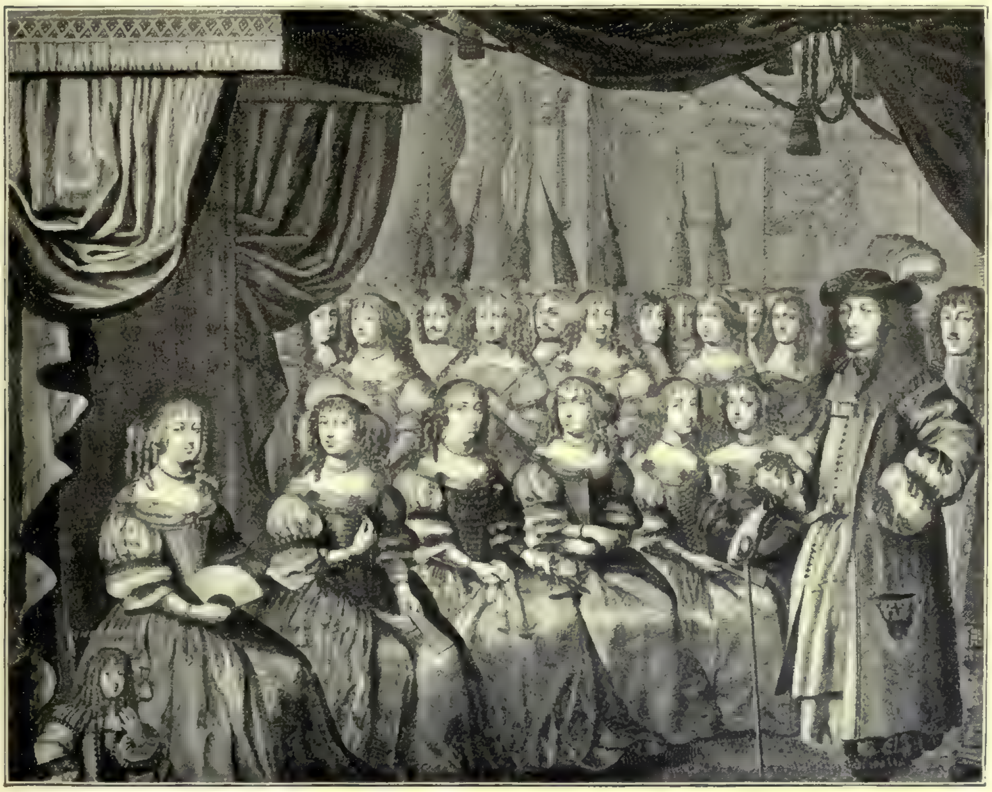
"I have frequently witnessed this with admiration, for, unless it were weather of extreme and rare severity, nothing kept him from going out every day and staying out a long time.

"A voice whose tones answered to all the rest, a facility of speaking well and listening courteously, and better than any other, much reserve, politeness always grave, always majestic, always discriminating according to age, rank, sex, and for *the* sex ever that natural gallantry.

"So much for the exterior, which never had its like or anything approaching it."

⁂

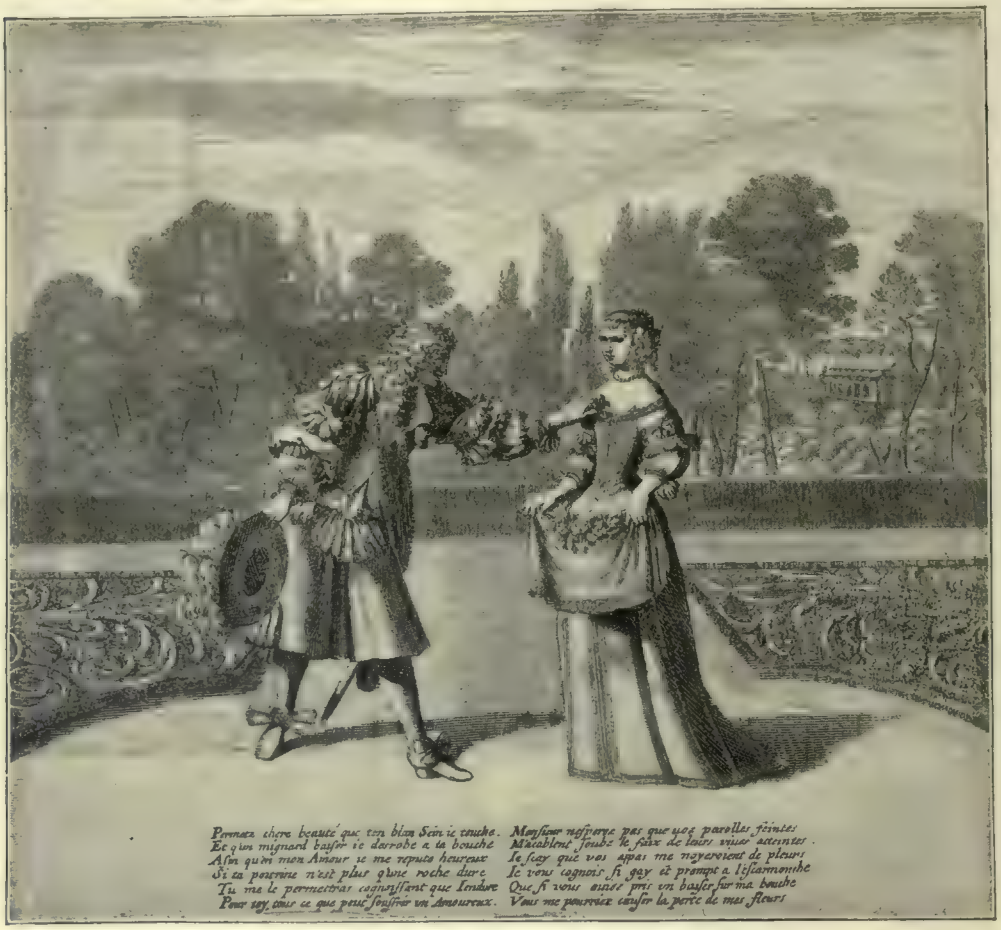
The taste for society had not yet reached its height at Court. The Queen-mother, Anne of Austria, was beginning to like retirement. The Queen hardly knew the French language, and goodness was her only merit. Princess Henrietta of England, the King's sister-in-law, contributed to the Court circle pleasant, lively conversation, adorned and kept up by her reading of good books and her pure and refined taste. She studied the language of her adopted country and became perfect in it. At the time of her marriage she wrote French badly. She inspired intellectual emulation, and introduced an elegant politeness and other graces at the Court of Louis XIV., hardly dreamed of by the rest of Europe. Madame had all the wit of Charles II., her brother, embellished by the charm of her sex, and also by the wish and the power to please. The Court of the Sun-King was a centre of gallantry, tempered and enhanced by propriety. At the Court of Charles II. gallantry also reigned, but it was of a coarser kind. At first there was a good deal of the play of bright wits and of the mutual understanding common enough when congenial spirits meet frequently at small entertainments. The King sent verses to Madame, she replied, and the Marquis de Dangeau was the confidant of both in this amusing exchange of communications, not genuine on either side. The King employed him to write for him, and the Princess employed him to reply for her. Thus did he serve them both, unsuspected by either; and this was one of the means by which his fortune was made.



LOUIS XIV. AND THE COURT LADIES, 1665.

(From an Almanac of the period.)

The mutual understanding between the King and his sister-in-law alarmed the royal family. The King reduced their association to terms of single-minded friendship, which never altered, thus modifying its notoriety. When, at a later period, Madame set Racine and Corneille to work on the tragedy of *Bérénice*, she had in view not only the breach between Louis XIV. and Colonne, but the check which she herself had put upon her affection for the King, lest it might become dangerous. Louis XIV. is clearly enough designated in these two lines of Racine's *Bérénice*—


Permets chere beauté que ton blan Sein ie touche.
Et qu'vn mignard baiſer ie derobe a ta bouche
Afin qu'en mon Amour ie me repute heureux
Si ta poitrine n'est plus qu'une roche dure
Tu me le permettras cognoiſſant que I'endure
Pour toy, tout ce que peut ſouffrir vn Amoureux.
Monſieur n'eſperez pas que vos parolles feintes
M'acablent ſoubs le faix de leurs viues atteintes.
Ie ſcay que vos appas me noyeroient de pleurs
Ie vous cognois ſi gay et prompt a l'eſcarmouche
Que ſi vous auiez pris vn baiser ſur ma bouche
Vous me pourriez cauſer la perte de mes fleurs

FRENCH GALLANTRY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

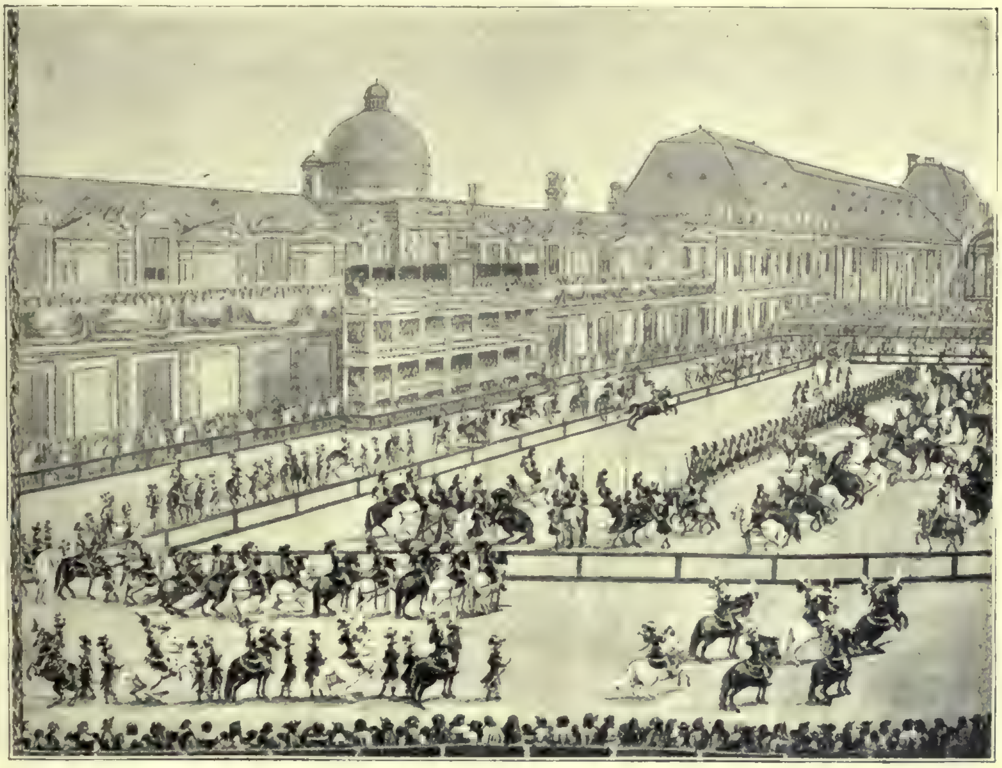
(From a print of the period.)

Qu'en quelque obscurité que le sort l'eût fait naître,
Le monde, en le voyant, eût reconnu son maître.

These amusements gave place to his serious and lasting passion for

Mademoiselle de La Vallière, maid of honour to Madame. A young man named Belloc, *valet de chambre* to the King, composed several *récits*, or musical recitals with dances interspersed. These were performed sometimes in the Queen's apartment, sometimes in Madame's, and gave sweet mysterious utterance to the secret of the two hearts that soon ceased to be a secret.

All the public entertainments given by the King were so many acts of homage to his mistress. In 1662 a tournament was held in the wide space in front of the Tuileries, which retained thenceforth the name of Place du Carrousel. There were five "quadrilles" or sets of jousters. The King was at the head of the Romans, his brother led the Persians, the Prince de Condé the Turks, the Duc d'Enghien (his son) the Indians, and the Duc de Guise the Americans. This Duc de Guise was the grandson of Le Balafré, and renowned for the luckless audacity with which he had attempted to make himself master of Naples. His imprisonment, his



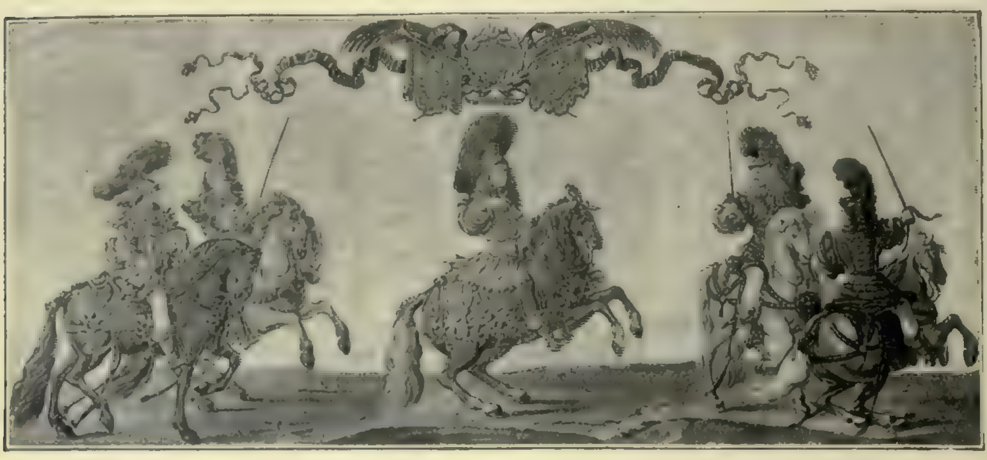
THE ROYAL TOURNAMENT IN THE COURTYARD OF THE TUILERIES, 1662: A QUADRILLE.

(From the Illustrated Collection by Fr. Chauveau, *Courses de têtes et de bagues*. Illuminated copy in the Versailles Library.)

duels, his romantic love affairs, his extravagance and his adventures, made him every way remarkable. He seemed to belong to another century. It was said of him, on his being seen jousting with the great Condé: "There go the heroes of history and fable."

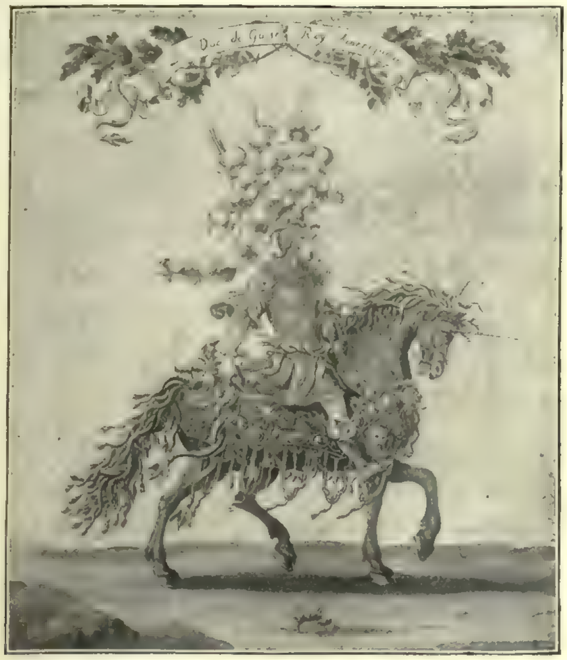
The Queen-mother, the Queen, and the Queen-Dowager of England, widow of Charles I., witnessed the spectacle from a dais. The Comte de Sault, son of the Duc de Lesdiguières, carried off the prize and received it from the hands of Anne of Austria.

On the occasion of this famous carrousel an antiquary named Douvrier invented for Louis XIV. the emblem of a sun darting its rays upon a globe, with these words: "Nec pluribus impar." The idea bore some resemblance to a Spanish device made for Philip II., and more suitable to the monarch who possessed the fairest portion of the New World and so great a kingdom in the old, than to a young King of France who as yet gave only hopes of a great future. The emblem had a prodigious success. The King's armorial bearings, the Crown furniture, tapestries and carriages were adorned with it. The King never used it at his tournaments. He has been unjustly reproached with the boastfulness of this motto, as though he had chosen it himself; and it has been more fairly criticised on its own account. The substance does not represent what the legend signifies, and that legend is not sufficiently clear and precise. That which may be explained in many ways is not worth explanation. Mottoes—a relic of the old chivalry—are pleasing when the

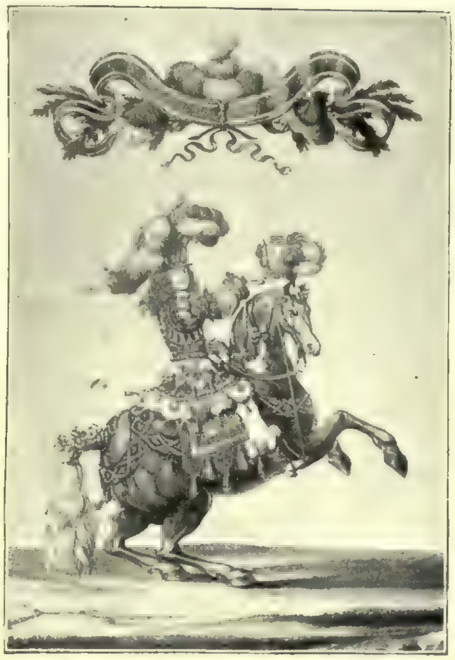


THE KING AS ROMAN EMPEROR AT THE TOURNAMENT OF 1662.

(Collection of *Courses de têtes et de bagues*. Illuminated copy in the Versailles Library.)


Duc de Guise Roy Americquain

THE DUC DE GUISE AS KING OF THE AMERICANS AT THE TOURNAMENT OF 1662.



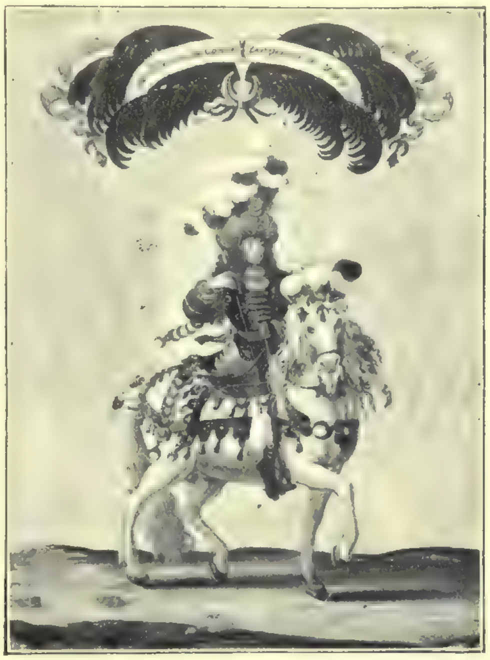
THE DUC D'ENGHIEN AS KING OF THE INDIES AT THE TOURNAMENT OF 1662.

(From the Collection in the Imprimerie Royale, *Courses de têtes et de bagues.*)

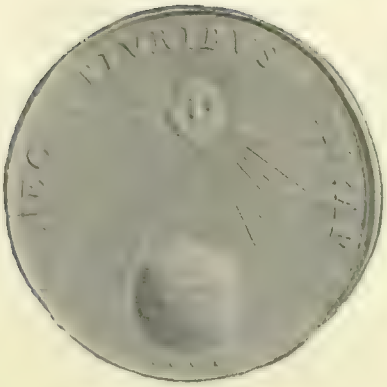
allusions are true, new and striking; but it is better to have none than to adopt contemptible ones, like that of Louis XII.—a porcupine with these words: "Qui s'y frotte, s'y pique."

The fête of Versailles, in 1664, surpassed that of the tournament by its singularity, its magnificence, and the intellectual pleasures which lent to the splendour of the entertainment a flavour and a charm unknown at any former festival. Versailles had already become a delightful place of abode at that period, but did not yet approach its later grandeur.

On the 5th of May, 1665, the King came to the château with the Court, comprising six hundred

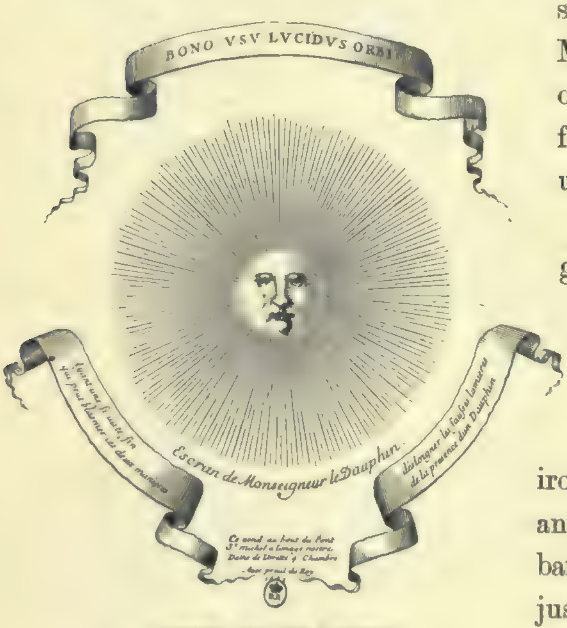


THE PRINCE DE CONDÉ AS EMPEROR OF THE TURKS AT THE TOURNAMENT OF 1662.



"NEC PLURIBUS IMPAR."
(Medal in honour of Louis XIV., 1664.)

persons, with their attendants. The expenses of all, and also of those employed in preparing the enchanting spectacle, were defrayed. Nothing was wanting to these fêtes except buildings constructed expressly for the purpose of giving them, such as the Greeks and Romans had; but the promptitude with which theatres, amphitheatres and porticoes, ornamented with equal taste and magnificence, were erected, was a marvel, and as these were diversified in a thousand ways they added to the effect of the spectacle. The proceedings opened with a tournament. Those who were to enter the lists appeared on the first day in review order, preceded by heralds, pages and esquires, who carried their mottoes and shields; verses by Perigni and Benserade were inscribed on the latter in letters of gold. Benserade had a special talent for these *pièces galantes*, in which he always made delicate reference to the characters of the individuals, to the personages of antiquity or fable who were represented, and to the love affairs of the Court. The King personated Roger; all the Crown diamonds adorned his costume and the horse he rode. The three queens and three hundred ladies witnessed this superb spectacle. All eyes were fixed upon His Majesty, but the King sought only those of Mademoiselle de La Vallière. The fête was solely for her; she beheld it unnoticed in the crowd.


BONO VSV LVCIDVS ORBI
Escran de Monseigneur le Dauphin.
déslongner les fausses lumieres
de la presence d'un Dauphin

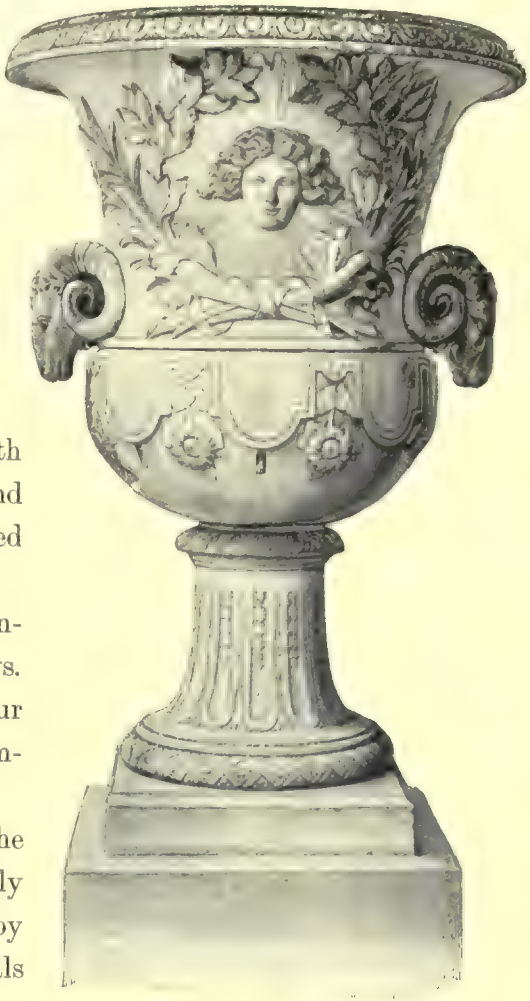
SCREEN FOR THE DAUPHIN.
(With a device in honour of the King.)

The cavalcade was followed by a gilded car, eighteen feet in height, fifteen in width, and twenty-four in length, representing the chariot of the Sun, and was followed on foot by the four Ages—gold, silver, bronze, and iron—the signs of the Zodiac, the Seasons, and the Hours. Shepherds carried wooden bars for the barriers, which were adjusted by sound of trumpet, succeeded at intervals by violins and musettes.

Then came certain personages who recited verses appropriate to the time, the place, the King, the ladies, and the three queens. When the games were over and evening had come, four thousand huge torches lighted up the space where the fêtes were given, and tables were served there by two hundred persons, who represented the seasons, fauns, sylvans, and dryads, with shepherds, grape-gatherers, and harvest-men. Pan and Diana advanced upon a moving hill, and stepped down from it to bid spread the tables with the most delicious products of field and forest. Suddenly, from behind the tables, arose a stage occupied by a concert orchestra in a semicircle. The arcades surrounding the tables and the stage were adorned with five hundred chandeliers in green and silver, bearing wax-lights, and a gilded balustrade enclosed the vast space.

These fêtes, which surpassed the inventions of romance, lasted for seven days. The King won the prize in the games four times, and left his four prizes to be competed for by the other knights.

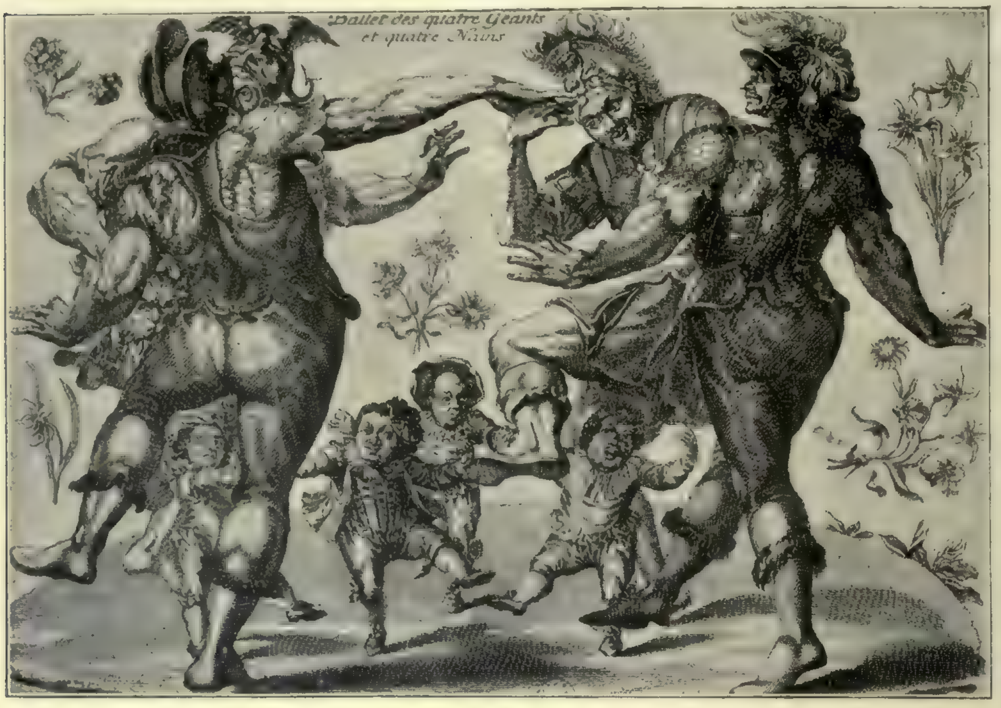
*La Princesse d'Élide* is not one of the best comedies of Molière, but it sensibly enhanced the pleasures of the games by a multitude of allegories on the morals and manners of the time, and by its *à-propos*, which delighted the people of those days, but are lost to posterity. Judicial astrology was still in high favour at Court; several princes held the vain-glorious superstition that nature had distinguished them even to the extent of writing their destinies in the stars. Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, father of the Duchesse de Bourgogne, had an astrologer with him always, even after his abdication. Molière ventured to attack this craze in *Les Amants Magnifiques*, which was played at a fête in 1670.



LARGE VASE ON THE TERRACE AT VERSAILLES WITH THE ARMS OF THE SUN-KING.

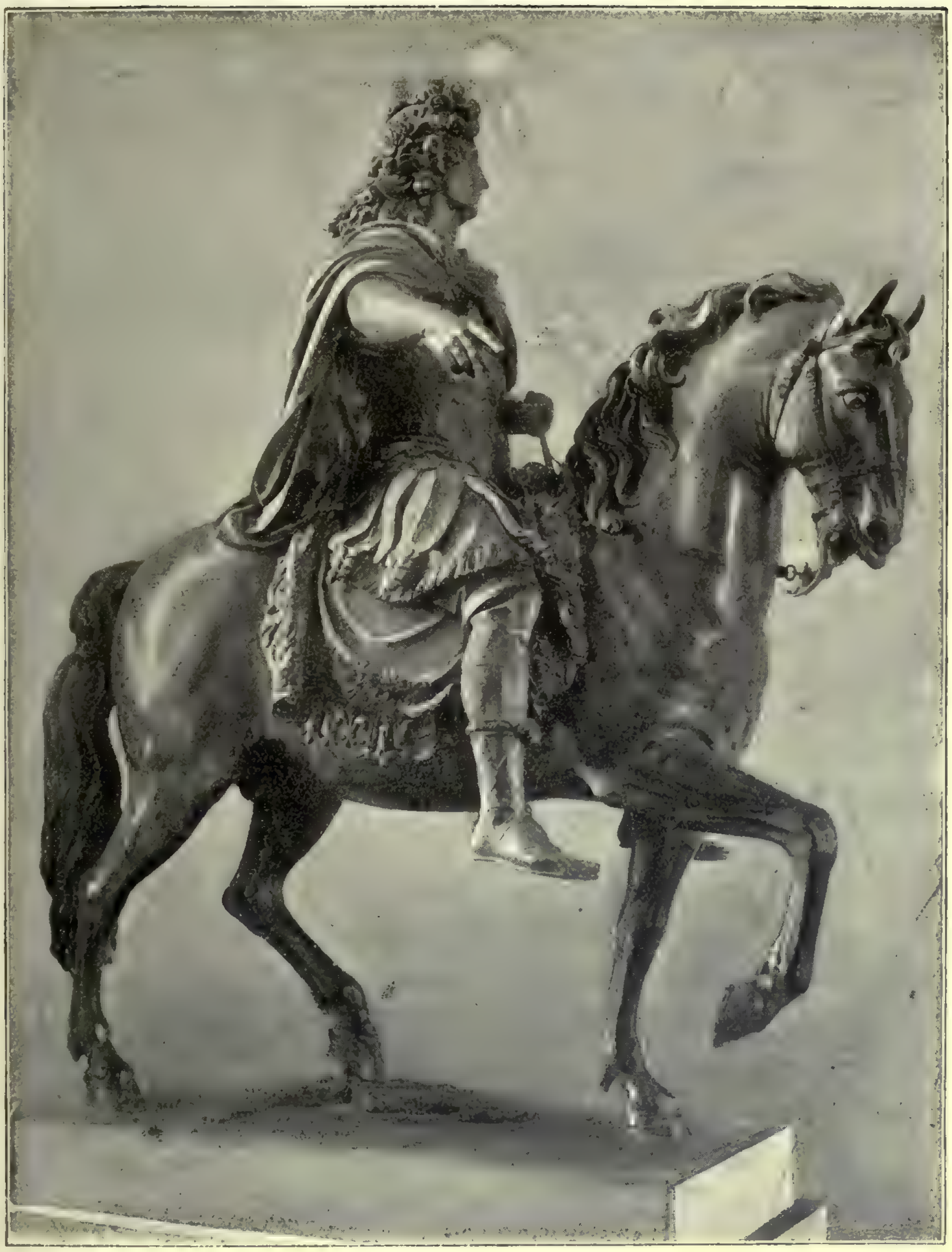
(The work of Dugoulon and Drouilly.)

In *Les Amants Magnifiques* there is also a Court fool. These poor creatures were still in fashion. This was a remnant of barbarism which lasted longer in Germany than elsewhere. The need of amusement, which could not be procured of a proper and pleasing kind in the times of ignorance and bad taste, led to the adoption of so degrading a diversion. The Court fool at this period had formerly belonged to the Prince de Condé; his name was l'Angeli. The Comte de Grammont said that of all the fools who had followed Monsieur le Prince, l'Angeli was the only one who had made his fortune. This buffoon was not lacking in wit. It was he who said that he "did not go to the sermon because he did like to *brawl* at it, and did not know how to *answer* it."



BALLET OF THE GIANTS AND DWARFS AT THE COURT OF LOUIS XIV.
(From a print of the period.)

*Le Mariage Forcé* was also played at the fête of 1664. But the most admirable feature of the entertainment was the representation of the three first acts of *Le Tartufe*. The King desired to see this masterpiece even before it was finished. He afterwards protected it against the sham devotees who moved heaven and earth to suppress it, and it will live, as has already been said, "while taste and hypocrites exist in France."

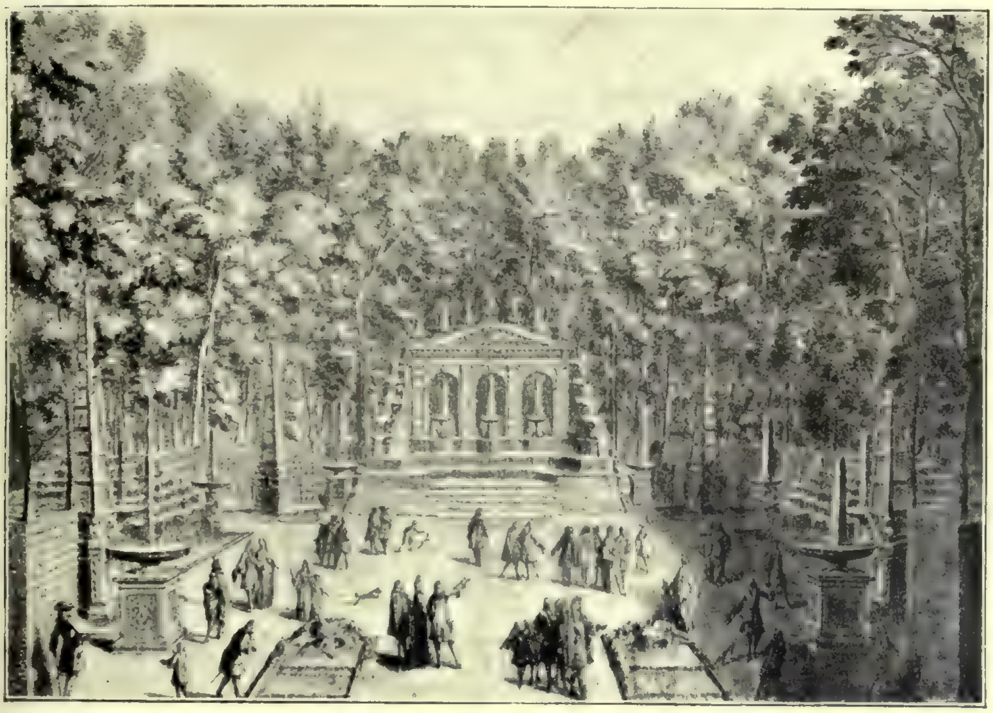


LOUIS XIV.—EQUESTRIAN STATUE BY GIRARDON FOR THE PLACE VENDÔME.

(From the reduction in bronze at the Musée du Louvre.)

For the most part these brilliant festivities appeal to the eye and ear only. Mere pomp and magnificence pass away into swift oblivion; but when masterpieces of art like *Le Tartufe* adorn such entertainments the remembrance of them is eternal.

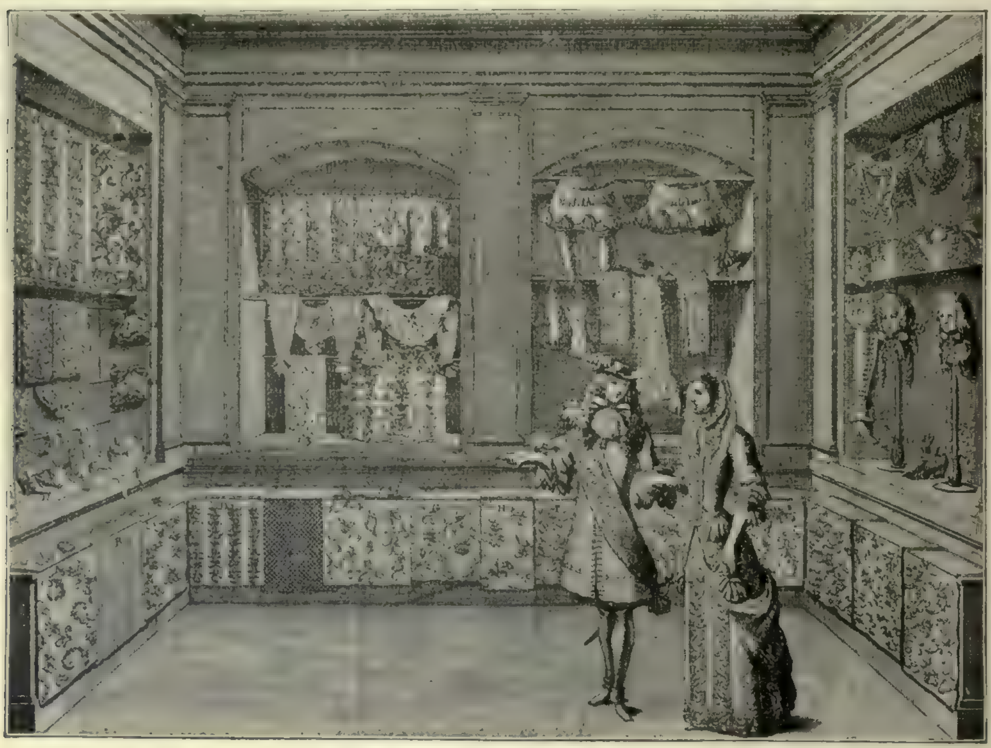
Several passages of the allegories by Benserade, which formed the setting of the ballets, are still remembered. I shall quote only these lines written for the King, who represented the Sun—



THE COURT IN THE ARC DE TRIOMPHE GROVE, VERSAILLES PARK.
(From a drawing of the period.—Musée de Versailles.)

Je doute qu'on le prenne avec vous sur le ton
De Daphné ni de Phaéton,
Lui trop ambitieux, elle trop inhumaine.
Il n'est point là de piège où vous puissiez donner:
Le moyen de s'imaginer
Qu'une femme vous fuie, et qu'un homme vous mène?

It must be said to the King's praise that the amusements which brought taste, talent, and politeness to perfection in France, did not turn him from the unremitting labour of government, without which he would merely have held a Court becomingly, not reigned supremely well; and if the magnificent pleasures of that Court had flouted the poverty of the people they would have been odious; but the same man who gave these fêtes gave bread to the people in the dearth of 1662. He sent for corn—which the rich were buying at a low price—and gave it away to poor families at the gate of the Louvre; he remitted three millions of taxes to the people. No part of the internal administration of the kingdom was neglected. His Government was respected abroad. The King of Spain was obliged to yield precedence to him; the Pope was forced to make satisfaction to him; Dunkirk was added to France; indeed all his actions, once the reins of power were in his own hands, were either noble or useful; after that he did well to give fêtes.



THE DETAILS OF A COURTIER'S ATTIRE.
(From a contemporary engraving, *La Garde-robe des hommes.*)

⁂

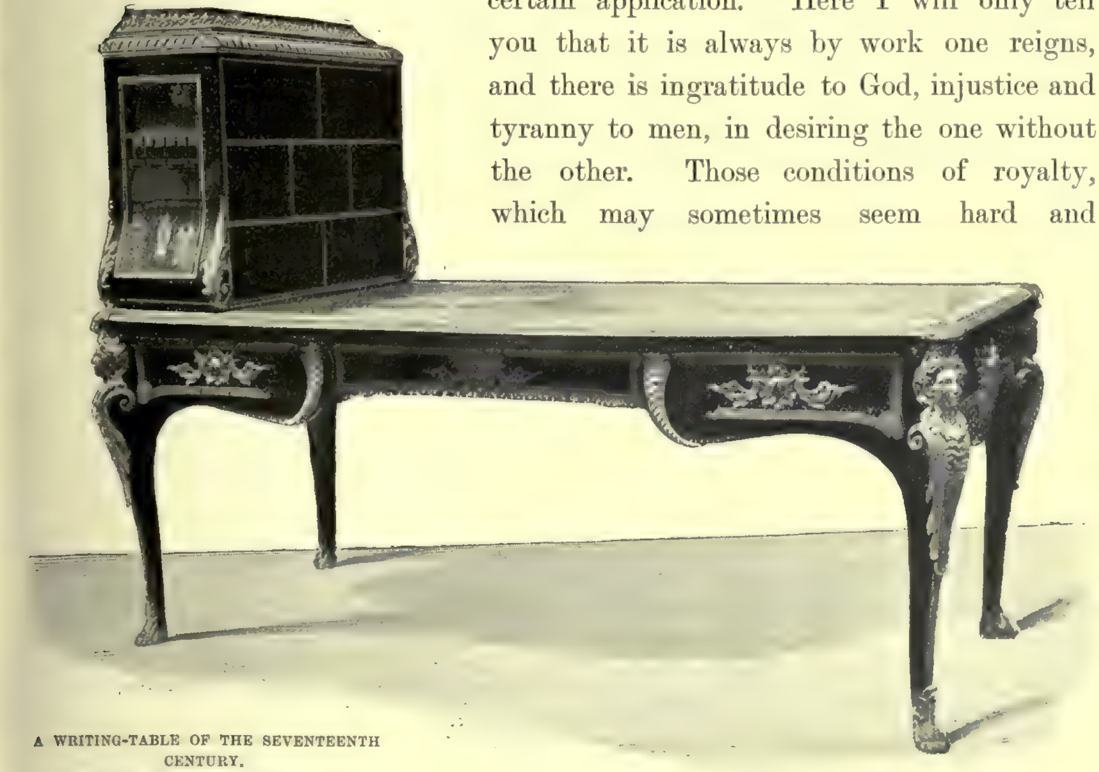
Voltaire's testimony to the care with which Louis XIV. governed his kingdom in the midst of his pleasures is strictly true. He did this on principles which he himself dictated at that epoch as a rule of conduct for his son.

"Thenceforth I made it a rule to work twice a day, even after dinner, at the despatch of ordinary business, not failing to apply myself at any other time to whatever might arise unexpectedly.

"I cannot tell you how fruitful I immediately found that resolution. I felt my mind and my courage elevated. I was quite different. I discovered in myself that which I did not know, and I reproached myself with joy for having been so long ignorant of it. The first sense of timidity that comes with decision caused me pain, but it passed off in less than no time. It seemed to me then that I was, and was born to be, King.

THE KING'S CHARITY.
(Medal by Mauger, 1662.)

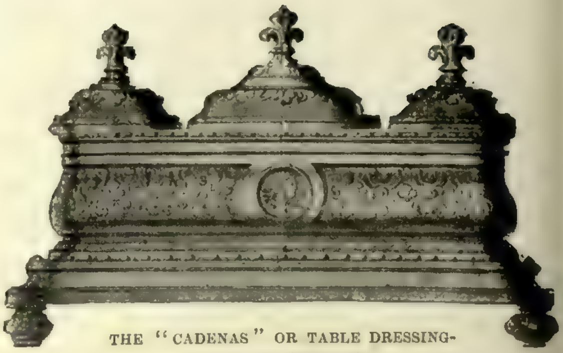
"It may happen, my son, that you will begin to read these Memoirs at an age when one usually fears rather than loves work, being too glad to have escaped from subjection to teachers and masters, and to have no more fixed hours, no more long and uncertain application. Here I will only tell you that it is always by work one reigns, and there is ingratitude to God, injustice and tyranny to men, in desiring the one without the other. Those conditions of royalty, which may sometimes seem hard and



A WRITING-TABLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(Obtained from the Mobilier National. Garde-Meuble Collection.)

vexatious to you, would appear pleasant and easy if it were a question of attaining it."

Louis XIV. might urge this sound and urgent lesson because he had begun early to apply it to himself. "I am aware," he adds, in revealing the secret of his governing power to his son, "that I diminish by so much the only or almost the only merit I can hope for in the world."



THE "CADENAS" OR TABLE DRESSING-CASE OF LOUIS XIV.

(From a drawing in the Cabinet of Prints.—Cotte Collection.)

Posterity has acknowledged that merit in its entirety on the faith of contemporaries who are above suspicion of flattery.

Saint-Simon reproaches Louis XIV. with his taste for details, but really he praises him unintentionally.

"He examined into every particular concerning the troops: clothing, arms, evolutions, drill, discipline, every sort of small detail. He busied himself no less with respect to his buildings, his civil household, his table expenses extraordinary. This was a loss of time to which the King imputed the merit of assiduous application."

In minutely describing the daily routine of the King's life, Saint-Simon shows how large a share of it was assigned to work:—

"At eight o'clock the first *valet de chambre*, who slept in the King's room, and had dressed himself, awakened His Majesty. The first physician, the first surgeon, and his nurse, so long as she lived, entered at the same time. His nurse went to him and kissed him, the others rubbed him, and often changed his shirt.

FRAGMENT OF THE CLOCK IN THE KING'S CABINET AT THE CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES.

(The work of Morand de Pontdevaux.)

"At a quarter past eight the Grand Chamberlain and the Grand Almoner were summoned and with them came the *grandes entrées.* The curtain, which had been reclosed, was opened, and holy water from the *bénitier* at the head of the bed was presented to the King.

"The office of the Holy Ghost was then said, and the King dressed. He did almost everything for himself, neatly and gracefully. No dressing-table was within his reach; only a looking-glass was held for him.

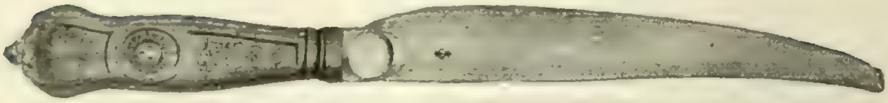
"The King then passed into his cabinet. He was either followed thither by all who had the *entrée*, or he found them there. He then gave the order of the day to each, so that everybody knew almost to a quarter of an hour what the King would be doing."

The day's work began at once, with audiences when the King had granted them, or when he wished to speak to anybody, and with private audience of the foreign envoys in presence of the Minister. The King then heard Mass; his private choir always sang a motet. During Mass the Ministers assembled in the King's chamber, where distinguished persons might speak with them. The King allowed himself little leisure, he summoned his Council almost immediately after Mass.

"The morning was ended. The King was seen no more. He remained with his Ministers.

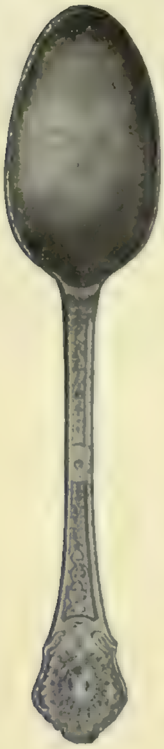
"On Sunday a Council of State was held, frequently on Monday also; on Tuesday a Finance Council, on Wednesday a Council of State, on Saturday a Finance Council. The ordinary dinner-hour was one o'clock; if the Council sat longer the dinner waited. The King invariably dined alone in his room at a square table set opposite the central window.

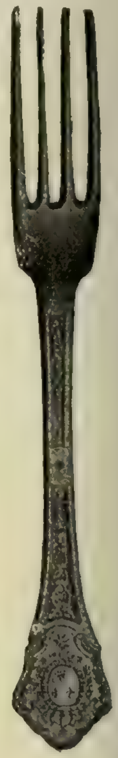
MARBLE STATUE OF LOUIS XIV., BY JEAN WARIN.
(In the Salon de Vénus.—Musée de Versailles.)



KNIFE, SPOON AND FORK USED BY LOUIS XIV.
(From a drawing in the Cabinet of Prints.—Cotte Collection.)

"On rising from table the King entered his cabinet immediately. This was the time to have a few minutes speech of him. Then he went out by the back way, down his private staircase into the Marble Court, and got into his carriage.



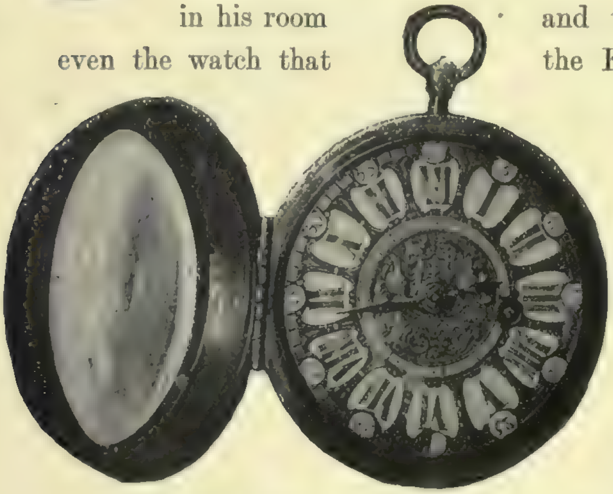


"As he was hardly at all sensitive to either cold or heat, or even to rain, only very bad weather indeed prevented him from going out every day. He went out with three purposes only; to hunt the stag at least one day in the week, but frequently more; to shoot in his parks; and on the other days to visit and inspect the work in progress in the gardens and the buildings. Then there were occasional promenades with the Court ladies and collations for them."

At ten o'clock His Majesty was "served." The King always supped in state with the royal household.

We are bound to admire the clockwork order and regularity of this daily routine, laid out for work rather than for fêtes and representation. Here is a detail to the point: "Every day while the King is dressing, the watchmaker comes to regulate the timepieces in his room and the other apartments, and even the watch that the King wears; this he places on a table in the cabinet.

"Nothing could be more exact than the regulation of his hours and days in the diversity of places, business and amusements. With an almanac and a watch one might tell exactly what he was doing three hundred leagues away. He required great exactness in his service, but he was exact in it himself."



GOLD WATCH OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(From the Collection of M. Charles Rossigneux.)

GOLD WATCH-CASE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(From the Collection of M. Charles Rossigneux.)

Saint-Simon remarks on this point: "The benefit to his service of the King's precision was incredible. It imposed orderliness on everybody, and secured despatch and facility in his affairs; while his constant residence out of Paris caused a continual coming together of officials and persons employed, which kept everything going, got through more business, and gave more access to Ministers and their various bureaux in one day than would have been possible in a fortnight had the Court been in Paris."

Spanheim confirms this eulogium, and the foreigner is most likely to be correct.

"He [the King] had at the same time, and at so little advanced an age as twenty-three years, great application to business, assiduity at the councils, discretion in deliberation, and firmness in the execution of formed resolutions. He was assisted in this by a naturally cool, calm temperament which made him master of himself and his impulses, and belongs rather to a grave, serious and reserved disposition than to a free, hearty and open nature. By this he scattered all the factions of the past, caused the nobles to return to their duty; sovereign courts to dependence; and the people to their obedience. He also removed the pretexts for disorder and disturbance formerly urged against the Government.

"So that it may be gathered from what I have just said that His Majesty, without having a brilliant, broad or enlightened intellect, has

CLOCK OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(From the Collection in the Mobilier National.—Château de Fontainebleau.)

sufficient to fulfil the duties of a great King, that he is in his proper place, that he can discriminate, and has discernment enough not to allow himself to be taken in, and to do justice to merit where he finds it."

Facts testify, even more strongly than men, to the value set by Louis XIV. on steady daily work and precise information. A striking example of this was afforded in 1678 by the disgrace of Pomponne, the Minister who had signed the Peace of Nimeguen, but forfeited the friendship of the King by negligence at the full tide of his fortune. Saint-Simon relates the occurrence as follows:—

"A courier, whose coming was impatiently expected, arrived on a Thursday evening. The marriage of the Dauphiness in Bavaria was the affair in question, and the decision on the matter was to be conveyed by this particular express. M. de Pomponne gave the despatches to be deciphered—an affair of twenty-four hours—and told the courier not to show himself. The man however, considering his employer first, delivered the letters which he also carried to the family—no other than that of the great Colbert—and the family imparted their contents to the King, who was impatient to know what was being deciphered. Thursday evening, the whole of Friday and Saturday, until five o'clock in the evening, passed, and the despatches had not been received. The deciphered

TOP OF A CHEST OF DRAWERS BY BOULE.

(From the Collection at the Mobilier National.—Château de Fontainebleau.)

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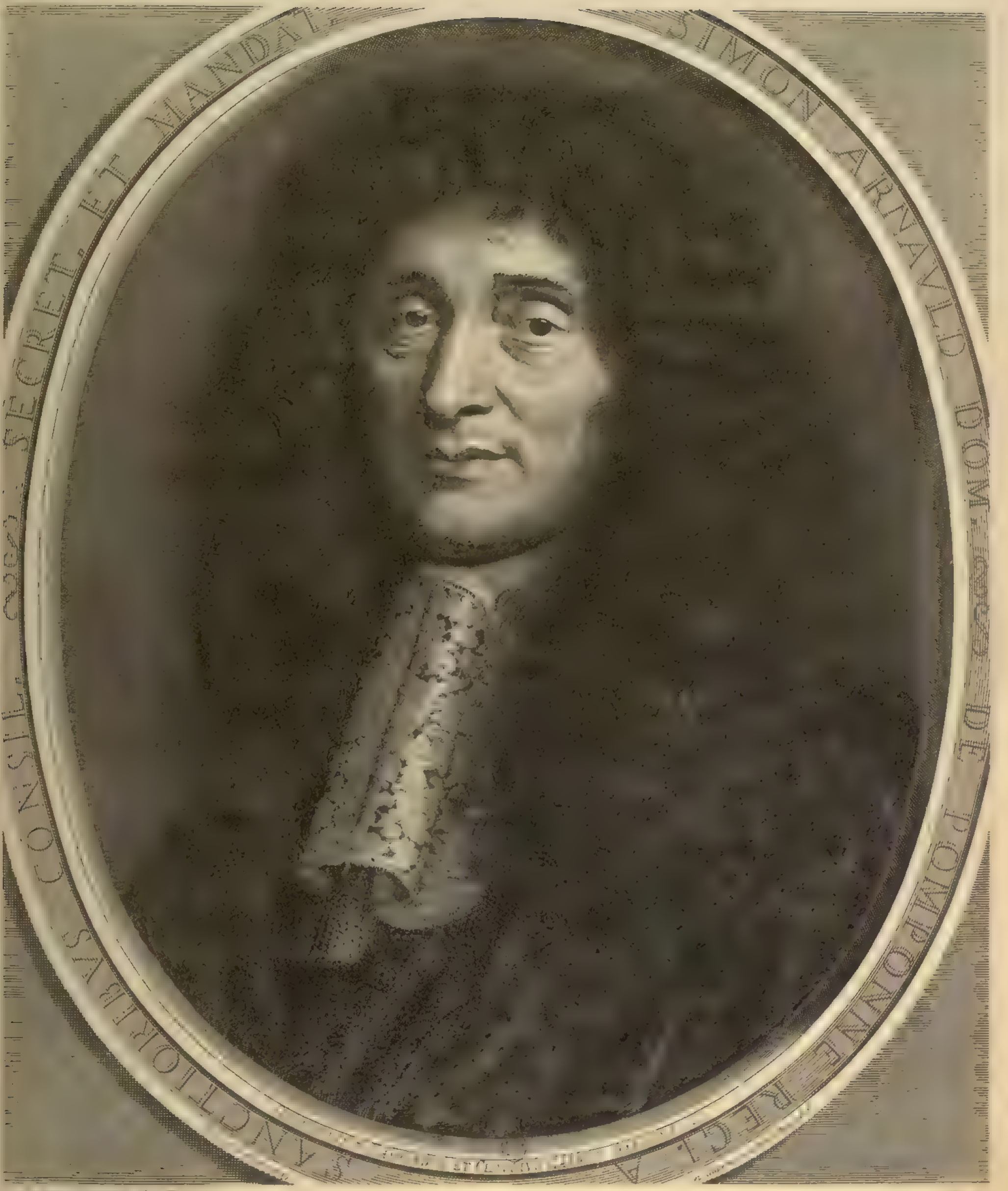
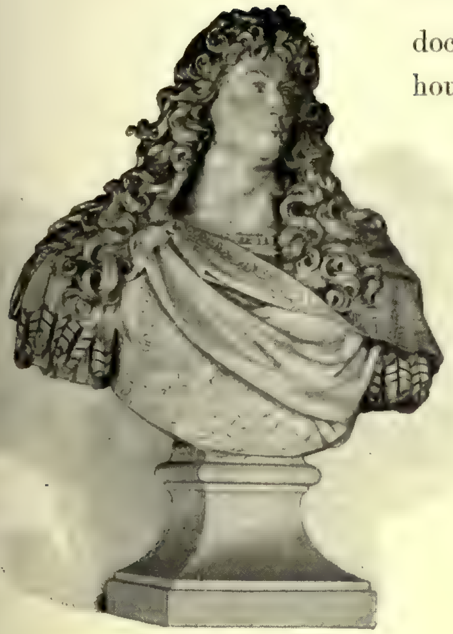

SIMON ARNAVLD DOM. DE POMPONNE REGI A SANCTIORIBUS CONSIL. SECRET. ET MANDAT.

Printed in France

Imp. Ch. Wittmann



LOUIS XIV.—MARBLE BUST BY COYSEVOX.
(Musée de Versailles.)

documents reached Pomponne at his country house on Friday evening; he started at ten o'clock on Saturday evening, but he was too late. On his arrival," says Saint-Simon, "he found an order from the King to send in his despatches and his resignation, and to return to Pomponne."

"The post that I gave him," says Louis XIV., "was too great for him. I suffered for years from his weakness, obstinacy, and want of application; he has caused me considerable losses. I have not profited by all the advantages that I might have had; and all this from kindness and compliance. I am obliged to command him to retire because everything that is done through him loses magnitude and power. If I had made up my mind to remove him sooner I should have avoided the trouble that I have incurred, and I should not have to reproach myself with complacence which has perhaps been harmful to the State."

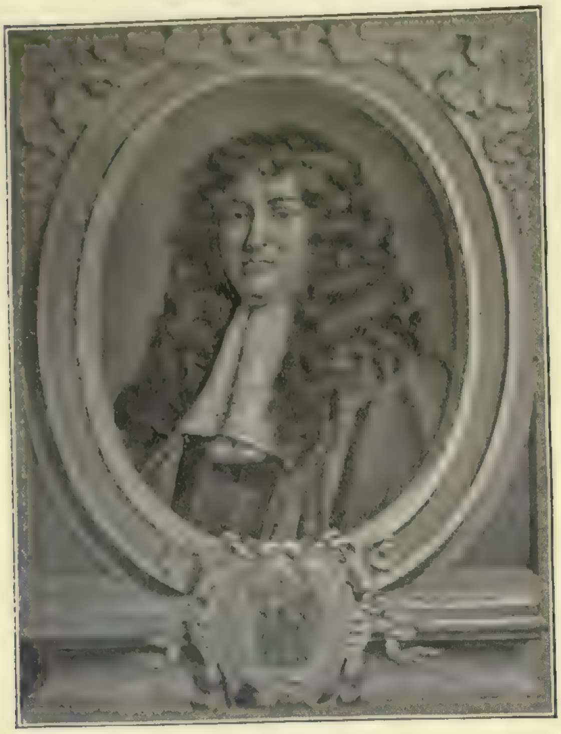
The other Ministers, especially the chief among them, Colbert and Louvois, who were competing with each other for Pomponne's place, owed the King's favour to their indefatigable attention to business.

Spanheim, who did not like him, bears the following testimony to Louvois:—

"Such a post could hardly be filled with greater vigilance and personal attention to all that concerned and

AN ARM-CHAIR OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(From the Collection of Baron Jérôme Pichon.)

was related to it. The habit of both which he had adopted in his youth, gave him the facility that such a post demanded. He was also aided by the strict order which he carried into the superintendence and the expedition of the affairs of his department, into the selection of the clerks, and into the distribution of the functions assigned to them according to capacity, and each had to render an account to himself. It ensued from this regularity and exactness that his own toil was eased; that nothing was neglected; and that those who had to deal with him—no small number—soon came to know how they stood."



LOUVOIS.
(From the portrait by A. Lefebvre.)

Colbert gives him similar praise: "Luxury and diversions were banished from his dwelling that he might devote himself entirely to a post of such importance. Not content to make himself acquainted with the bulk of affairs and then relieve himself of them by means of the clerks, stewards, comptrollers, and other people employed in the business of finance, he chose to take the care of all upon himself alone, to enter into all the details, receipts and expenses, and the supplying of expedients for the future. He relied upon nothing but his own judgment and capacity, the exact information which he took pains to acquire, the regulations which he found it necessary to make, and lastly, the correct private registers which he himself kept. Thus did he discharge the duties of his post with indefatigable and unremitting labour and application, in proportion to the needs of the State or the conjuncture of affairs."

In a word, like master like ministers. This is the secret of the greatness of the reign.

A MEDAL BY FALTZ IN HONOUR OF THE KING'S COUNCILS.

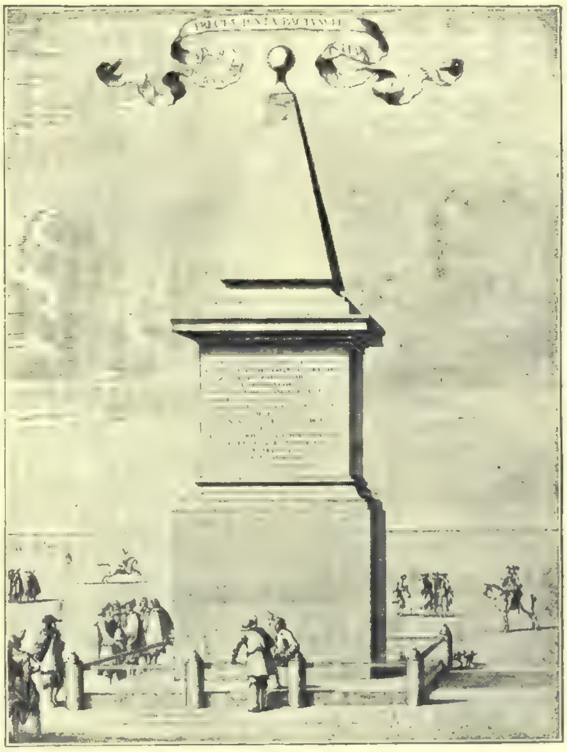
(1664.) Cardinal Chigi, the legate *à latere*, who was the nephew of Pope Alexander VII., afforded a novel spectacle to the Court on coming to Versailles in the midst of all the rejoicings to "make satisfaction" to the King for the offence of the Pope's guards.

The honours paid to the legate emphasised the "satisfaction." He received, under a canopy, the respects of the clergy, the superior courts, and the civic corporations. He entered Paris under a salute of guns, having the great Condé on his right and the Prince's son on his left, and with all this parade he came to humble himself and the Pope before a King who had not yet drawn the sword. After the audience he dined with Louis XIV., and everybody was solicitous to make his mission as pleasant as possible.

The Doge of Genoa was afterwards entertained, with lesser honours, but with the desire to please which the King always combined with the haughtiest of his actions.

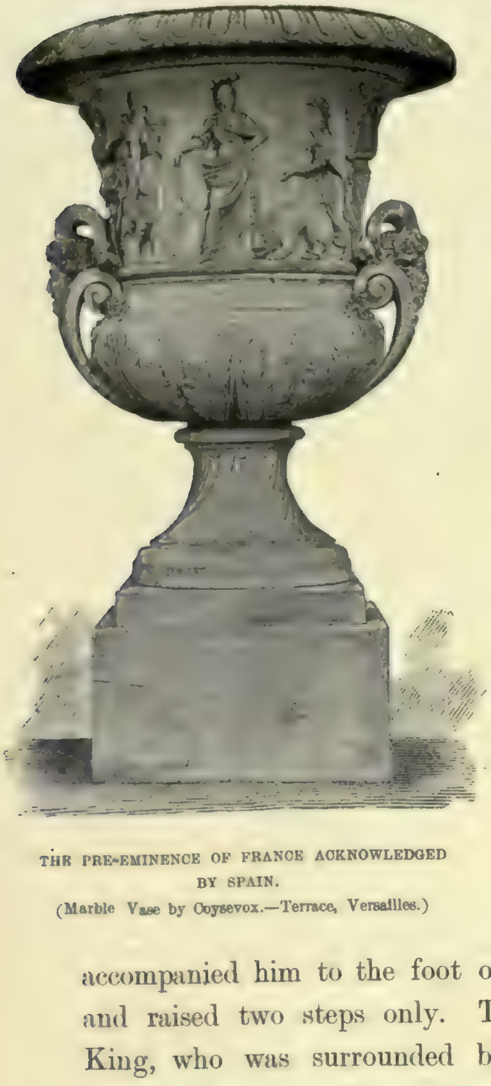
⁂

The Doge of Genoa was in fact a less important personage than the Pope's legate, as may readily be conceived. Nevertheless his presence at Versailles was celebrated by one of the most brilliant fêtes of the period. *Le Mercure de France* of the 16th of March, 1685,



PYRAMID ERECTED IN ROME IN MEMORY OF THE SATISFACTION MADE BY THE POPE TO LOUIS XIV. IN THE CORSICAN MATTER.

has preserved for us a detailed and precise description, enabling us to reconstitute the beautiful exterior decoration of the Château of Versailles at the most brilliant period of the reign of the Sun-King.

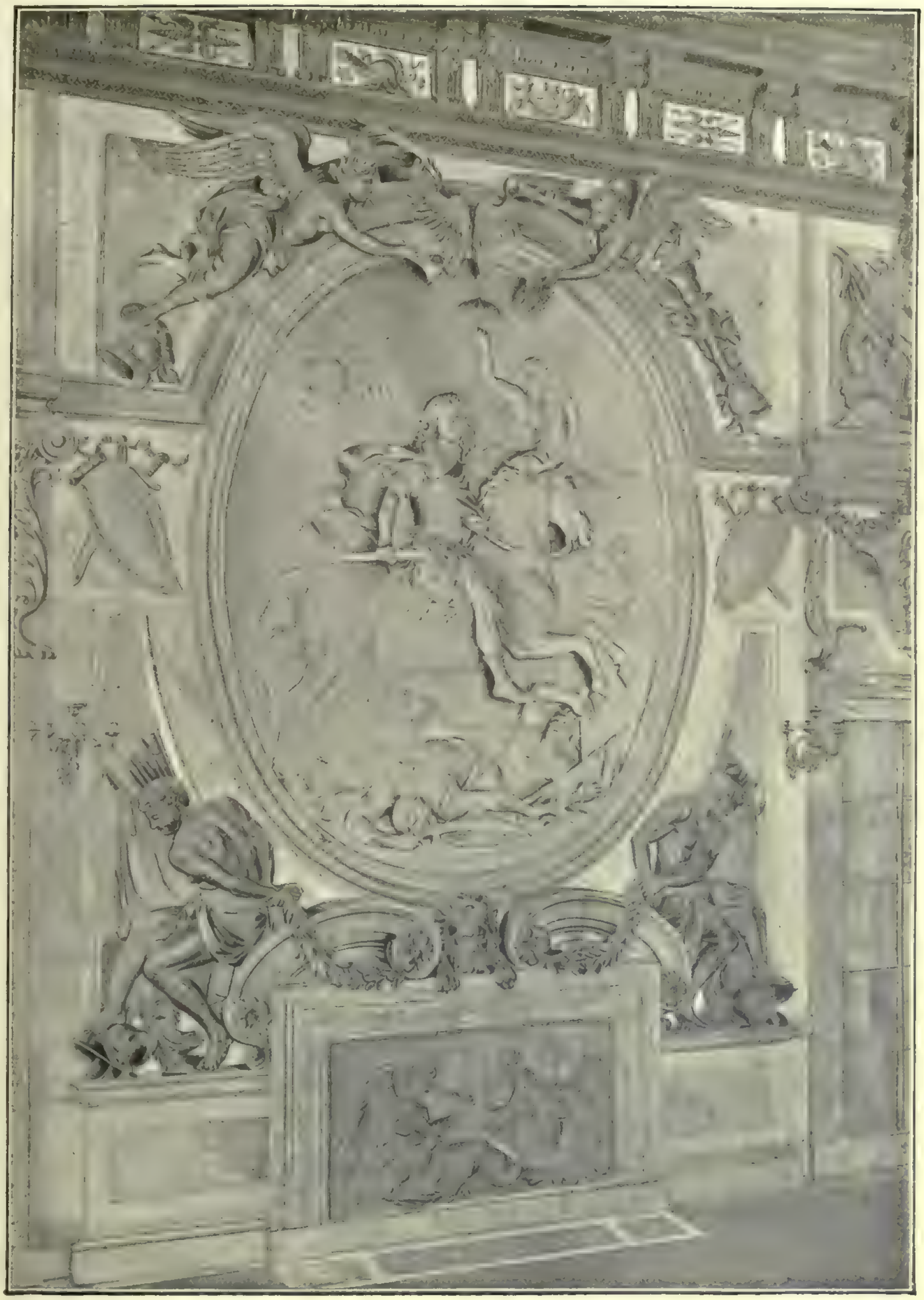


THE PRE-EMINENCE OF FRANCE ACKNOWLEDGED BY SPAIN.
(Marble Vase by Coysevox.—Terrace, Versailles.)

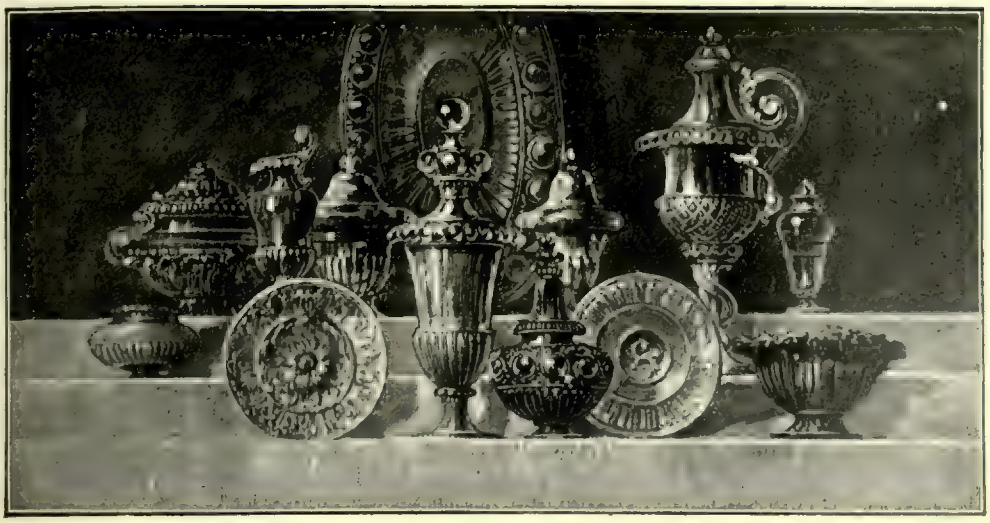
"Having ascended the magnificent staircase leading to the chief apartment of His Majesty (the Ambassadors' Staircase, no longer existing), in the left wing of the château, visitors entered the Salon de la Guerre, which joins the gallery at the end, and from this salon they turned into the gallery, beyond which was the King, in the salon facing that they had just passed through (the Salon de la Paix).

"Two things are to be remarked, one is that the apartment and the gallery were magnificently furnished, and contained several millions' worth of silver plate; the other is that the crowd was equally numerous everywhere, although that apartment and that gallery put together could hold as many people as the largest palace. Whatever pains had been taken to leave free passage along the gallery, the Doge had great difficulty in getting through it. The Maréchal Duc de Duras, Captain of the Guard, who had received him at the door of the guard-room, accompanied him to the foot of His Majesty's throne, which was of silver, and raised two steps only. The Dauphin and Monsieur stood beside the King, who was surrounded by all the princes of the blood, and those among his great officers who have rank near his person in ceremonies of this kind.

"So soon as the Doge came in sight of the King he uncovered; he then advanced a few steps and made two deep reverences to His Majesty, the senators doing likewise. The King rose, and having acknowledged these salutations by slightly raising his hat, made them a sign to approach, beckoning them with his hand.



COMPOSITION BY LEBRUN, BAS-RELIEF BY COYSEVOX IN HONOUR OF LOUIS XIV. AS CONQUEROR.
"History registers his victories—Fame publishes them."
(Salon de la Guerre.—Château de Versailles.)

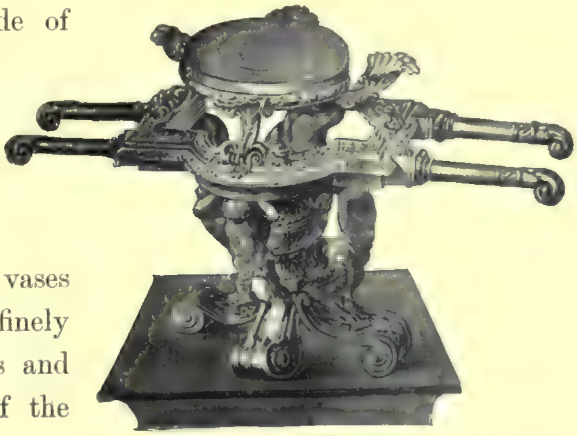


VASES AND DISHES OF GOLD AND SILVER FOR THE DECORATION OF THE APARTMENTS.
(From the picture of the baptism of the Dauphin by Christophe.—Musée de Versailles.)

"The Doge then ascended the first step of the throne, where he made a third reverence. After this the King and the Doge resumed their hats, and the speeches began."

To complete its picture of the pomp of this great event, the *Mercure* gives a description of the ornaments in silver which were displayed in the incomparable reception-room: "Eight silver portable stands with four handles (*brancards*), bearing chandeliers, placed between four silver orange-tree tubs on stands of the same metal, adorn the spaces between the windows, and eight silver vases occupy portable stands by the side of the doors. Four tall gilded stands in the corners support huge silver candlesticks. Eight silver branched candlesticks occupy the centre of the glass windows."

Dangeau adds that porphyry vases brought from Rome, little ships of finely wrought alabaster, and silver ewers and flagons in profusion formed part of the rich decoration.



SILVER PORTABLE STAND (*brancard*).
(From the picture by Lebrun and Sève of *Louis XIV. aux Gobelins*.—Musée de Versailles.)

What a scene for stately ceremonial,

for audiences, for great Court or family events, or even for the King's receptions only, which took place once a week, and were called *les appartements*. Saint Simon, who frequented these receptions at sixteen, says:—

DOOR GIVING ACCESS TO THE AMBASSADORS' STAIRCASE IN THE KING'S APARTMENT.
(Château de Versailles.)

"What was called *appartement* was the assemblage of the whole Court from seven o'clock to ten in the evening; the King's supper was served in the great apartment extending from the Salon de la Paix to the neighbourhood of the gallery of the chapel.

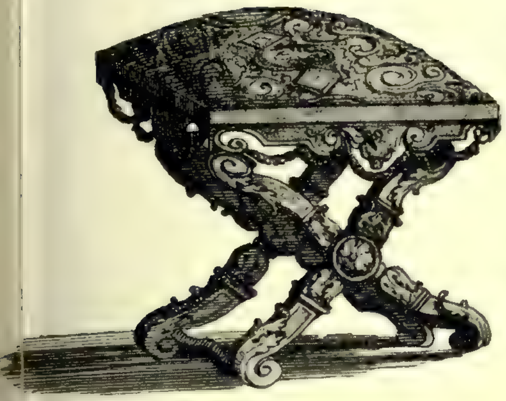
"First there was music, then tables set out in all the rooms ready for all sorts of games: lansquenet, at which Monseigneur [the Dauphin] and Monsieur [the Duc d'Orléans] always played; billiards—in short, entire freedom to play with whomsoever one would, and to call for tables if those already set were occupied. Beyond the billiard table was a room where refreshments were laid, and the whole suite was brilliantly lighted.

"At first, when this order of things was established, the King went there and played for some time. In 1692 he left off doing this, but he wished his courtiers to be assiduous in their attendance, and everybody was eager to please him."

The *Mercure* resumes:—

"The King permits the *entrée* of his *grand appartement* at Versailles on Monday, Wednesday and Thursday in each week for playing all sorts of games; these days are called *jours d'appartement.*

"Each person admitted may walk about in these superb apartments at the hour named for the reception. No one presents himself without knowing beforehand that the *entrée* will be accorded. The choice of games is free to everyone, and those who prefer to look on while others play, or to stroll round and admire the assembly and the splendid



A FIXED STOOL.
(From a print in the Hennin Collection.)

*salons,* may do so at their pleasure. Though the rooms be ever so full, none but persons of high rank, both men and women, are to be seen there.

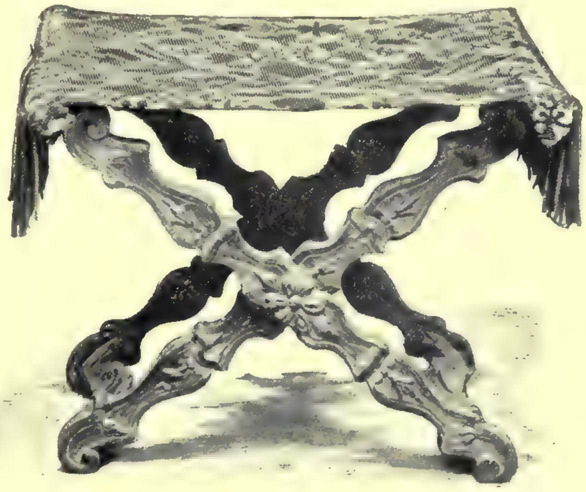
"The King, the Queen and the whole of the royal family lay aside their greatness to take part in the play with several persons in the assembly who have never had a similar honour. The King goes now to one table, now to another. It is his wish that none shall rise or leave off playing at his approach. After some time music strikes up and those who like to dance may do so. Then the company resort to the refreshment tables, where they find a collation and liqueurs, served with incomparable elegance and readiness. The attendants wear blue coats with gold lace.

"Whatever one can possibly desire among the pleasure-giving things in these splendid rooms is supplied immediately on the indication of such wishes. The attendants seem indeed to divine them, for they present the object on the instant."

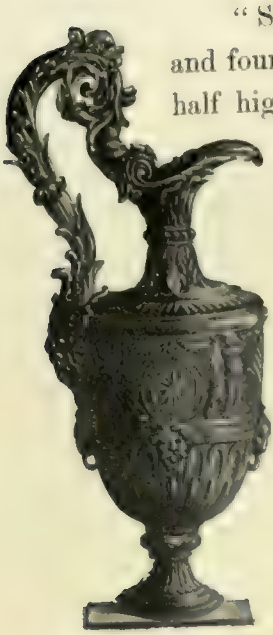
The *Mercure* also describes the rooms set apart for the collations, and more particularly for play.

The Salle de Vénus, which now retains only the wall-decoration of that period, was furnished with tables bearing silver candlesticks and baskets of silver filigree work of various shapes. "Fresh fruits, lemons, oranges, confectionery, and dried sweets of every kind, were piled up in pyramids in these baskets, and adorned with flowers. As this collation was only served to be consumed, it was accessible during the four hours' duration of *les appartements.*"

The Salon de Mars had marble galleries intended for the musicians; these have been removed.

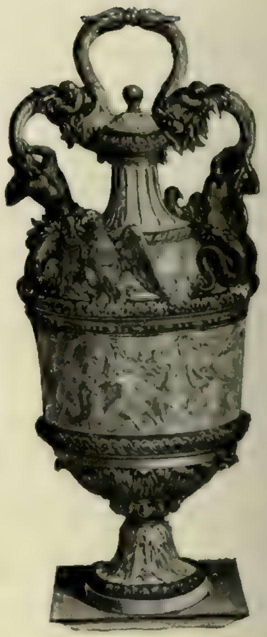


A FOLDING STOOL.
(From the Collection of Baron Jérôme Pichon.)



A GOLDEN EWER.

(Cartoon by Lebrun, Château de Fontainebleau.—Musée de Versailles.)

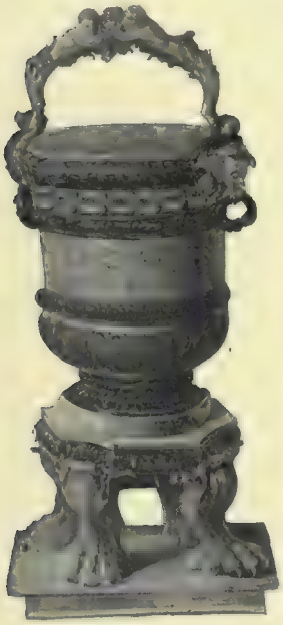


SILVER VASE.

(Cartoon by Lebrun, Château de Madrid.—Musée de Versailles.)

"Six groups of silver figures, four statues, and four ewers of the same metal, a foot and a half high, adorn the two cabinets. Two oval silver basins, four feet high and six feet wide, bear vases two feet high, and four pails of the same height go with these. Four great ewers, six feet high, are at the two angles. . . . . Silver dogs and vases adorn the chimney."

The *Mercure* says, in conclusion: "It was said formerly, in exaggeration of the facts, that laughter and play were at Court; but this was only a manner of speaking: it is only now they are really to be found there. Besides, never before was so splendid an abode made for them. Nothing is to be seen in the places destined for them but a dazzling collection of riches and lights, multiplied a thousand times in as many glasses, forming a perspective that sparkles like fire, with a thousand things equally and even more brilliant within it.



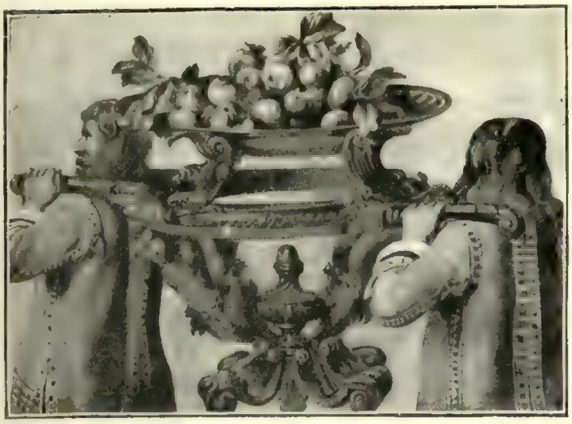
SILVER ORANGE-TREE TUB EMBELLISHED WITH GOLD AND PRECIOUS STONES.

(Cartoon by Lebrun, Château des Tuileries.—Musée de Versailles.)

"Add to this the splendour of the Court in their rich attire, and the lustre of the jewels worn by most of the ladies."

The official journalist does not exaggerate. Madame de Sévigné, while still under the first impression of all this magnificence, has described the wonders of the *appartement* where Dangeau reigned as the *alter ego* of the King and his lieutenant at Court. This was in 1676, the most brilliant period of all, while Madame de Montespan was in favour.

"I was at Versailles on Saturday with the Villars. This was how it was. At three o'clock the King, the Queen, Monsieur, Madame, Mademoiselle, Madame de Montespan, the whole suite, all the courtiers, all the ladies, in short what is called the Court of

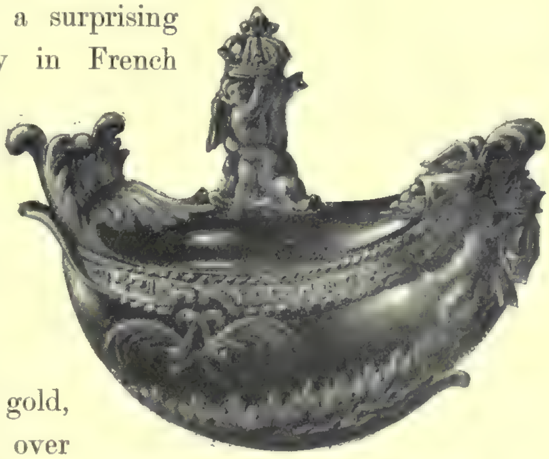


THE KING'S FOOTMEN CARRYING THE COLLATION ON A PORTABLE STAND.

(Cartoon by Lebrun, Château des Tuileries. Series of *The Seasons*. Musée du Louvre.)

France come together in that fine apartment which you know. The furniture is superb, everything is magnificent. No one feels too hot there (in July); one passes from salon to salon without crowding anywhere; the players at *reversi** form the centre of attraction. The King is beside Madame de Montespan, who holds the card; Monsieur, the Queen and Mademoiselle de Soubise, Dangeau and Comtesse Langlée are playing. I watched Dangeau playing, and I was amused to think what fools we are beside him. He thinks of nothing but what he is doing, and wins where others lose; he neglects nothing; he profits by everything. His mind does not wander. In a word, his perfect skill defies fortune. The hundred thousand francs in ten days, the hundred thousand crowns in a month are all entered in his book of receipts. I said that I was taking part in his game, so that I was given a very comfortable and pleasant seat. I saluted the King; he returned my bow as though I were young and beautiful. The Queen talked to me of my illness for a long time. Madame de Montespan talked to me of Bourbon. . . . Her beauty is a surprising thing. . . . She was dressed entirely in French point, her hair dressed in a thousand ringlets—in short, a triumphant beauty to captivate all the ambassadors."

Madame de Sévigné describes elsewhere a gown which had been presented to the King's mistress by one of the most ardent gamblers at Court, when in the winning vein: "A gown of gold on gold, embroidered in gold, bordered with gold, over raised gold, and brocaded with one gold mixed



A BOAT OF GOLD AND LAPIS-LAZULI, WITH THE L.-L. INTERLACED.

(Cartoon by Lebrun. Louvre.)

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* An obsolete game of cards.

with a certain gold which makes the most divine stuff that ever has been imagined. The fairies have done this work in secret."

ONYX VASE.

(Gallery of Mirrors.—Château de Versailles.)

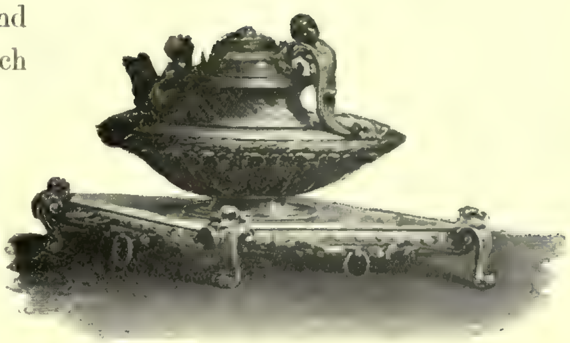
The Princess Palatine, who also knew how to observe and take notes, although in a different manner, has preserved an exact record of the incomparable splendour of these costumes, particularly on days of high ceremonial.

"The crowd was so great that one had to wait a quarter of an hour at each door before getting in, and I had on a gown and underskirt so horribly heavy that I could hardly stand upright.

"My costume was of raised gold, with black chenille forming flowers, and my pearl and diamond set. Monsieur wore a coat embroidered in gold and various colours, and all covered with precious stones. My daughter wore a gown of green velvet embroidered in gold, the open gown and the underskirt being entirely trimmed with rubies and diamonds, as well as the bodice; the embroidery was so well done that each rose seemed to grow from the stuff. Her head-dress consisted of several tokens in brilliants, bodkins with ruby heads, and gold ribbon studded with diamonds."

In those extraordinary days the King and his family wore quantities of diamonds and other precious stones. Again in 1714, when he received the Ambassador of Siam, Dangeau says: "The King chose a coat of black and gold stuff edged with diamonds to the value of twelve millions five hundred thousand livres, and the coat was so heavy that he changed it immediately after his dinner. Besides the precious stones which he wore he had lent a trimming of diamonds and pearls to the Duc du Maine and a trimming of coloured stones to the Comte de Toulouse; the Duc d'Orléans had a blue velvet coat embroidered in pearls and diamonds in a mosaic design that was much admired."

When opportunities for the wearing of these magnificent costumes arose, their splendour made up for their cumbrousness. These occasions were, as we have seen, the audiences given to foreign ambassadors, and marriages and births in the royal family.

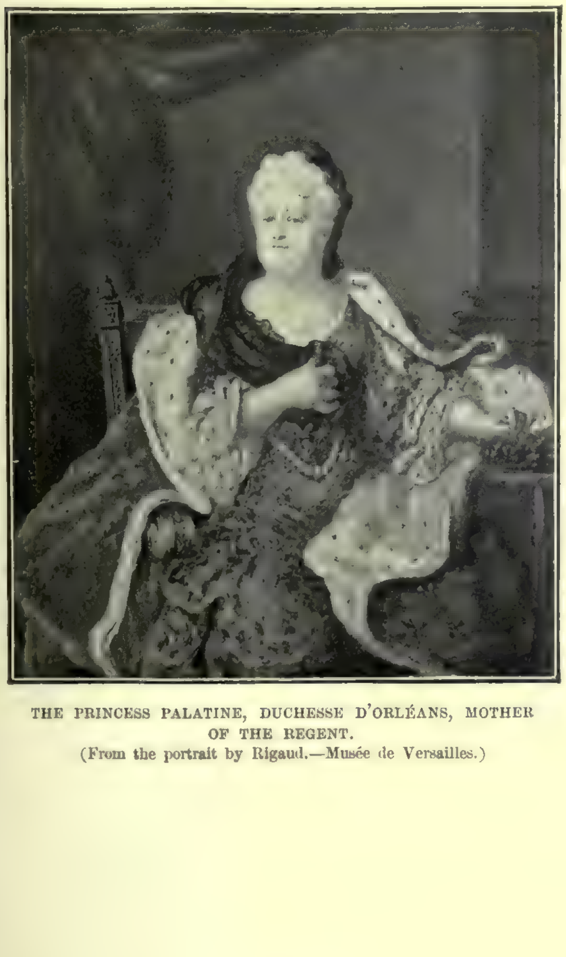


GOLD PERFUME-BURNER.
(After the picture by Hallé, *La Réception du Doge de Génes.* Musée de Versailles.)

The Court in all this splendour passed along the Gallery of Mirrors. The crowd of spectators was very great, but good order was observed on the passage of the procession to the chapel, and on its return by the staircase, the "appartement" and the gallery.

This march past must have been a fine sight, and no less fine the balls, or grand entertainments, which were given during the carnival.

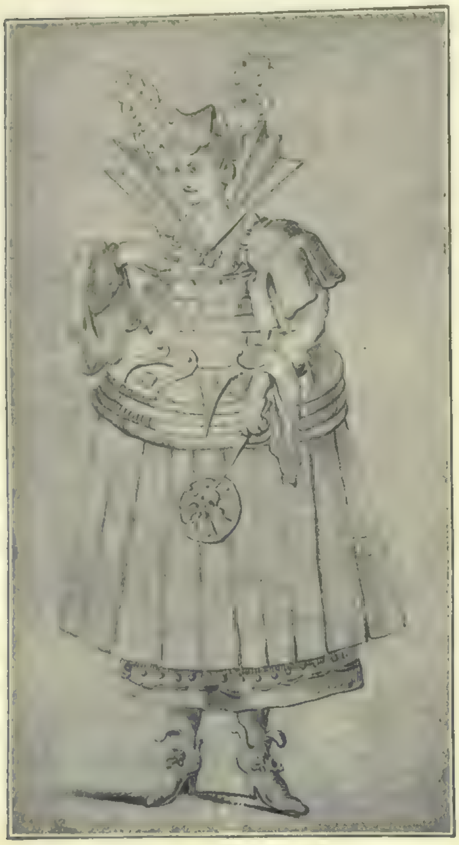
"This winter," says the *Mercure*, "five balls extraordinary have been given in five different apartments in the Château of Versailles, all so grand and so beautiful that no other royal house in the world could furnish so great a number on so vast a scale.



THE PRINCESS PALATINE, DUCHESSE D'ORLÉANS, MOTHER OF THE REGENT.
(From the portrait by Rigaud.—Musée de Versailles.)

"The *entrée* is not open except to masks, and few persons ventured to present themselves there without being disguised. As these disguises are assumed for the purpose of general amusement rather than for a display of fine attire, and everyone is so well dressed at Court that they need nothing more than a mask worn with their ordinary garments to appear in superb array, it was decided for the more effectual diversion of the company, that masks with grotesque costumes should be worn.

"Some outlandish ones were displayed; one did not know what to call them because they were purely an effect of the imagination of the inventors. In resuscitating the old fashions the most ridiculous were chosen, and these were improved upon until the dresses were made completely absurd. Exaggeration was actually extended to the use of trimmings of porcelain that moved and sounded.



GROTESQUE MASKS AND COSTUMES FOR THE BALLET OF 1682 AT VERSAILLES.

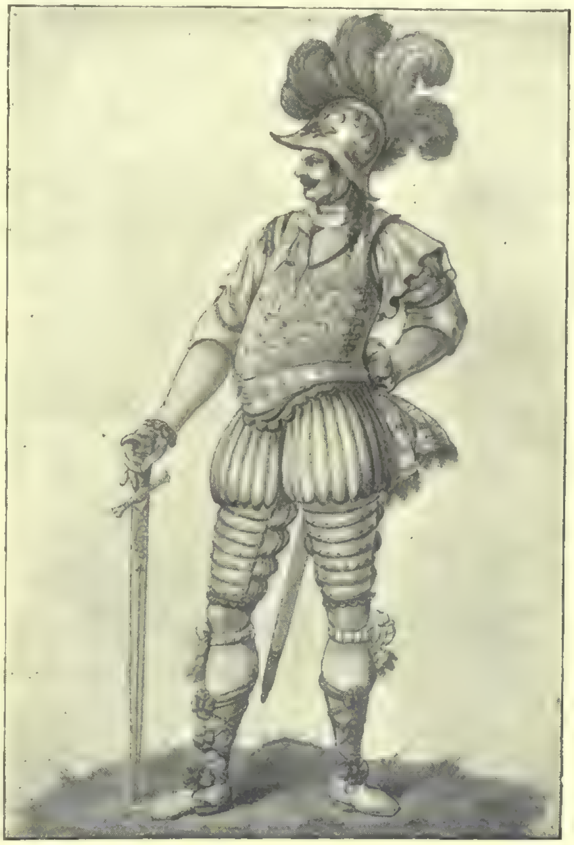
(Drawing and plan of execution by Bérain, from a MS. in the Versailles Library.)

"The Dauphin having his dress changed eight or ten times each evening, M. Bérain required all his talent to furnish him with costumes, and all his vigilance to get them made, so little time was there between the balls. The Dauphin particularly desired to pass without recognition, so that every sort of extraordinary device for disguising him was resorted to, and frequently it was impossible to guess whether the masked figure was tall or short, stout or thin. Sometimes double masks were worn, and wax masks so well made under a first mask, that when the latter was removed the bystanders took the former for the natural face.

"Monsieur, who is always dressed in good taste, has frequently appeared at these balls in ordinary attire, but so magnificent and so becoming that nothing could be added to its beauty and richness. At other times the Prince has worn the most amusing disguises and surprised everybody by their novelty."

This brilliant picture, which the Courts of Europe strove to copy, was not without its shadows; these—Voltaire has perhaps softened them too much—did not escape the criticism of contemporaries, that of Saint-Simon especially.

"He [Louis XIV.] loved splendour, magnificence, profusion in everything. He turned this taste into a maxim, from policy, and wholly inspired his Court with it. To rush recklessly into that splendour and profusion in table expenditure, in dress, in equipage, in building and in play, was to please the master: he would be certain to speak to the persons who did this. There lay at the bottom of it, however, the fact that he kept them on the stretch and exhausted their resources by thus making luxury an honour—for certain parties a necessity—so that by degrees they were reduced to depend entirely on his bounty for subsistence. His pride was gratified by a Court superb in every way, and by a great confusion which increasingly tended to efface natural distinctions.



COSTUME FOR THE BALLET OF 1682 AT VERSAILLES.

(Drawing and plan of execution by Bérain, from a MS. in the Versailles Library.)

"This was a sore which, being set up, has since developed into the internal cancer that is eating up private persons' lives. It has spread rapidly from the Court to Paris, to the provinces and the army, where men in place are of account only in proportion to their table and their display. It preys on private people since its unfortunate introduction, by obliging those who are in a position to steal to do so, for the most part from the necessity of keeping up their expenditure; and by the confounding of different ranks in life, which are now maintained from pride, and even from propriety, it is increasing, through the folly of the majority, with infinite ill consequences, and tends to nothing less than general ruin and downfall."

This state of things was so real that one day Louis XIV. thought he was ruined at play. "He had been playing high for a long time.

Madame de Montespan urged him on beyond measure. In one night he had lost several millions. He left the table towards the morning and desired the players to remain, so that Madame de Montespan might recoup him. On awaking he asked if he were still King. He learned with joy that he had been recouped to within fourteen or fifteen hundred livres. This escape cured him for the rest of his life."

SMALL DOOR OF THE CHAPEL IN THE CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES.

Play was the plague-spot of the Court, where it was the chief occupation.*

"Here in France," says the Princess Palatine, "so soon as the reception is complete, everybody plays at lansquenet. This is the most fashionable game. They play for frightful sums, and the players are like madmen; one howls, another hits the table so hard with his fist that the blow resounds through the whole room, a third blasphemes in a way to make one's hair stand on end. They all seem out of their senses, and are frightful to behold."

The scandal supplied Bourdaloue with a theme for one of his sermons. "Play without measure and without rules, which is no longer a diversion for you but an occupation, a profession, a traffic, a bond, a passion; indeed, if I may venture so to speak, it is a madness and a fury, and it has for its necessary consequence, disorder in the household, waste of resources, the base cheating and roguery that are caused by the love of gain, violent anger, oaths and despair."

Bourdaloue might have summed up in one word—robbery, for stealing

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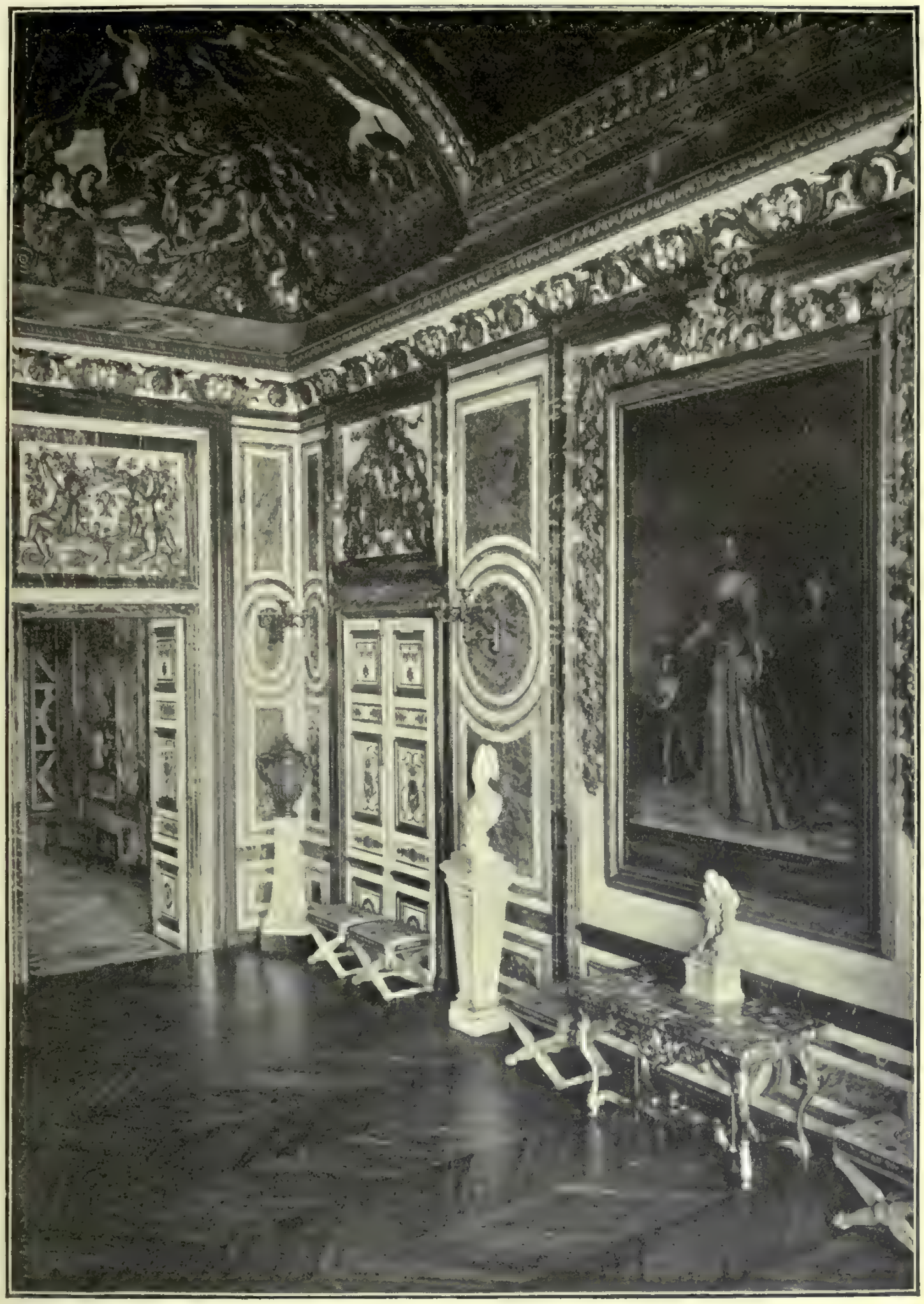
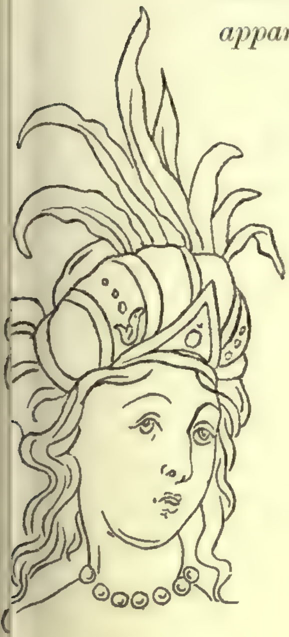
* Among the games of that period several are obsolete. The complete list is as follows: —Barrette, reversi, calbas, trou-madame (pigeon-holes), trente-et-quarante, tourniquet, portique, la bête, le cadran de l'anneau tournant (invented by Louis XIV. in 1689), hoca, brelan, lansquenet, chess, trictrac and dice.

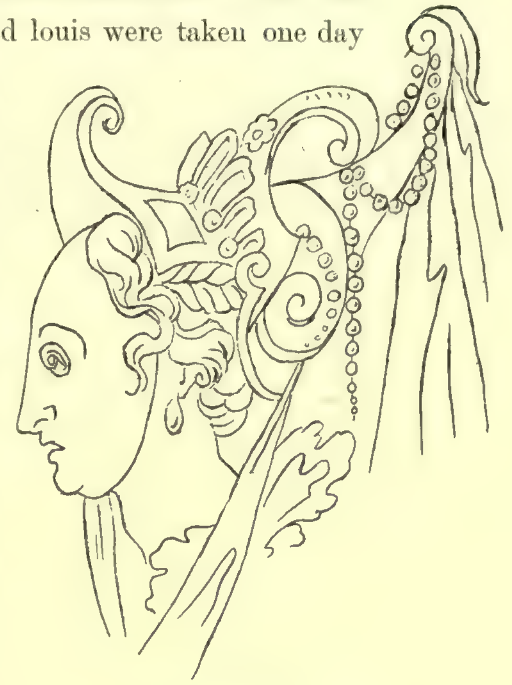


THE QUEEN'S GUARD'S HALL.
(Château de Versailles.)

was common in the palace, at play and elsewhere. “At the *appartement*,” says Dangeau, “a hundred louis were taken one day from a cavalry officer. The King caused a like sum to be given to him.” But the following is still more surprising: “The last time the King went to Meudon he left his hat in his cabinet on going to supper. In the hat was a buckle worth a hundred pistoles, and this was stolen while he was at table. The thief did not venture to take the button, worth four thousand pistoles, on which the brim was looped up, judging that a diamond of that size would be recognised anywhere that an attempt to sell it might be made.”



MASK BY BÉRAIN.
(Ballet of 1682.
Versailles Library.)

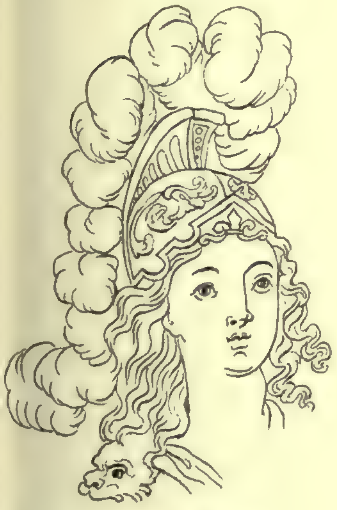


MASK BY BÉRAIN.
(Ballet of 1682.—Versailles Library.)

It is fair to observe that stealing was made easy at the Court. The Château was free of access to drapers, booksellers, perfumers and clockmakers, who kept shop on the staircase-landings at Fontainebleau, Marly and Versailles, and even to the beggars, who were so numerous that in 1700, Louis XIV. distributed fifty Suisses about the precincts of the Château “to take up people who begged and convey them to the general hospital.”

All this constituted a sort of hotel life, with much meanness underneath it, and it was not even comfortable. Those grand apartments, although they were so magnificent and so well adapted to Court pageantry, were very cold.

“It is so cold,” writes the Princess Palatine (whose experience does not, like that of Madame de Sevigné, refer to summer), “that at the King's table wine



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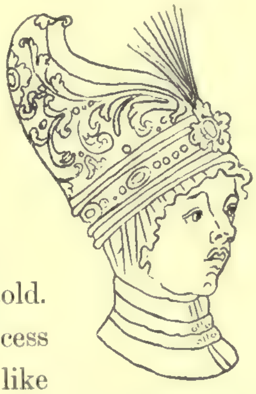
(Ballet of 1682.—Versailles Library.)



MASK BY BÉRAIN.
(Ballet of 1682.
Versailles Library.)

as well as water has frozen in the glasses. The immense sculptured fireplaces, adorned with slabs bearing the King's arms, are not sufficient. Certain rooms, and in particular the reception apartments and the Gallery of Mirrors, have not any" [fireplaces].

Saint-Simon has given a masterly description of the ways of the courtiers who came to this royal hotel by the King's orders, to people it, and to lose their fortunes, their dignity and their independence there.

"The frequent fêtes and the promenades at Versailles were means invented by the King to distinguish or to mortify, by naming the courtiers who were to be present each time, and to keep up everybody's assiduity and eagerness to please. He had not nearly enough favours to bestow to create a continuous effect, and therefore he substituted imaginary ones for the real, working on the jealousy of the courtiers by showing little preferences, which he might artfully manifest every day, indeed at every moment, so to speak. No one was more ingenious than he in inventing the petty preferences and distinctions which gave rise to hopes, and invested the recipients with general consideration. Marly was more useful to him in the end [than Versailles], and especially Trianon, whither everybody in truth might go to play the courtier. But ladies had the honour of eating with him, and were selected at each meal, and the candlestick used at his *coucher* was held by a person on whom he desired to bestow distinction, chosen from among the most important of those present, and named aloud when the King had finished his prayers.

CHAIR THAT BELONGED TO THE MARÉCHALE DE VILLARS.
(One of six in the Collection of Baron Jérôme Pichon.)

"He looked right and left at his *lever* and at his *coucher*, at his meals, on passing through the apartments, in his gardens at Versailles, where only the courtiers were permitted to follow him: he observed

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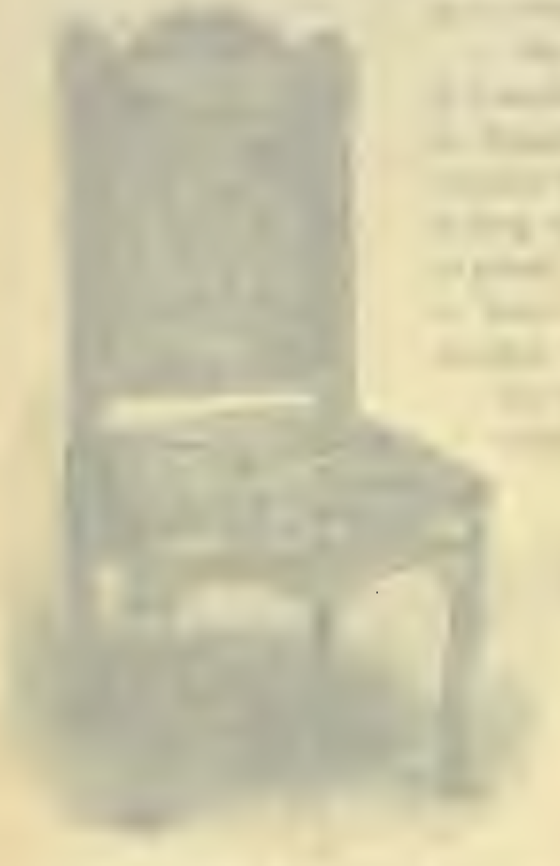

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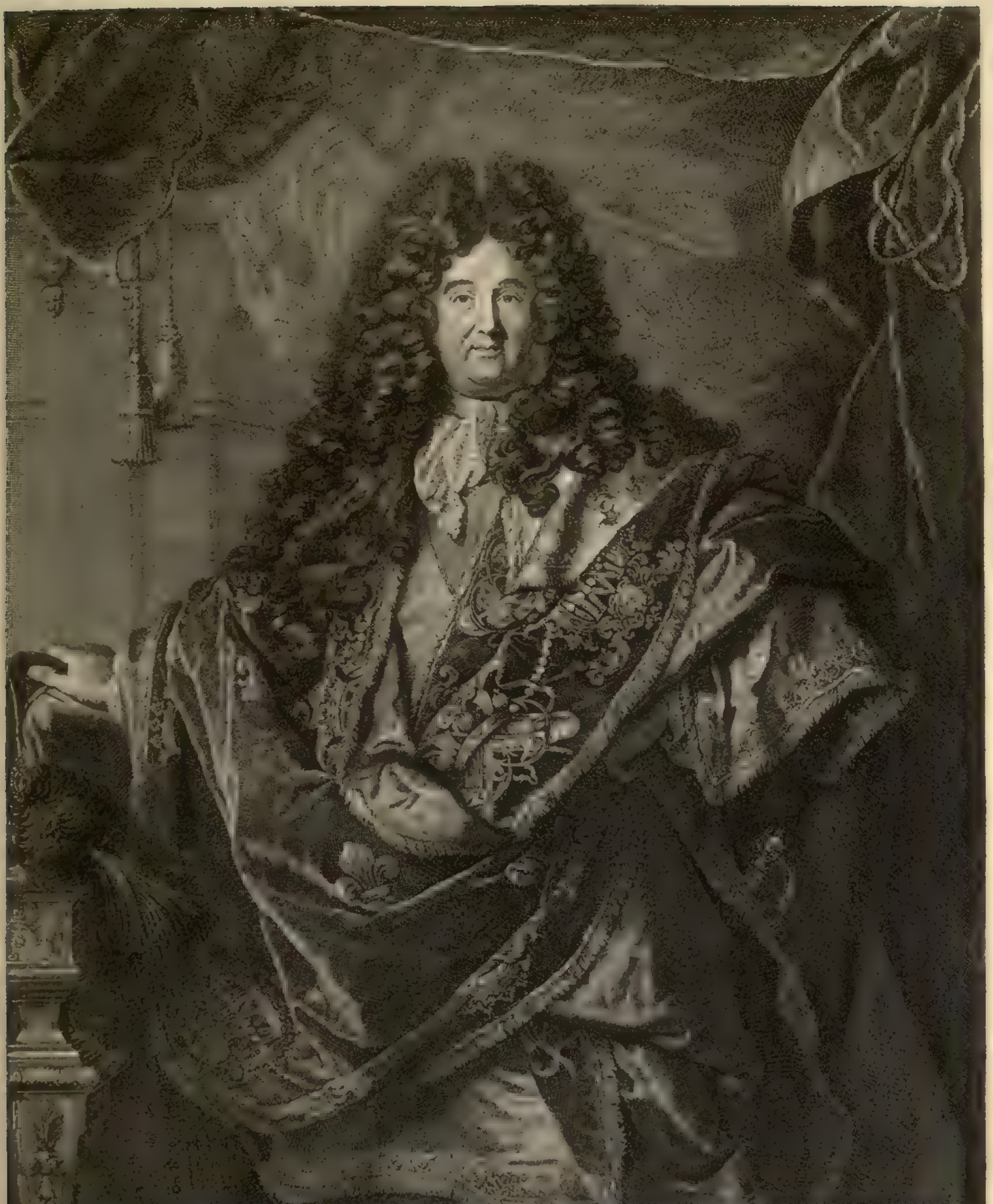


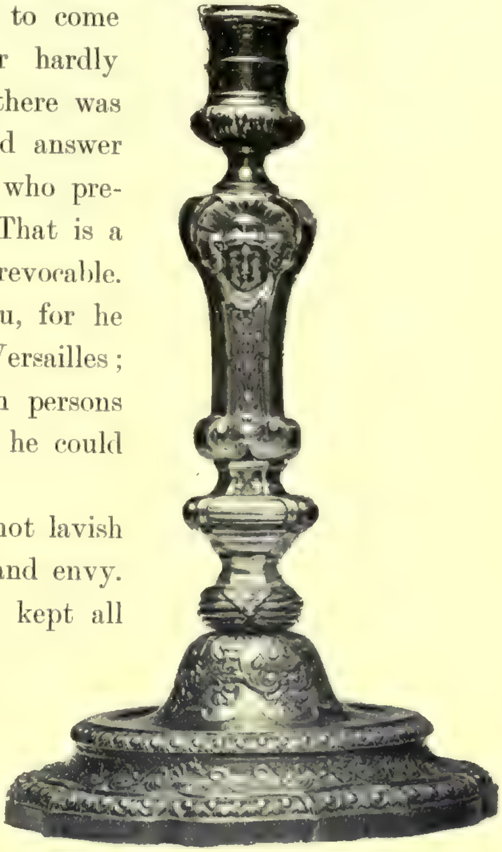
[illegible] H. Rigaud pinx.

Philippe de Courcillon Marquis de Dangeau
Grand Maistre de l'Ordre de N.re Dame du Mont Carmel et de S.t Lazare

[illegible] [illegible] Printed in France

everybody, no one escaped his notice, not even those who did not hope for it. He immediately detected the absence of any persons who were in the habit of appearing at Court; he put together in his own mind the particular and general causes of such absence, and did not let slip the slightest opportunity of acting accordingly with respect to the defaulters. It was a demerit on the part of some not to make the Court their habitual residence, of others to come thither but seldom; but to come never, or hardly ever, was to incur certain displeasure. When there was a question of some favour for these he would answer haughtily, "I do not know them." Of those who presented themselves but seldom he would say, "That is a man whom I never see." These decrees were irrevocable. It was also a crime not to go to Fontainebleau, for he regarded that royal palace in the same light as Versailles; and it was also an injury to him that certain persons did not ask [permission] for Marly. Above all he could not endure the people who liked Paris.

"A word, a look from the King, who was not lavish of either, was precious, and attracted attention and envy. King everywhere, at every moment King, he kept all breathless and in fear, and by luxury and war he almost reduced the nobles, great and otherwise, to living on his bounty only."



A SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CANDLESTICK.
(Guérin Collection.)

La Bruyère has summed up the grievances of those dukes and peers who regretted the degradation of the nobility, in the following plain, dry, moralist's formula: "Show and luxury in a sovereign is the shepherd dressed in precious stones, with a golden crook in his hands, his dog wears a golden collar, and is held in a leash of gold and silk. What avails so much gold to his flock, or against the wolves?"

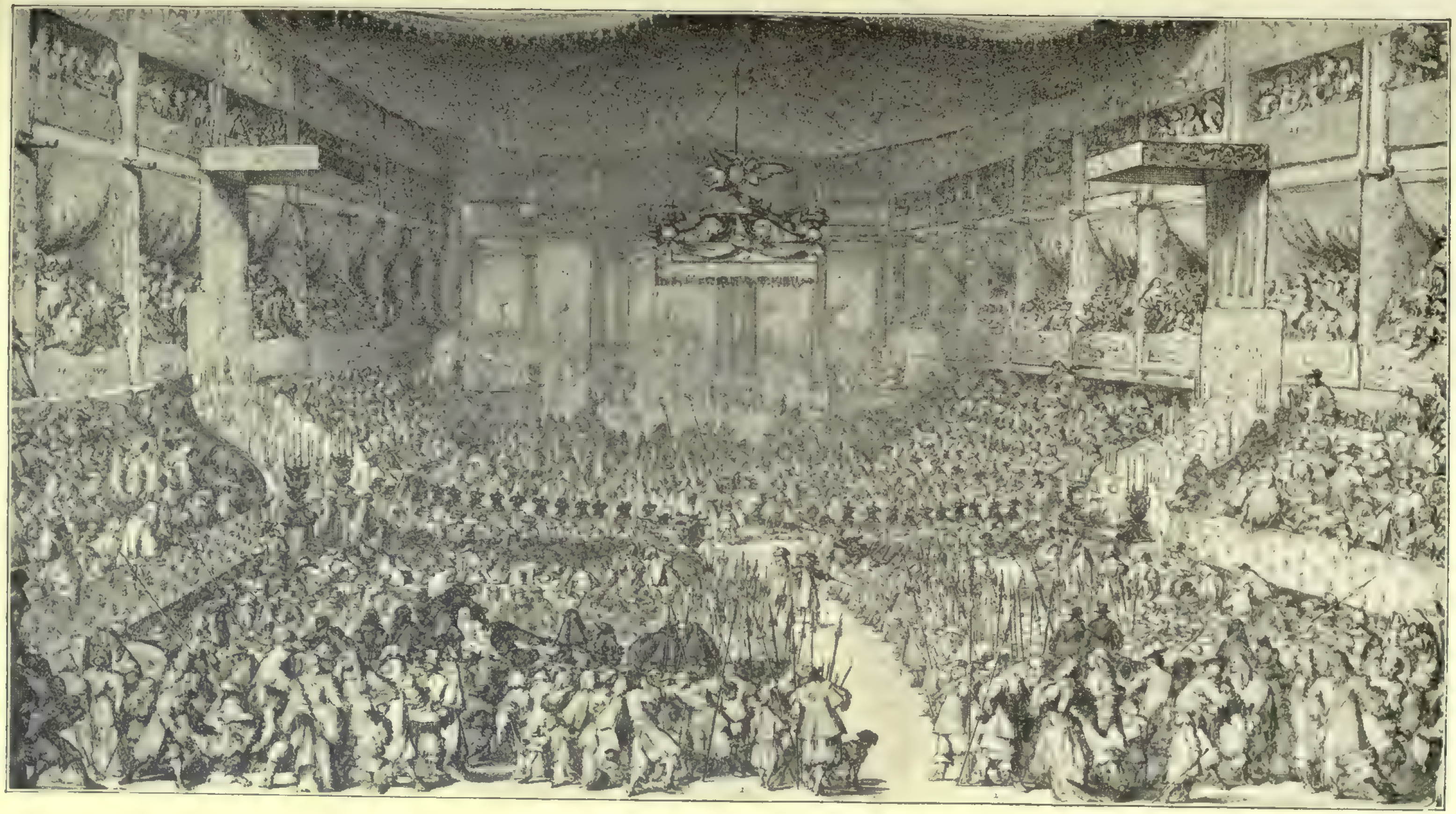
The entire chapter "De la Cour" in his famous "Caractères" is a picture of the Versailles society of the period. La Bruyère paints the courtiers to the life, their passions, their calculations, and their petty ambitions.

"The Court is like an edifice built of marble: I mean to say that it is composed of men who are very hard, but highly polished.

"It is a country in which joy is visible but false, and grief is hidden but real. Who could believe that the eagerness for spectacles of all kinds, the applause of Molière and Harlequin at the theatres, feasting, hunting, ballets and tournaments cover up so much disquiet and care, so many conflicting interests, so many fears and hopes, passions so strong, and affairs so serious?"

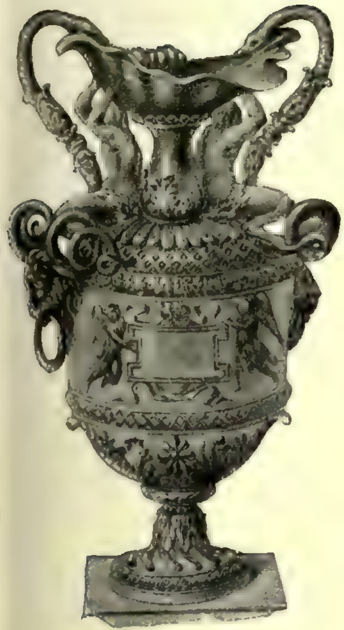
Then come the "Lettres Persanes," that first sample of an inimitable satirist, the best criticism of all upon the seamy side of things at Versailles, and the vices hidden beneath its splendour—the "Asiatic outside," as Saint-Simon said.

"There is talk of a region in which old men are still gallant, urbane and polite; the young, on the contrary, are hard, rough, without manners or politeness; having rid themselves of the passion for women at the age when it usually begins to be experienced, they prefer the ridiculous in their repasts, their viands, and their loves. According to them, he who gets drunk on wine only is sober and moderate; their too frequent use of it has rendered it insipid to them. They seek to revive their extinct taste by brandy and the strongest liqueurs; their debauch stops short at *aqua fortis* only. The women of that country hasten the decline of their beauty by tricks which beautify them as they believe; their custom is to paint their lips, their cheeks, their eyebrows and their shoulders, which they display, together with their busts, their arms and their ears. They who inhabit that country have a countenance which is not clear, but blurred, encumbered by a mass of false hair—and this they prefer to their own—making a long web that covers the head, comes half way down the body, changes the features and prevents men from being known by their faces. Those people have besides their god and their king. The great persons of the nation assemble every day at a certain hour in a temple which they call 'church.' At the far end of this temple there is an altar consecrated to their god, where a priest celebrates mysteries which they call holy, sacred and awful. The great personages form a wide circle at the foot of this altar and remain standing, their backs turned to the priest and the sacred mysteries, and their faces raised towards the king, who is to be seen kneeling in a gallery, and on whom all their hearts and minds seem to be fixed. A due subordination is thus manifested, for these people seem to adore the prince, and the prince to adore God. The people of the country name it ——; it is about forty-eight degrees of



THE COURT OF LOUIS XIV. ASSEMBLED FOR THE BAPTISM OF THE DAUPHIN, 1668.

(From a print of the period.)



GOLDEN VASE.

(From a cartoon by Lebrun, Palais Royal. Series of *The Seasons*.—Musée de Versailles.)

elevation from the Pole, and more than eleven hundred leagues of sea from the Iroquois and the Hurons."

We arrive later at the conclusion of Taine: "Pompous parade has replaced efficacious action, the seigneurs are merely pretty ornaments; they are no longer useful ornaments; they 'represent' round about the King, who also 'represents,' and contribute their persons to the scenery and stage effect."

It must be admitted that the scenery and stage effect were successful, and that since the fêtes of the Italian Renaissance, nothing more magnificent had been seen.

⁂

All this gave an air of grandeur to the Court of Louis XIV. which eclipsed the other Courts of Europe. He desired the prestige which attached to his person to be reflected on all that surrounded him; that all the great should be honoured, but that none should be powerful, beginning with his brother and Monsieur le Prince. With this purpose in view he settled the old quarrel of the Peers with the Presidents of Parliament in favour of the former.

To distinguish his principal courtiers he had invented blue jackets embroidered in gold and silver. Permission to wear these was esteemed a great favour by men whose lives were ruled by vanity, and it was craved for as though the conferring of an Order had been in question. It may be observed, since small details are in question, that jackets were then worn over a doublet adorned with ribbons, and that a baldrick, from which the sword hung, was passed around the neck over the jacket. With this costume went a

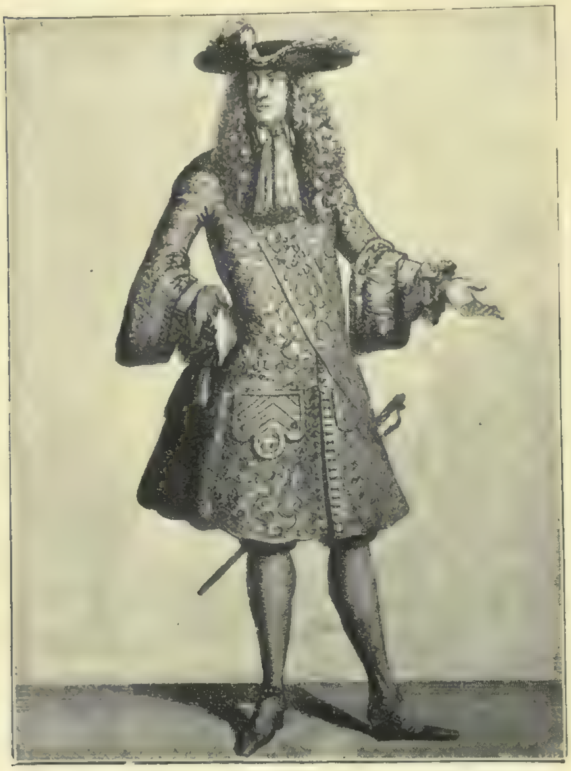
A MANTEL SLAB IN THE SALON D'HERCULE.

(Château de Versailles.)

FRAGMENT OF THE WOODWORK AND THE CARVED FRAME OF THE PANELS OF THE KING'S ROOM IN THE CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES.

falling lace cravat and a hat with two rows of feathers. The fashion, which lasted until the year 1684, was adopted all over Europe, with the exception of Spain and Poland. The great world almost everywhere piqued itself on imitating Louis XIV.

He established a Household Order, which still exists, regulated ranks and functions, created new offices about his person—for instance, that of Grand Master of the Wardrobe. He re-established the tables instituted by François I., and augmented them. There were twelve for the officers' mess, served with as much elegance and profusion as those of many sovereigns; he desired that strangers should all be invited—an attention that was continued during the whole of his reign. There was another still more polite and rare. When the King had the pavilions of Marly built in 1679, the ladies found that a complete toilet equipage was provided for each in her apartment; nothing requisite for convenience or luxury was omitted; every member of the "*voyage*," as these flittings from palace to palace were called, might entertain in her own rooms, and the repasts were as elegantly served as the



THE COSTUME OF A LIEUTENANT OF THE KING'S GUARD.

(Fashion print by Bonnart.)

master's. These small things are precious only when they are backed up by great things. In everything that he did generosity and splendour were displayed. On the marriage of the daughters of his Ministers, the King made each a present of two hundred thousand francs.

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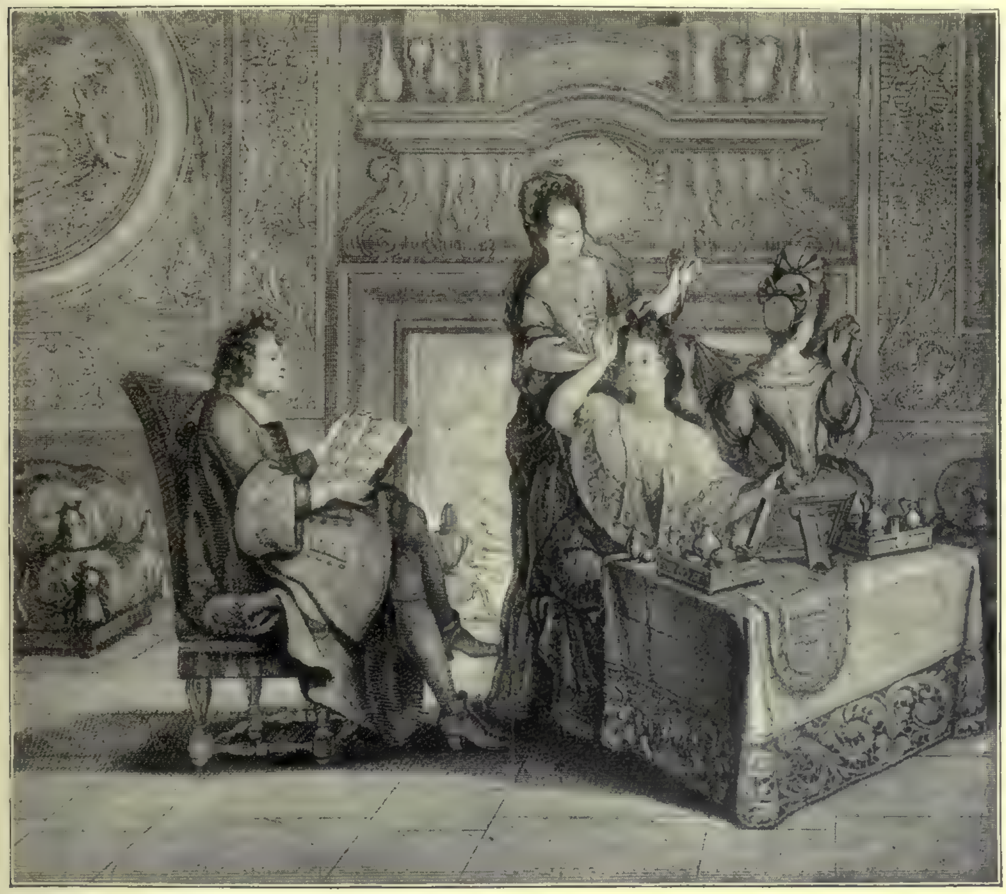
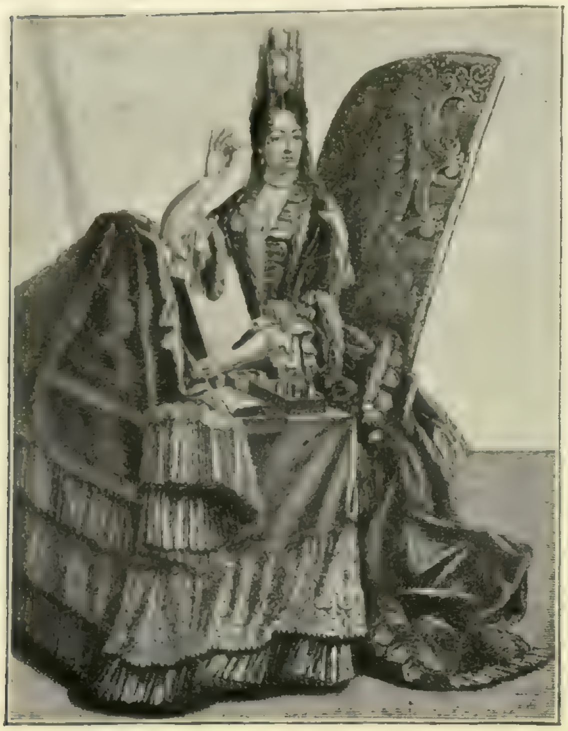
Spanheim enables us to complete this picture of the Court of France under Louis XIV., and the expenditure which it implied, by some interesting details. He particularly admires the manner of the ordering of the Court and the expenses.



THE TOILET OF A LADY OF QUALITY.

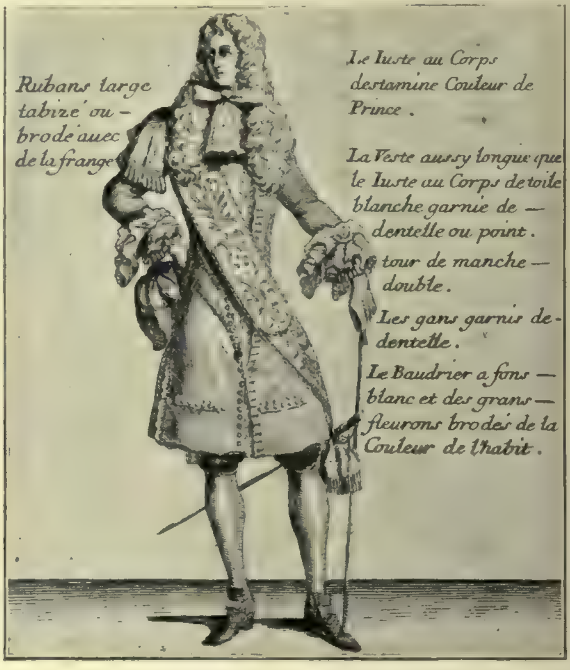
(From an engraving by Saint-Jean.)

"Under the present reign," he writes, "there is a great deal of order and economy in the management of the household expenditure



A LADY OF QUALITY AT HER TOILET: MARY ANNE STUART, QUEEN OF ENGLAND.
(After a print by Bonnart.)

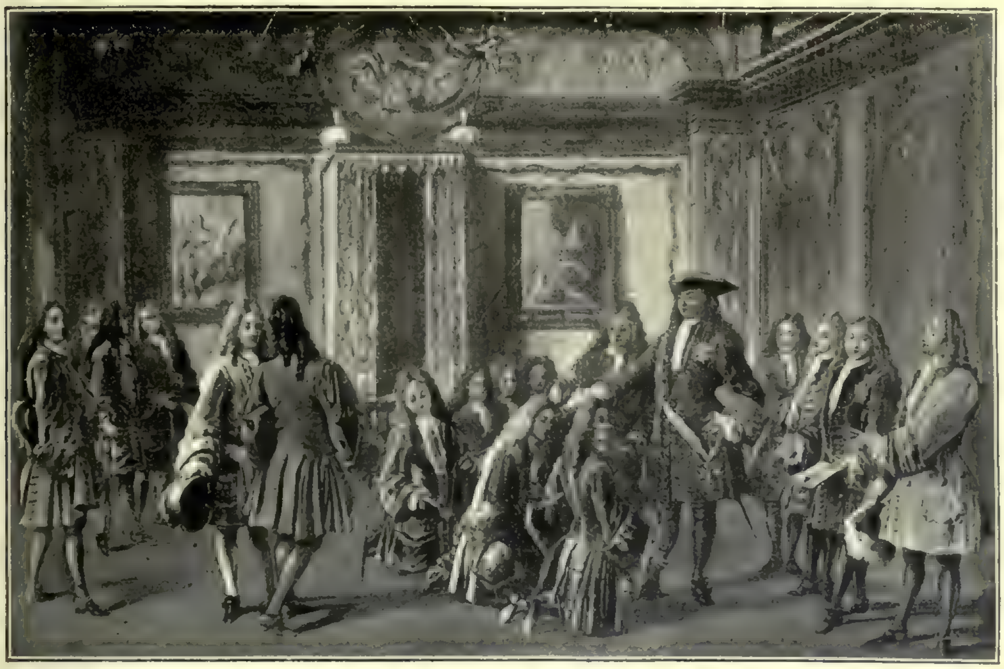
in the midst of the glitter and parade. An effort has been made to remedy at their source the confusion that existed in the administration of the finances under the past reign, and under the minority and early years of the present, and which caused the funds destined for, or that ought to have been applied to the ordinary maintenance of the King's Court, his tables, his officers, and other regular requirements, to be turned aside to other uses by the extravagance or ill-conduct of Superintendents and Treasurers of the State Funds, who took advantage of their office to keep up their own luxury and expense. This confusion having been reformed since the imprisonment of the late M. Fouquet, and by the order into which M. Colbert brought the finances, enabled the same order to be re-established in the provision required for the King's household, and for all that was necessary to the maintenance of economy and the display of magnificence at the same time.


Rubans large tabize ou — brode auec de la frange
Le Iuste au Corps destamine Couleur de Prince.
La Veste aussy longue que le Iuste au Corps de toile blanche garnie de — dentelle ou point.
tour de manche — double.
Les gans garnis de-dentelle.
Le Baudrier a fons — blanc et des grans — fleurons brodes de la Couleur de l'habit.

A COURTIER IN SUMMER HABIT.
(From a Print of the time.)

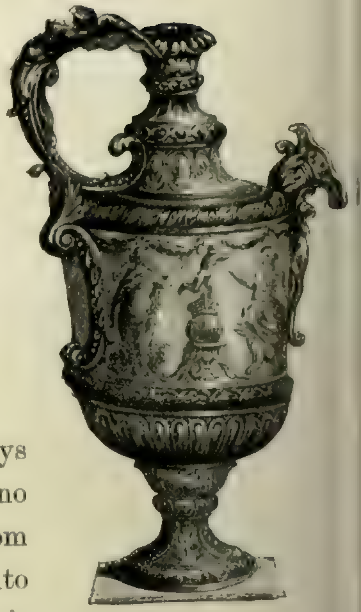
“ Care was taken that both should have their share in the providing of the King's tables, His Majesty's in the first place, afterwards that of the Grand Master, presided over by the Captain of the Guard, and those of the Grand Chamberlain, the first Maître d'Hôtel to the Queen, and the first Maître d'Hôtel to the Dauphine, without mentioning other inferior tables. These are all maintained at the King's expense, and do honour to the Court, while they are very agreeable to certain courtiers who are held in consideration, and who generally find their place at them.

"We may number among the principal tables of the Court that of the Dauphin's governor, the Duc de Montausier, those of the governess of the children of France, the Maréchale de la Motte, the lady-in-waiting on the Queen, and the present lady-in-waiting on the Dauphine; she is the Duchesse d'Arpajon. These personages maintain their tables with money which the King gives them for this purpose and also to do honour to the Court, according to the more or less method which each of them brings to the task. All these circumstances contribute not a little to the grandeur of a royal Court and the convenience of the courtiers.



RECEPTION BY THE KING AT VERSAILLES OF THE KNIGHTS OF THE ORDER OF SAINT-LOUIS.
(Musée de Versailles. This sketch of the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. exactly represents the King's Chamber.)

"The *grands seigneurs* and courtiers who frequent the Château are for the most part, and with the exception of a very small number, such as the Prince de Condé, dependent almost entirely on the King's bounties and the salaries of their various posts."

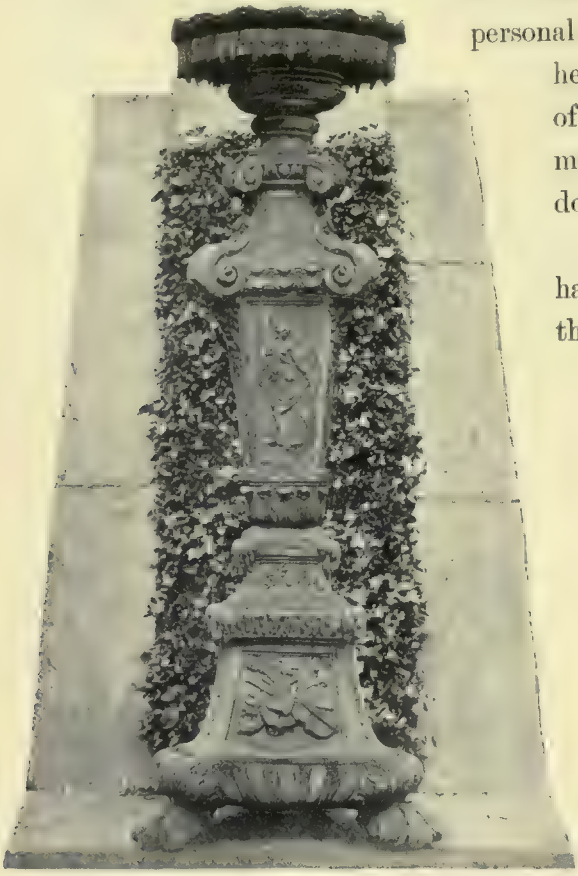


A GOLD EWER.

(From the cartoon by Lebrun. Château de Madrid. Series of *Les Saisons*. — Musée de Versailles.)

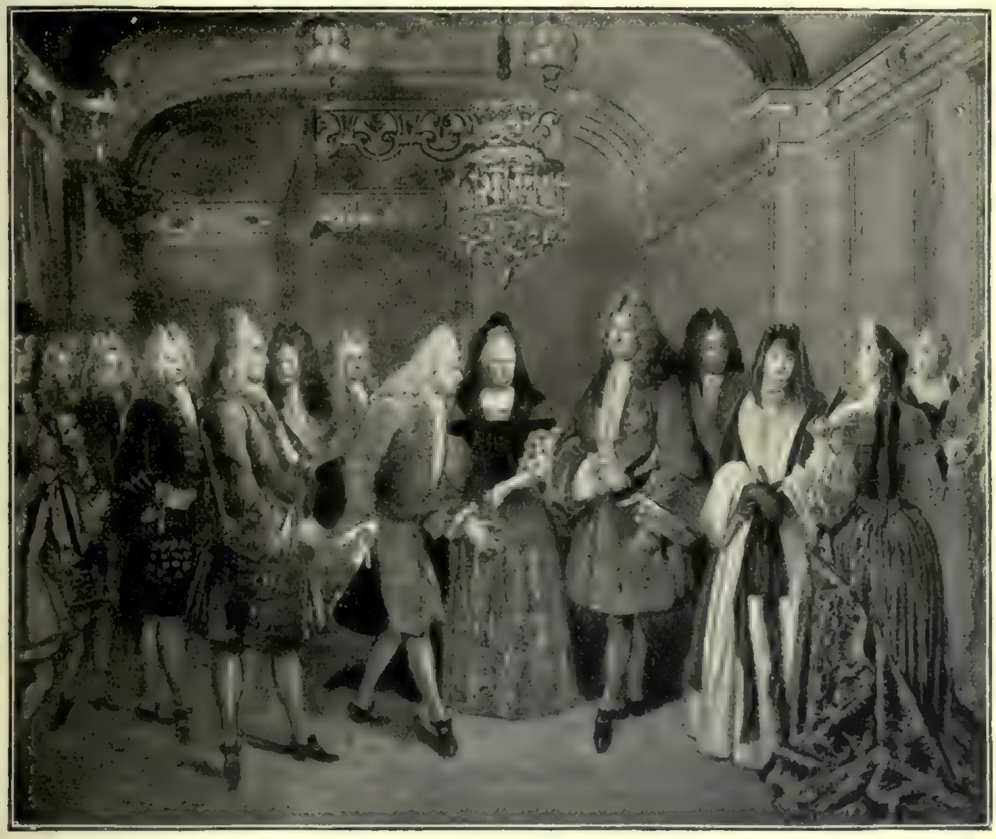
While he admires the order, the fine ruling of the Court, "which serve as instruction and example to the rest of the kingdom and to foreign Courts," Spanheim adds certain criticisms which Voltaire tried to refute. He reproaches Louis XIV. with his avarice.

"Although he was lavish in his own case," says Saint-Simon, "and even gave great gifts, he was by no means liberal, and he said himself that he took that from his House and from all the Bourbons. He entered into the smallest items of his personal expenses, and as he liked every kind of detail, and the most minute, he thought this was doing great things."



CRESSET IN BRONZE, BY LEHONGRE, IN THE "BOSQUET."
(Gardens of Versailles.)

To Spanheim belongs the credit of having discovered the secret motives of the gifts of Louis XIV. He gives us a very curious study of royal psychology: "As he is more inclined to make himself regarded by his people as a master than as a father, he is better pleased with their submission than with their liking, and he is not touched by any real desire to relieve them. So it may be said that though he loves to give he loves better to amass; that his beneficence or his liberality is generally interested; that he gives as much, or even more, from ostentation as from choice. Thus it is that he is equally fond of show and saving; that there often is profusion where there might be economy, and too much of the latter where liberal spending would be more to the purpose. We have only to reflect to see this: on the one hand the eighty millions that the château, the gardens, and the waterworks of Versailles cost him, on the works in progress on the Maintenon aqueduct, at which more than thirty thousand men have been employed for three years; on the other hand the poverty of the lower classes and of the country people, exhausted by taxes, the billeting of soldiery upon them, and the excise and salt duties."



LOUIS XIV. RECEIVING, WITH THE PRINCESS PALATINE AND MADAME DE MAINTENON, THE ELECTORAL PRINCE OF SAXONY AT FONTAINEBLEAU.

(From a painting by Louis Silvestre at Versailles. A replica is in the palace at Dresden.)

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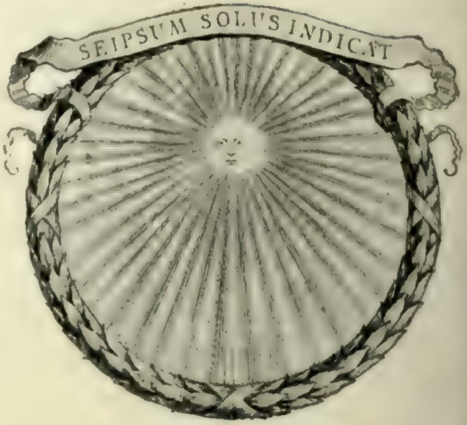
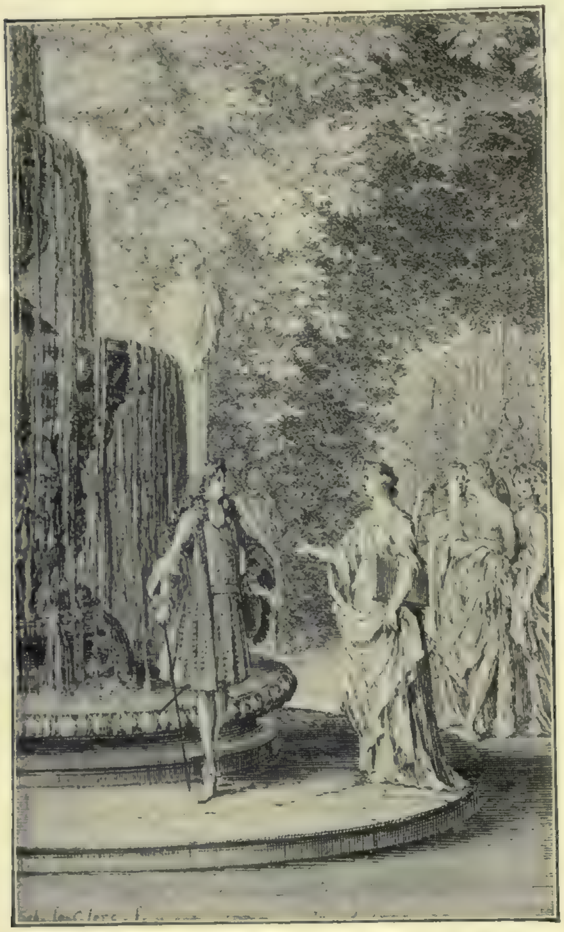
One unexampled act of generosity won for Louis XIV. his greatest renown in Europe. The idea suggested itself to him in talking with the Duc de Saint-Aignan, who told him that Cardinal Richelieu had sent



NEW DEVICE IN HONOUR OF THE SUN-KING.

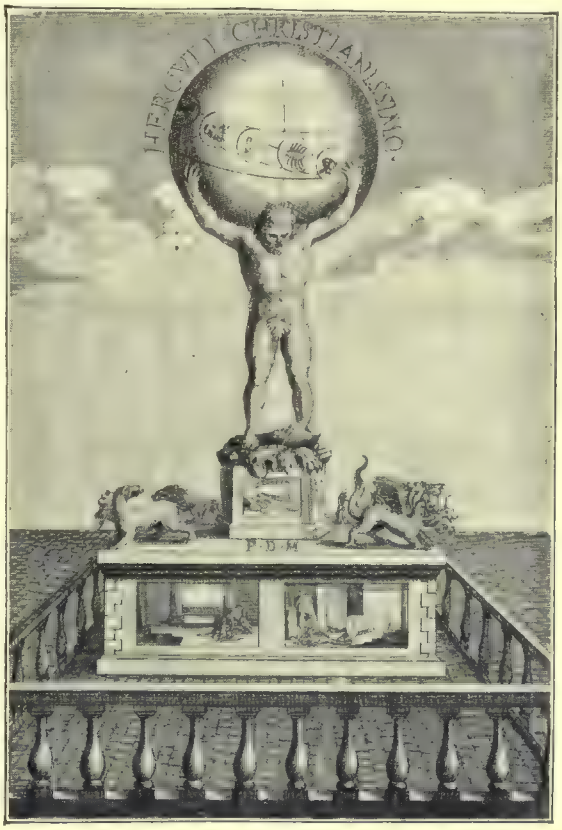
presents to some learned foreigner who had praised him. The King did not wait until he had been praised; but, being sure of meriting eulogium, he directed his Ministers, Lyonne and Colbert, to select a number of Frenchmen and foreigners, distinguished in literature, to be recipients of tokens of his generosity. Lyonne having written to foreign countries and learned as much as he could in this very delicate matter—for it involved the giving of preference to contemporaries—a list was at first made of sixty persons; some of these had pensions, others presents, according to their rank, their needs, and their merit. (1663.) Allacci, the librarian of the Vatican; Count Graziani, Secretary of State to the Duke of Modena; the famous Viviani, mathematician to the Grand Duke of Tuscany; Vossius, the historiographer of the United Provinces; Huygens, the celebrated mathematician; a Dutch resident in Sweden; lastly, even to professors of Altdorf and Helmstadt, towns almost unknown to the French, were astonished to receive letters from M. Colbert, by which he informed them that, although the King of France was not their sovereign, he begged them to allow him to be their benefactor. The terms of these letters were measured by the dignity of



LOUIS XIV. CONVERSES WITH THE MUSES.
(Allegorical print by S. Leclerc.)

the persons, and all were accompanied either by considerable gratuities or pensions.

Among Frenchmen, Racine, Quinault and Fléchier—afterwards Bishop of Nîmes, then quite young—were distinguished; they received gifts. It is true that Chapelain and Cotin had pensions, but it was chiefly Chapelain whom Colbert had consulted. These two men were not undeserving, much as their poetry was cried down. Chapelain was deeply read in literature, and, however surprising the statement may appear, he had good taste, and was a highly accomplished critic. There is a great distance between all this and genius. Learning and intellect lead an artist but do not in any sense make him. None in France had more reputation in their respective day than Ronsard and Chapelain; but we were barbarians in the time of Ronsard and had hardly emerged from barbarism in that of Chapelain. Costar, the fellow-student of Balzac and Voiture, called Chapelain the first of the heroic poets.



THE MOST CHRISTIAN HERCULES.
(Allegorical print in praise of Louis XIV.)

Boileau had no share in these donations. He had hitherto produced satires only, and we know that in his satires he attacked the very same learned persons whom the Ministers had consulted. Some years afterwards the King marked him out for distinction without consulting anybody.

The presents made to foreigners were so considerable that Viviani had a house built at Florence with the money given to him by Louis XIV. On the front was inscribed in letters of gold, "Ædes a Deo datæ," an allusion to the surname of "Dieu donné" which the voice of the people had bestowed upon Louis at his birth.

It is easy to imagine the effect which this extraordinary munificence produced in Europe; and if we consider all the subsequent memorable acts of the King, the most severe and hard to please of critics might tolerate the immoderate eulogy that was lavished upon him. France was not the only country in which his praises were sung. In twelve different cities of Italy the panegyric of Louis XIV. was pronounced. This was true homage, not rendered under pressure of fear or impulse of hope. The Marchese Zampieri conveyed it to the King.

He never ceased to bestow his patronage upon Art and Letters. We have evidence of this in his gratuities to Racine, amounting to nearly four thousand louis, in the prosperity of Despréaux and Quinault, and especially that of Lulli and all the artists who devoted themselves to his service. He gave a thousand louis to Benserade to enable him to have the line-engravings of his "Metamorphoses d'Ovide en rondeaux" executed. This was liberality misapplied, and proves only the King's generosity: in reality it was his way of rewarding Benserade for his very moderate ballets.

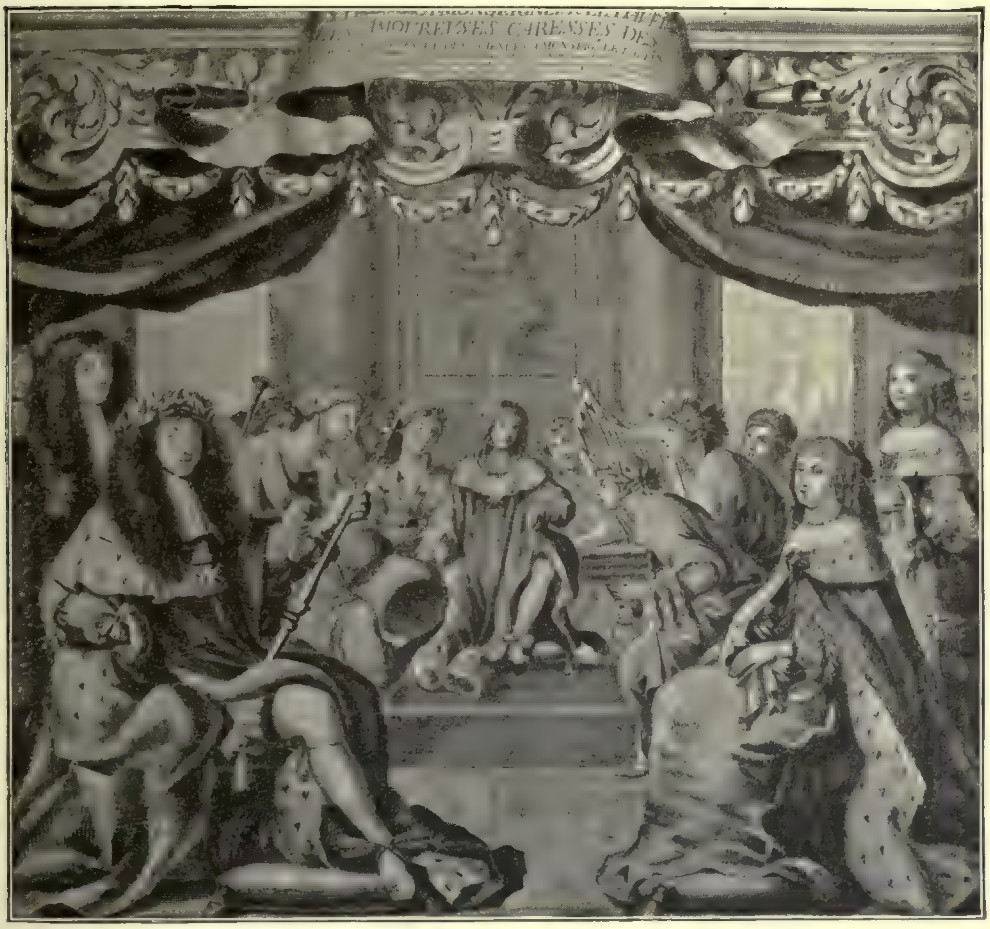
Several writers have attributed the patronage of the Arts by Louis XIV. and his munificence, to Colbert alone; but the Minister's only merit in the matter was his support of the taste and generosity of his master. Colbert, who had a real genius for finance, commerce, navigation and general policy, had not the taste and elevation of mind of the King, to whose views he lent himself zealously indeed, but he did not inspire him with that which is a gift of nature.

All this considered, we do not see on what foundation certain writers have based the accusation of avarice against Louis XIV. A prince who has property absolutely independent of State revenues may be avaricious like a private individual, but a king of France, who is in reality only the dispenser of money that belongs to his subjects, cannot be tainted by the vice of avarice. Perception, and readiness to reward may be wanting in him, but these are faults with which Louis XIV. cannot be reproached.

At the very time when he encouraged all the talents by so many bountiful deeds, he severely punished the use made by the Comte de Bussy of his abilities. Bussy was sent to the Bastille in 1665. The pretext was "Les Amours des Gaules"; the real cause was the song in which the

King was too plainly indicated, and which was revived in order to ruin Bussy, to whom it was imputed—

Que Déodatus est heureux
De baiser ce bec amoureux,
Qui d'une oreille à l'autre va !
Alleluia !

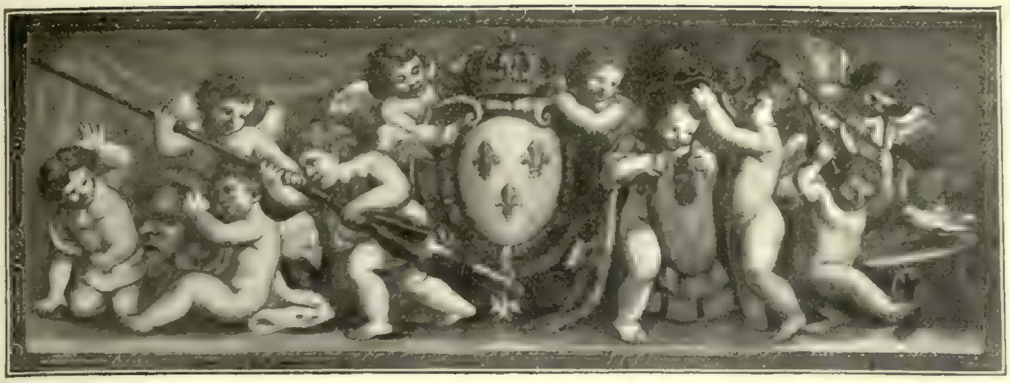


LOUIS XIV. TEACHES THE DAUPHIN TO PATRONISE ARTS AND LETTERS. ALLEGORICAL CONCERT OF THE MUSES TO THE ROYAL FAMILY.

(From an Almanac of the period, 1667.)

The works of Bussy were not good enough to compensate for the harm which they did him. He spoke his language purely ; he had a certain amount of talent, but a greater amount of conceit, and he only made enemies by his cleverness. The King would have acted generously if he had pardoned him: but he avenged a personal wrong while seeming to yield to the public outcry. The Comte de Bussy was however released at the end of eighteen months: but he was deprived of his official employment and remained in disgrace all the rest of his life, making vain protests of attachment to Louis XIV., in which neither the King nor any other person believed.

MEDAL STRUCK ON THE OCCASION OF
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCE,
1667.



THE ARMS OF THE KING BORNE BY THE LOVES.

(Heading by Chauveau from the *Recueil des courses de tetes et de bagues*, from the Imprimerie Royale. From the illuminated copy in the Versailles Library.)

## III.

## THE REIGN AT ITS APOGEE:

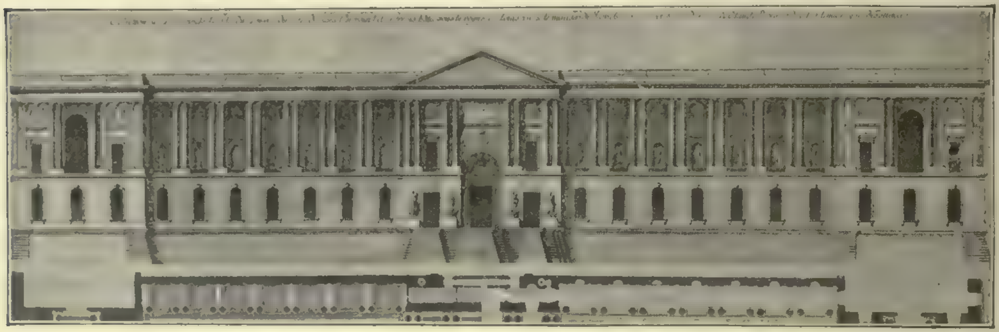
## THE MANNERS AND HABITS OF THE KING AND THE COURT.

GROUP OF CHILDREN IN THE ALLÉE D'EAU.
(Gardens of Versailles.)

LOUIS XIV. would gladly have added the charm of friendship to the glory, grandeur, pleasure and gallantry which occupied the early years of his reign; but it is difficult for a King to make a fortunate choice of friends. Of two men in whom he placed entire confidence, one basely betrayed him, the other abused his favour. The first was the Marquis de Vardes, the confidant of the King's relations with Madame de La Vallière, whose position indeed naturally created jealousy, but whose disposition ought to have preserved her from enmity. The Marquis de Vardes was induced by Court intrigues to endeavour to work her ruin. In concert with the Comte de Guiche and the Comtesse de Soissons, he ventured to forge a letter to the Queen, purporting to come from the King of Spain, her father, by which the Queen was informed of facts that she ought not to have known, and which could not fail to disturb the peace of the royal family. In addition to this perfidious deed he basely threw suspicion upon the most upright persons of the Court, the Duc de Navailles and his wife (1665). These two innocent individuals were sacrificed to the resentment of the deluded monarch. The atrocity of the conduct of Vardes was too notorious, but, criminal as he was, Vardes hardly underwent a more severe punishment than his falsely accused victims, who were compelled to resign their places and retire from Court.

The other favourite was the Comte (afterwards Duc) de Lauzun, sometimes the King's rival in his transient loves, sometimes his confidant, and afterwards notorious for his marriage with Mademoiselle, which he wanted to contract too publicly, and did afterwards effect secretly, in spite of his pledged word to his master.

The King, thus deceived, declared that he had sought for friends and had found schemers only. This unfortunate knowledge of men, which we acquire too late, led him to utter the historic saying, "Each time that I give away a vacant place I make a hundred malcontents and one ingrate."



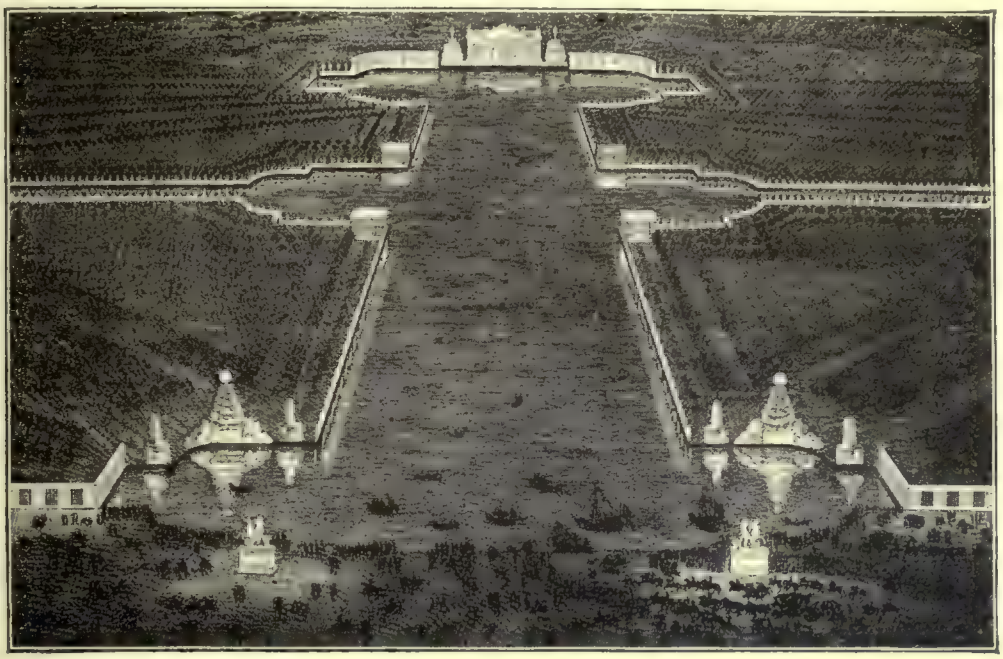
THE COLONNADE OF THE LOUVRE, ELEVATION OF THE PRINCIPAL FRONT.
(Front and plan, from the designs of Claude Perrault, 1665.)

During the war of 1667 the pleasures of the Court, the embellishment of the royal dwellings in Paris, and the business of the internal policy of the kingdom were not interrupted.

The King danced in the ballets until 1670. He was then thirty-two years old. The tragedy of *Britannicus* was acted before him at Saint-Germain, and he was struck by these lines—

> Pour toute ambition, pour vertu singulière,
> Il excelle à conduire un char dans le carrière;
> A disputer des prix indignes de ses mains;
> A se donner lui-même en spectacle aux Romains.

Thenceforth he danced no more in public: the poet had reformed the Prince. His attachment to Madame de La Vallière still continued notwithstanding his infidelities. He always returned to her whose sweetness, gentleness, and kindly nature had retained their charm for him; but from 1669 she perceived that Madame de Montespan was surely gaining ascendency. This she contested indeed, but with her habitual gentleness. She bore the pain of witnessing her rival's triumph for a long time, and she hardly complained, regarding herself as still happy, in her grief, to be "considered" by the King, and to see him although he no longer loved her.



A NOCTURNAL FÊTE ON THE GRAND CANAL AT VERSAILLES IN 1674.
(From a print by Israel Silvestre.)

At length, in 1675, she sought the refuge of tender souls and deep-feeling hearts. God alone could console the stricken and penitent woman. Her conversion was as celebrated as her attachment; she became a Carmelite nun in a Paris convent of that Order, and she persevered. The severity of the rule of Saint Teresa did not deter the delicate woman accustomed to so much grandeur, ease, pleasure and adulation. She lived in the practice of that austere rule from 1675 into the year 1710, under the name of Sœur Louise de la Miséricorde.

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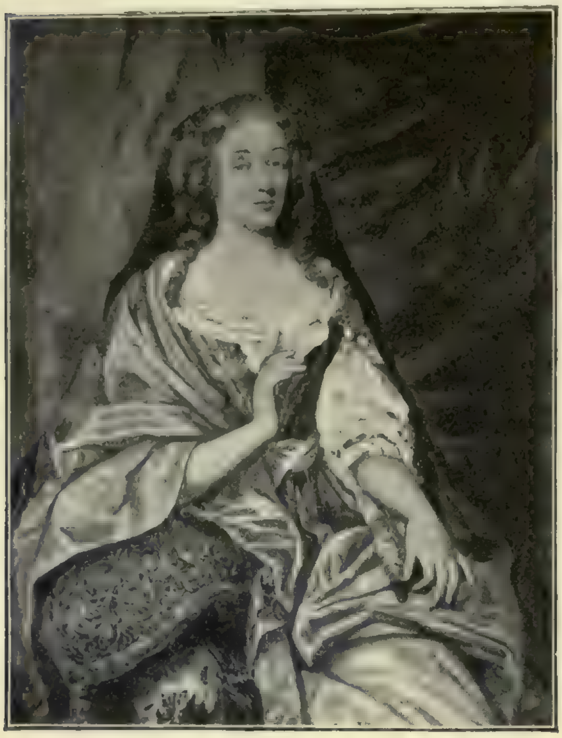
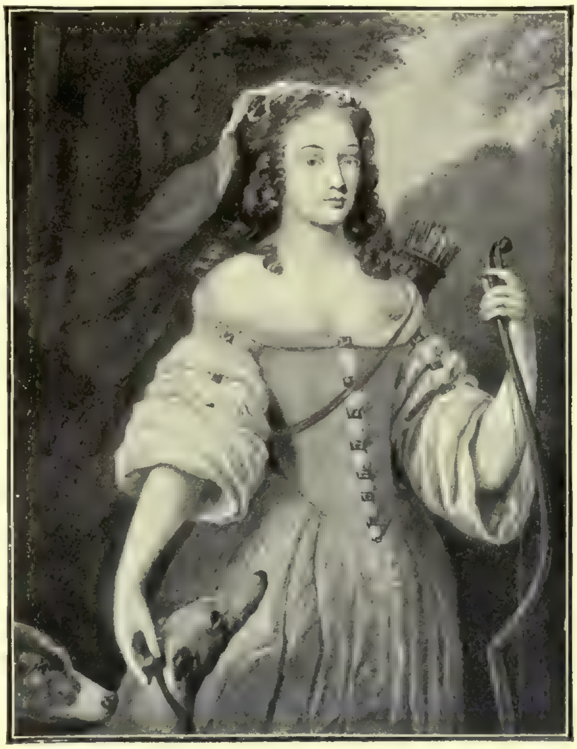
Voltaire's pity for Mademoiselle de La Vallière has been shared by all contemporaries. Such was the effect upon all who approached her of her brave and dignified retirement, and probably also of her charming nature. She reminded the Court of the fair and gracious Princess Henrietta of England, whose untimely death was one of the calamities of the reign.



MADEMOISELLE DE LA VALLIÈRE.
(By Jean Nocret.—Musée de Versailles.)

Spanheim writes of Louise de La Vallière as follows: "She inspired the King with the strongest affection of which he was capable, although her birth and her beauty were alike middling, and she was not clever. She won and kept that affection by her gentle and thoughtful air, by a remarkable refinement of feeling and disposition, by the strife of modesty, which was natural to her, with the real and strong attraction that she felt towards the King. That tender and reciprocal, though not legitimate attachment, accompanied by all the precautions which it demanded and inspired, gave rise to the King's retirement to Versailles, and afterwards to the diversions and *fêtes galantes* which were invented in compliment to the passion of a king in love. It lasted for nearly two years in all its ardour, until it gave place to the King's new fancy for Madame de Montespan. Mademoiselle de La Vallière—who sincerely loved the King for himself alone, and apart from that weakness, and the unfortunate position into which it had thrown her, had natural honour and modesty—struck to the heart by her lover's inconstancy, was converted by the trial, and, notwithstanding all the obstacles which the King himself interposed, and her affection for her two children, she abandoned the Court and the world with resignation and firmness of mind of which there are few examples."

The beauty of Mademoiselle de La Vallière has been disputed; for instance by that worthy magistrate d'Ormesson, who was almost indignant at the bad taste of the King. "This young lady did not appear handsome to me," he writes. "She has fine eyes and a good colour, but she is skinny, her cheeks are hollow, her mouth and teeth are ugly, the end of her nose is thick, and her face is long." Another adverse but anonymous critic, records his judgment thus: "What is this person like who has taken so firm a hold of the heart of so proud and splendid a king? She is of middle height, very slender; she does not walk well because she is lame; her complexion is a pale blonde, marked with small-pox; brown eyes; her mouth is large, rather red, the teeth not good, no bust, flat arms, which do not say much for the rest of her figure."



MADEMOISELLE DE LA VALLIÈRE AS DIANA.

(From an anonymous painting in the Musée de Versailles.)

On the other hand there is nothing but praise for her kind heart, her sweetness, her gracious ways. The author changes his tone here: "She has a great heart, firm, generous, disinterested, tender, loyal. She is sincere and faithful, free from all coquetry. She loves her friends with incomparable warmth."

The Princess Palatine, who was not tender towards vice, was disarmed by her.

"Her glance had a charm that one cannot describe. She had a good figure but bad teeth. I thought her eyes even finer than those of Madame de Montespan. She had a slight limp, but it was not unbecoming to her." This sweet woman is the subject of one of the prettiest portraits the Abbé de Choisy has given us.

"She was not one of those perfect beauties whom one may often admire without liking them. She was very amiable, and the line by La Fontaine, 'Et la grâce plus belle encore que la beauté,' might have been written for her. She had a beautiful complexion, fair hair, a sweet smile, a look so tender and yet so modest that it won love and esteem from the first moment. She had no ambition, no views, was even more bent on thinking of the object of her love than on pleasing him, preferred honour to all things, and exposed herself more than once to death rather than let her frailty be suspected. Sweet-tempered, generous, shy, she never forgot that she was doing ill, and hoped always to return to the right way."

A RELIQUARY SAID TO HAVE BEEN PUT TOGETHER BY MADAME DE LA VALLIÈRE.

(From the collection of Baron Jérôme Pichon.)

She has however depicted herself more faithfully than her admirers could have portrayed her, at the moment when she broke with Louis XIV. and with the world.

"You fear for me, and you are right, for I am still here. What would you have? I am weakness itself, and yet I am striving to get out of peril, perhaps too feebly. I say it to my shame, but I assure you it is sincere, and with the intention that it shall be soon.

"I am in despair at having made so little advance, and you could not cry more shame on me than I on myself. I am however more determined than ever, and if I were offered all the great things in the world I would not exchange the mere desire to be a Carmelite for the possession of them. I hold by only a thread now. Help me, I pray you, to break it; scold, threaten, treat me harshly. I have only one step to make, but I have feeling; and they were right who told you that Mademoiselle de Blois [her daughter] has inspired me with much. I must speak to the King; that is all my pain. Ask God to give me the strength that I shall need on that occasion. It is not leaving the Court for the cloister that costs me dear, but speaking to the King, that is my punishment. I show myself to you such as I am; do not love

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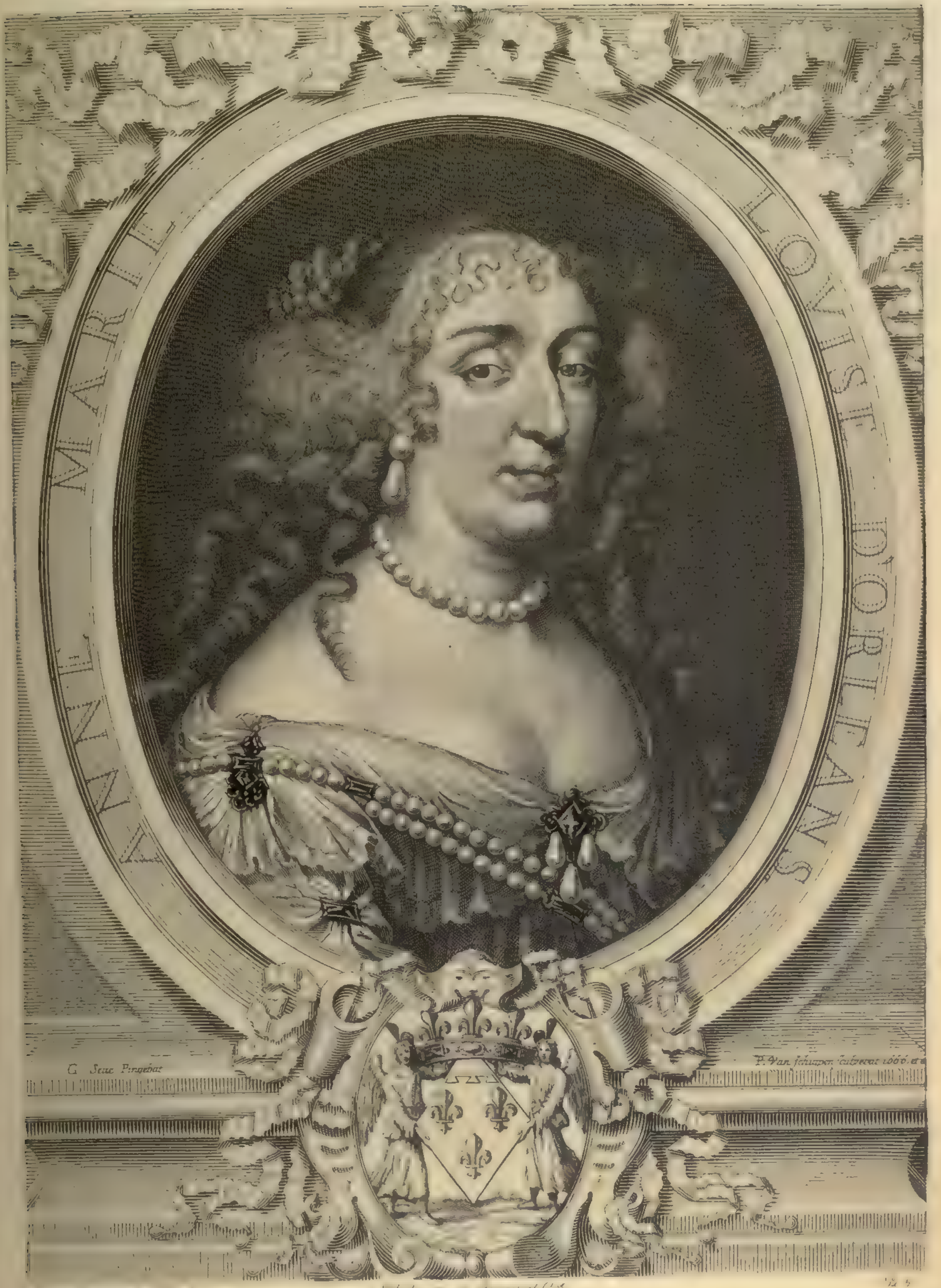
ANNE MARIE LOVISE D'ORLEANS
G. Seue Pingebat
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Photogravure Goupil et Cie

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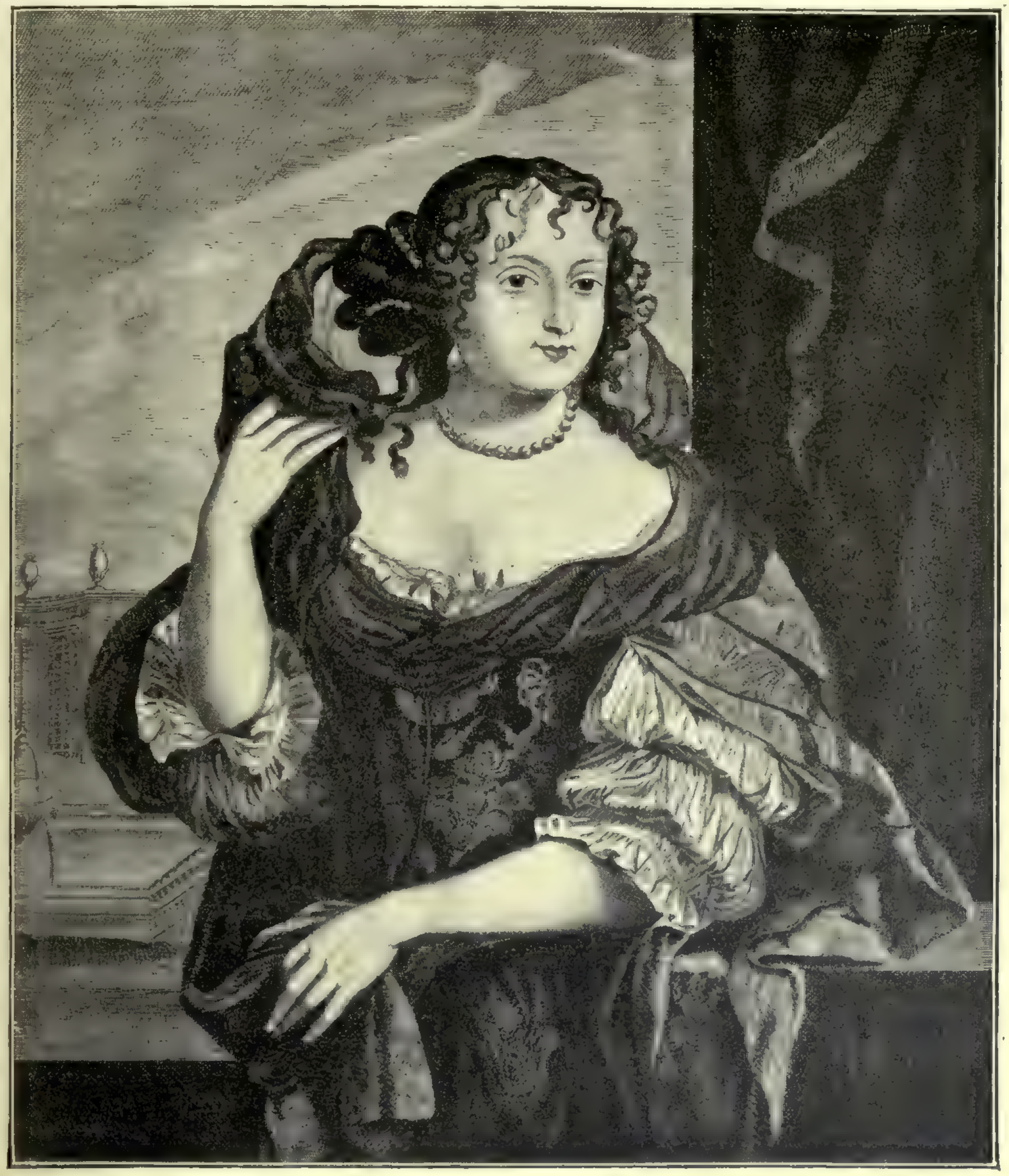
me less for that, I entreat you, and let your pity do on my behalf what my esteem does on yours. (Versailles, 8th February, 1674)."



MADAME DE MONTESPAN.

(By Netscher and V. Meurs.)

The following anecdote, related by Voltaire, is testimony more indirect borne by Mademoiselle de La Vallière to herself. It is eloquent and sincere.

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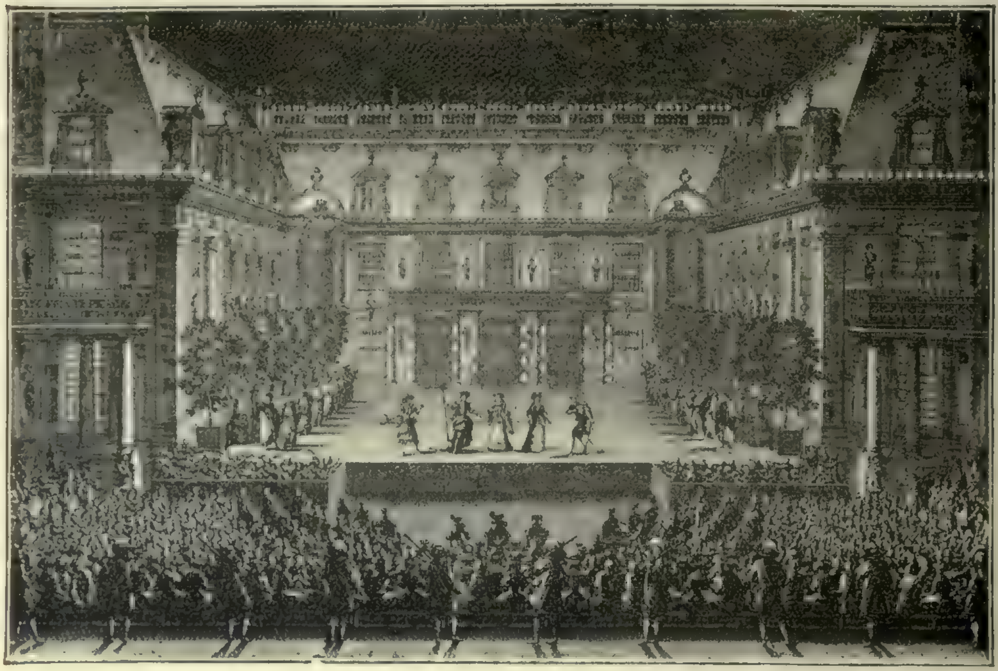
When the death of the Duc de Vermandois, her son by Louis XIV., was announced to Sœur Louise de la Miséricorde she said, "I ought to weep for his birth still more than for his death." A daughter remained to her, who bore a stronger resemblance to the King than any other of his children, and who married Prince Armand de Conti, nephew of the great Condé.

Meanwhile the Marquise de Montespan comported herself as favourite with parade and imperiousness that contrasted strongly with the modesty and gentleness of her predecessor in the royal favour.

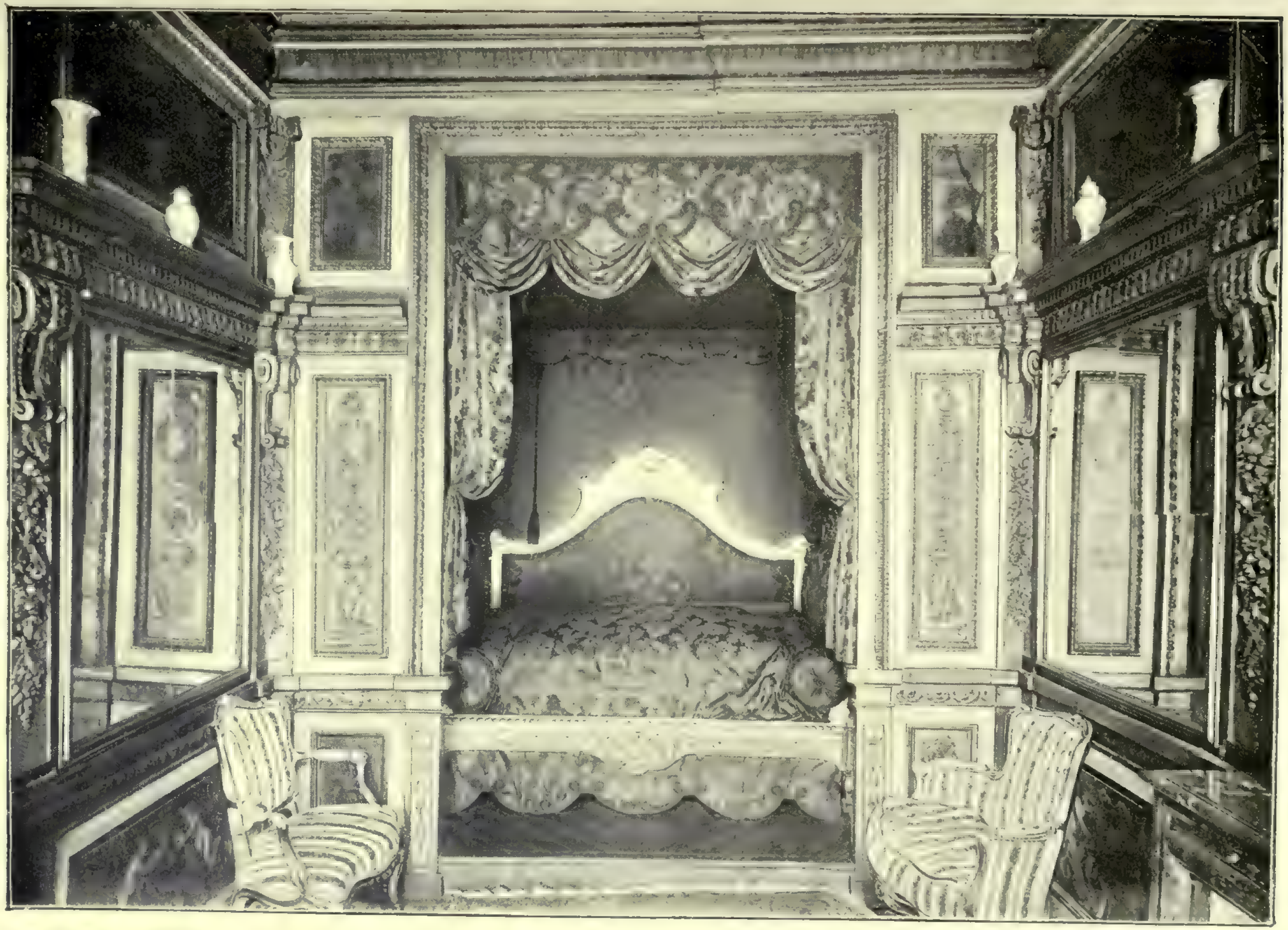


"ALCESTE," BY MOLIÈRE, ACTED BEFORE THE KING IN THE MARBLE COURT OF THE CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES, 1674.

(From a print by Lepautre.)

During the competition between these two widely different women for precedence in the heart of the King, love affairs were all the fashion at Court. Even Louvois was in the mode, and Madame Dufresnoi, the object of his affections, was made bed-chamber woman to the Queen, and had the *grandes entrées.* The King showed favour to the failings of his Ministers in order to justify his own.

A striking example of the power of prejudice and custom exists in the fact that all the married women were permitted to have lovers, but

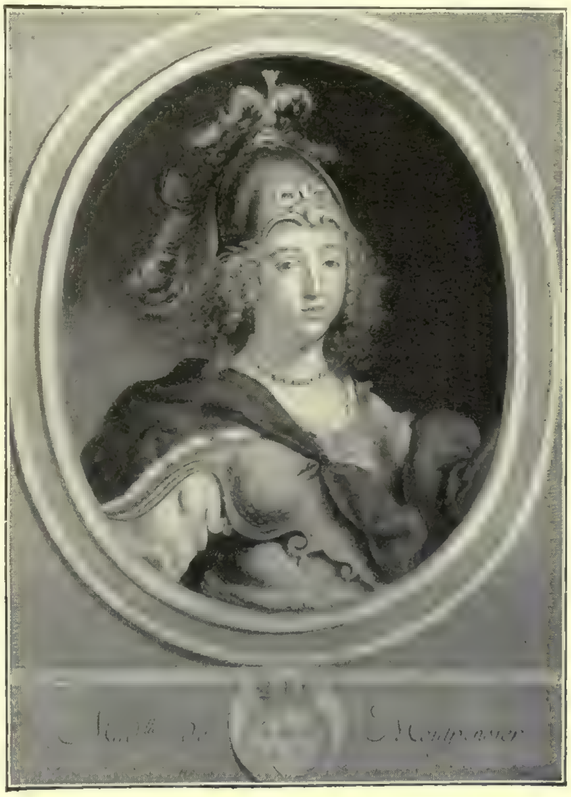


FORMER BOUDOIR IN THE APARTMENT OF LAUZUN, NOW A BED-CHAMBER.

(From the photograph by Paul Robert.—Hôtel de M. le Baron Jérôme Pichon.)

the granddaughter of Henri IV. was not allowed to have a husband. Mademoiselle, after having refused many sovereigns, after having hoped to marry Louis XIV., wished, at forty-four, to make the fortune of a mere gentleman. She obtained permission to marry Puyguilhem, of the name of Caumont, Comte de Lauzun, the last who was captain of one of the two companies of the hundred gentlemen with billhooks (*bec-de-corbin*)—which no longer exist—and the first for whom the King created the military rank of colonel-general of the dragoons. There were numerous instances of princesses who had married gentlemen. The Roman Emperors gave their daughters to senators; the daughters of Asiatic sovereigns more powerful and despotic than a king of France always have to marry their fathers' slaves.

Mademoiselle gave all her possessions, estimated at twenty millions, to the Comte de Lauzun—four duchies. She kept nothing for herself, but yielded entirely to her cherished idea of making the fortune of the man she loved on a grander scale than any king had ever made the fortune of any subject. The contract was drawn up, nothing but the signature was wanting. All was ready, when the King, persuaded by the representations of the Princes and Ministers, all enemies of a too-fortunate man, broke his word and forbade the alliance. He had written to the foreign Courts to announce the marriage; he now wrote to communicate its breaking-off. He was blamed for having sanctioned it; he was blamed for having prohibited it. He wept over the grief of Mademoiselle; but the same prince who with tears broke his word to her, had Lauzun confined in the prison-fortress of Pignerol,

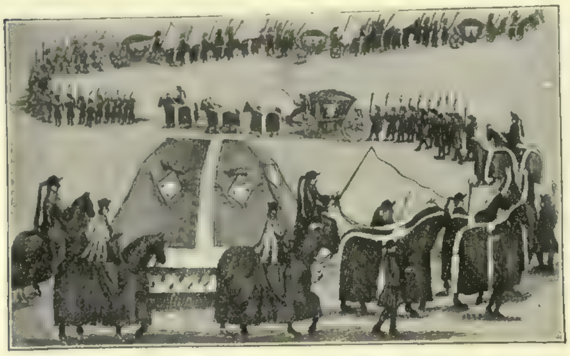


MADEMOISELLE DE MONTPENSIER AS MINERVA.

(From a print by Poilly, long supposed to be a portrait of Madame de Longueville by the same artist.)

in November 1670, for having married privately the princess whom he had given him permission a few months before to marry in public. Lauzun was imprisoned for ten whole years.

Those who have maintained that Madame de Montespan, after she had prevented the marriage, exacted this cruel vengeance from Louis XIV. in her anger with the Comte de Lauzun for his outspoken reproaches, have done the King a great wrong. There would have been both tyranny and cowardice in sacrificing a brave man and a favourite, whom he had already deprived of the highest favours of fortune, to the wrath of a woman, had his only offence been that he complained too bitterly of Madame de Montespan. This rectification is due to the rights of humanity. Louis XIV. never did anything in the whole of his reign to justify such an accusation against him. It is enough that a clandestine marriage which he would more wisely have ignored was punished so heavily. The withdrawal of his favour was very just; imprisonment was too severe.

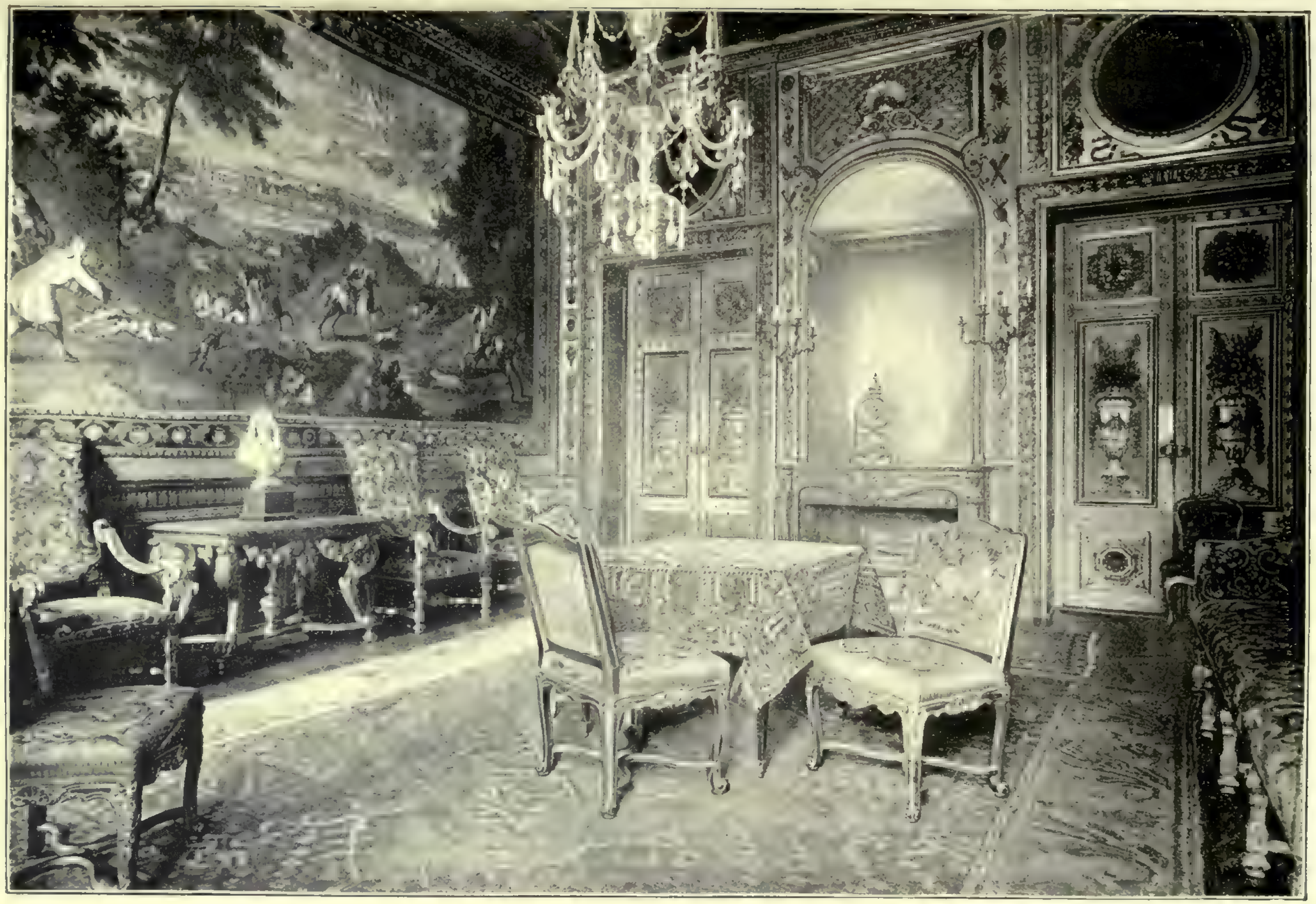


THE FUNERAL OF MADEMOISELLE DE MONTPENSIER.

(After an engraving of the time, April 5, 1693.)

Those who have doubted this marriage have only to read the "Mémoires de Mademoiselle" attentively. Those Memoirs reveal what she does not say. We find that the same princess who complained to the King so bitterly of the breaking-off of her marriage, did not venture to complain of the imprisonment of her husband. She acknowledges that she was believed to be married; she does not say that she was not; and were there no other evidence, her own words, "I neither can nor ought to change towards him," would be decisive. Lauzun and Fouquet were much surprised to meet each other in the same prison, but especially Fouquet, who, having seen Puyguilhem, a mere country gentleman without fortune, at a distance in the crowd in the days of his own fame and power, believed him to be mad when he stated that he had been the King's favourite, and had received permission to marry the granddaughter of Henri IV., with all the property and titles of the House of Montpensier.

After ten years' imprisonment Lauzun was released, but not until

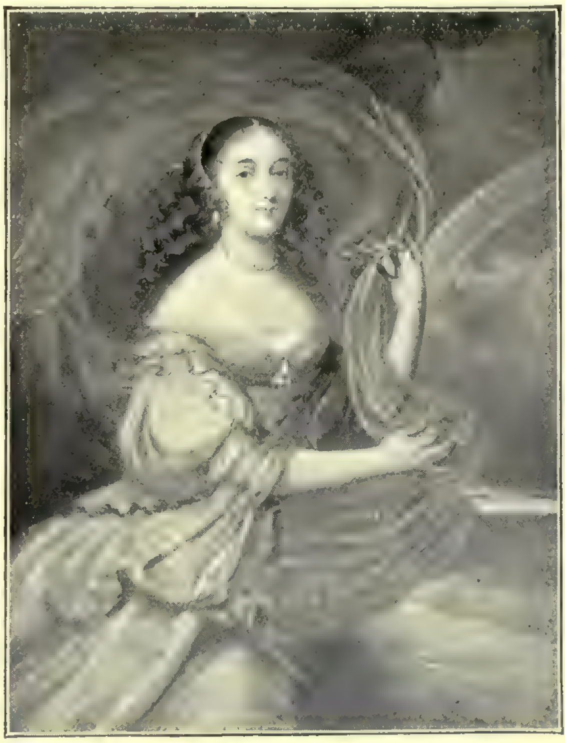


SMALL SALON IN THE APARTMENT OF LAUZUN (LEFT SIDE).

(From the photograph by Paul Robert.—Hôtel de M. le Baron Jérôme Pichon.)

Madame de Montespan had induced Mademoiselle to give the dominion of Dombes and the countship of Eu to the Duc du Maine (then a child), who possessed both after the death of the Princess. She made this donation in the hope that the Comte de Lauzun would be recognised as her husband, but she was mistaken. The King allowed her to bestow on this secret and impecunious consort only her lands of Saint-Fargeau and Thiers, with a considerable income, which Lauzun regarded as insufficient, in addition. She was reduced to the condition of being secretly his wife, and not being well treated by him in public. Unhappy at Court, unhappy in her home, she died in 1693.

The Comte de Lauzun went to England in 1688. Extraordinary adventures were this man's destiny. He escorted Mary of Modena, the wife of King James II., of England, and her infant son, to France; he was made a duke, he held a command in the Jacobite army in Ireland with but little distinction, and returned with a better reputation for his adventures than for personal character. He died in very old age, and forgotten, like all those who have only great events in their history, but have not done great things.



MADAME DE MONTESPAN AS IRIS.

(From an anonymous painting in the Musée de Versailles.)

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What a strange figure in the pictures of the time is this Gascon younger son, who induced such a king as Louis XIV. to submit to all his freaks; this hero of romance, and sometimes of burlesque romance, in a strictly-regulated Court and age. Saint-Simon has portrayed him with spiteful sprightliness:—

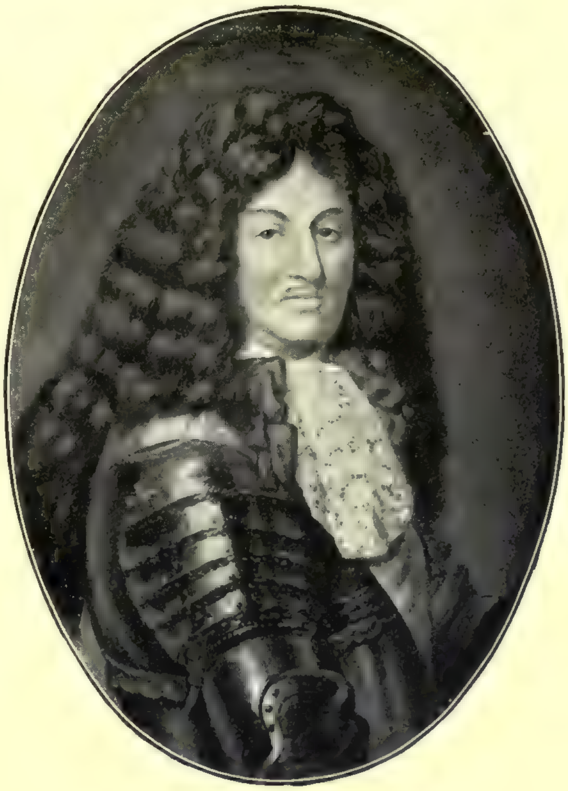
"He was a little man, insipidly fair, well-built, with a haughty countenance full of intelligence, a striking but not an agreeable face, according to what I have heard said by people of his time; full of ambition, caprice and fancies; jealous of all, always striving to pass the winning-post, never content with anything; unlettered, without any charm of wit, naturally morose, solitary, unsociable; very lofty in his manner, malicious and envious by nature, jealous and ambitious, nevertheless a good friend when he was a friend, which was seldom, and a loyal kinsman; merciless to faults, ready to find out and expose them to ridicule, extremely brave and also recklessly daring. A courtier equally insolent, scornful, and supple, even to cringing servility, and full of resource, industry, intrigue, and baseness in order to gain his ends; dangerous to Ministers as well, dreaded at Court by all, and given to cruel pointed darts [of speech] which spared no one.

"He had come to Court young without any money, a Gascon younger son—landed from his province under the name of Puyguilhem. The Maréchal de Grammont, his father's cousin-germane, took him to his house. He was then in the highest favour at Court, and in the confidence of the Queen-mother and Cardinal Mazarin; he had the regiment of Guards, with the reversion for the Comte de Guiche, his eldest son, the pet of the Court and the ladies, and one of the foremost in the good graces of the King, and also of the Comtesse de Soissons, who was queen of the Court, and from whose side the King was rarely absent. The Comte de Guiche introduced Puyguilhem there, and he became in a very short time a favourite with the King, who created the post of colonel of dragoons for him.

"The Duc de Mazarin, who had already retired from Court in 1669, wished to resign his post as Grand Master of Artillery. Puyguilhem was the first to get wind of this, and asked the King for the appointment. The King promised it, but under an injunction of secrecy. No announcement was made, and Puyguilhem, after long waiting, being unable to guess the origin of the mischief, resorted to an expedient so daring that, if it had not been attested by all the Court of that period, it would be incredible. He induced a waiting-woman to hide him in a room in the apartment of Madame de Montespan; from her conversation with the King he learned that the opposition to his appointment came from Louvois.

"He was more fortunate than wise, and escaped discovery. When Madame de Montespan came out, on her way to the theatre, where a ballet was to be rehearsed before the King, the Queen, and the whole Court, Puyguilhem offered his hand, and asked her with an air of the utmost respect and amiability, whether he might flatter himself that she had deigned to speak for him to the King. She assured him that she had not failed to do so. He drew nearer, and speaking into her ear, told her she was a liar, a hussy, a jade, and repeated word for word the conversation between herself and the King. Madame de Montespan was so overcome that she had not strength to answer by even a single word, and could hardly gain the place she was going to; indeed on reaching the scene of the rehearsal she fainted.

"Puyguilhem, on his side, furious at the loss of the artillery, espied an opportunity for a *tête-à-tête* with the King and seized it. He addressed him boldly, summoning him to redeem his promise. The King replied that he was not bound to do so, as he had given his word under a pledge of secrecy, which had been violated. On this Puyguilhem retired a few steps, turned his back to the King, drew his sword, broke the blade with his foot, and exclaimed in a fury that he would no longer serve a prince who had so shamefully belied his promise. The King, although in a transport of anger, did what was perhaps the finest action of his life. He turned instantly, opened the window, flung his cane out, said that he should be sorry to have struck a man of quality, and walked away."



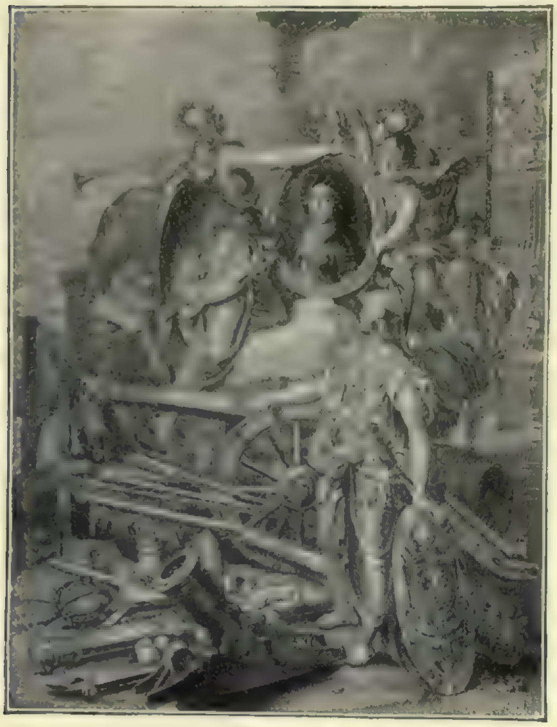
LOUIS XIV. IN ARMOUR, WITH THE RIBBON OF THE ORDER OF SAINT-LOUIS.

(Anonymous portrait in the Musée de Versailles.)

Lauzun was sent to the Bastille; he came out Captain of the Guard. In 1670 "the King, wishing to make a triumphal journey with the ladies, gave the command of the whole affair to the Comte de Lauzun, with the patent of a general. He fulfilled his task with much intelligence and extreme gallantry and magnificence." His marriage with Mademoiselle brought about a fresh quarrel between him and the King, and was not happy. I have been told by Madame de Fontenelles, a clever and amiable woman, very sincere, and of singular worth, that when she was at Fontainebleau with Mademoiselle, M. de Lauzun came to spend some time, and gave his wife reason for jealousy. Mademoiselle in a fit of anger scratched his face and drove him from her presence. Madame de Fiesque effected a reconciliation between them. Mademoiselle appeared at one end of the gallery, he at the other, and he shuffled along the whole length of it on his knees to her feet. Scenes more or less resembling these occurred afterwards.

"He got weary of being beaten, and in his turn beat Mademoiselle soundly. This happened several times, so that at last, being tired of each other, they quarrelled once for all and never met again.

"He had perfect health under a false appearance of delicacy. He dined and supped heartily every day on the best and most delicate fare, eating of everything, feast day or fast day, according to his taste, and with no discretion. On one occasion, when he dined with me after an illness, he ate so much fish, vegetables, and all sorts of things, and could not be prevented, that we sent to his house in the evening to inquire whether he had not suffered severely. He was found at table, eating with excellent appetite."



LOUIS-AUGUSTE DE BOURBON, DUC DU MAINE.
(From a print by Dieu and Lepautre.)

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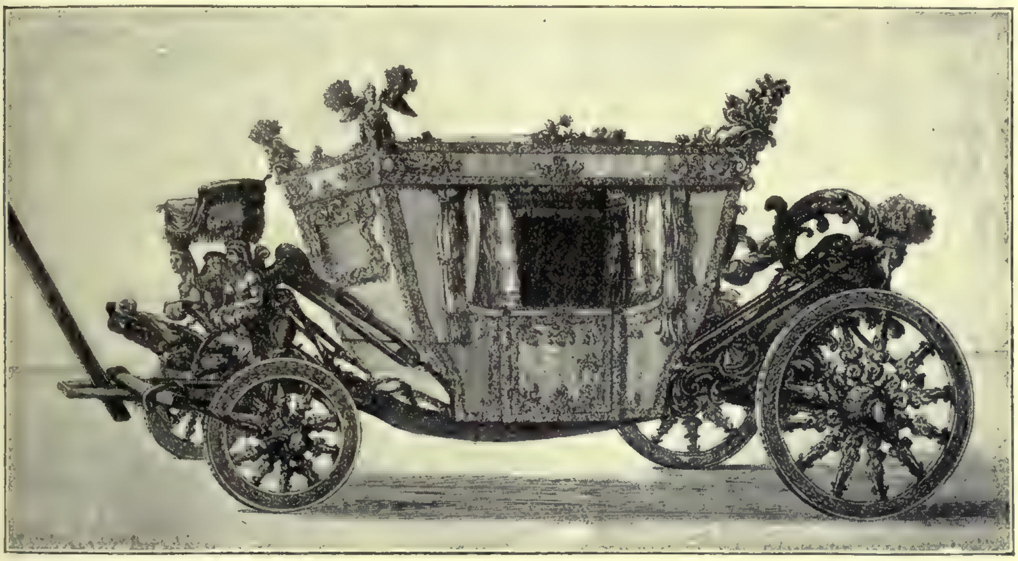
The Marquise de Montespan was all powerful from the beginning of the foregoing incidents.

Athénaïs de Mortemart, wife of the Marquis de Montespan, the

Marquise de Thianges, her elder sister, and her younger, for whom she obtained the Abbaye de Fontevrault, were the handsomest women of their time, and all three possessed intellectual gifts as well. The Maréchal Duc de Vivonne, their brother, was one of the best read men of the Court. It was to him that the King said one day, "But what good does reading do?" The Duc de Vivonne, who was portly and rosy-cheeked, replied, "Reading does for the mind what your partridges do for my cheeks."

These four persons were universally admired for a singular talent in conversation, a mingling of humour, simplicity and refinement which was called *l'esprit des Mortemart.* They all wrote with peculiar ease and grace, a fact which proves how absurd is the story I have heard repeated even yet, that Madame de Montespan was obliged to have her letters written by Madame Scarron, and that the rivalry between them, in which the latter was successful, arose from that cause.



A STATE COACH OF THE TIME OF LOUIS XIV.
(Hennin Collection.)

Madame Scarron, afterwards Madame de Maintenon, possessed, it is true, more of the cultivation that is acquired by reading; her conversation was more smooth, more insinuating. Art embellishes nature in her letters, and their style is very elegant. But Madame de Montespan had no occasion to borrow anybody's talent, and she was the King's favourite long before Madame de Maintenon was even presented to her.

⁂

Everybody at the Court praised the wit of Madame de Montespan, even as Voltaire did, but all were afraid of it. "She was," says Saint-Simon, "censorious and capricious, with much humour and a haughty superiority from which no one was exempt, the King no more than any other. The courtiers avoided passing under her windows, especially when the King was with her. They said it was like being riddled with shot (*passer par les armes*), and the saying became a proverb at Court. It is true that she spared none, though frequently with no other purpose than to amuse the King, and as she had infinite wit and facility, nothing was more dangerous to its objects than the ridicule in which she excelled. With all this, however, she loved her people and her kin, and did not neglect to serve those whom she regarded with friendship.

"The Court of Madame de Montespan became the centre of the real Court, the source of pleasure, fortune, the hopes and fears of ministers and generals, and also of the humiliation of France. It was also the centre of a particular kind of wit so keen and delicate, natural, and agreeable that its character was unique.

"That charming and simple 'turn' is still to be found among persons brought up in the households of the Mortemart sisters, and who were attached to them; these may be recognised among a thousand in the most ordinary conversation.

"Mademoiselle de Fontevrault (the Abbess) was the most witty of the three, and probably the most beautiful. She was also highly and variously informed, well versed in patristic theology, thoroughly acquainted with the Scriptures, and learned in the classic languages. In the discussion of such matters she always excelled her hearers.

"But, apart from this, although her intelligence could not be hidden, she would not have been supposed to possess more learning than the generality of her sex. She excelled in every kind of writing, and had a special gift for the government of her Order and for making herself beloved in it, while keeping it under strictest rule.

"Mademoiselle de Thianges domineered over her two sisters, and even over the King, whom she amused more successfully than they. So long as she lived she ruled him, and was treated with the greatest attention and exceptional observance, even after Madame de Montespan had finally retired from Court."

⁂

The triumph of the Marquise de Montespan was openly manifested during the royal progress in Flanders in 1670. The ruin of the Dutch was arranged in that journey, which was a continuous *fête* conducted with the utmost pomp.

The King, who made all his military journeys on horseback, used a glass coach on this occasion for the first time—post-chaises were not yet invented. The Queen, Madame, and Madame de Montespan also occupied that superb equipage, and when Madame de Montespan went out alone she had two of the bodyguards at each door of her coach. Then came the Dauphin with his suite, and Mademoiselle with hers. This was before the fatal adventure of her marriage; she had a peaceful share in all these triumphs, and rejoiced to see her lover, the King's favourite, at the head of his company of the Guards. The finest furniture in the Garde-Meuble was sent on in advance to the towns where the royal procession halted for the night, and in each a masked or fancy ball was given, or a display of fireworks.

CHEST OF DRAWERS, TIME OF LOUIS XIV.
(Mobilier National.—Château de Fontainebleau.)

The whole of the King's military household accompanied, and the whole of his domestic household preceded or followed him. The tables were laid as at Saint-Germain. The Court visited all the conquered cities in this style. The principal ladies of Brussels and Ghent came to behold the magnificent spectacle. The King invited them to his table and made them presents; all the officers of the troops in garrison received gratuities. On several occasions the cost of gifts amounted to fifteen hundred louis-d'or a day. Madame, who had arranged for the alliance of the two kings and the destruction of Holland, embarked at Dunkirk on one of the ships belonging to the fleet of King Charles II., her brother, with some members of the French Court. Madame was attended by Mademoiselle de Kéroual (de la Quérouaille), afterwards Duchess of Portsmouth, whose beauty equalled that of Madame de Montespan. No woman has ever retained her beauty longer. We saw her when she was close upon seventy; her face, which had not faded with age, was still noble and pleasing.

A TABLE OF THE TIME OF LOUIS XIV.
(Mobilier National.—Château de Fontainebleau.)

Madame went to meet her brother at Canterbury, and came back in all the glory of success. She was enjoying this when a sudden and painful death removed her on the 30th June, 1670. The grief and consternation of the Court were much increased by the mode of her death. It was reported that the Princess had been poisoned. The English Ambassador (Earl of Montagu) was persuaded of this, the Court did not doubt it, and all Europe believed it. One of the former servants in the household of Monsieur named to me the person who (according to him) had administered the poison. "This man," he said, "who was not rich, retired immediately afterwards

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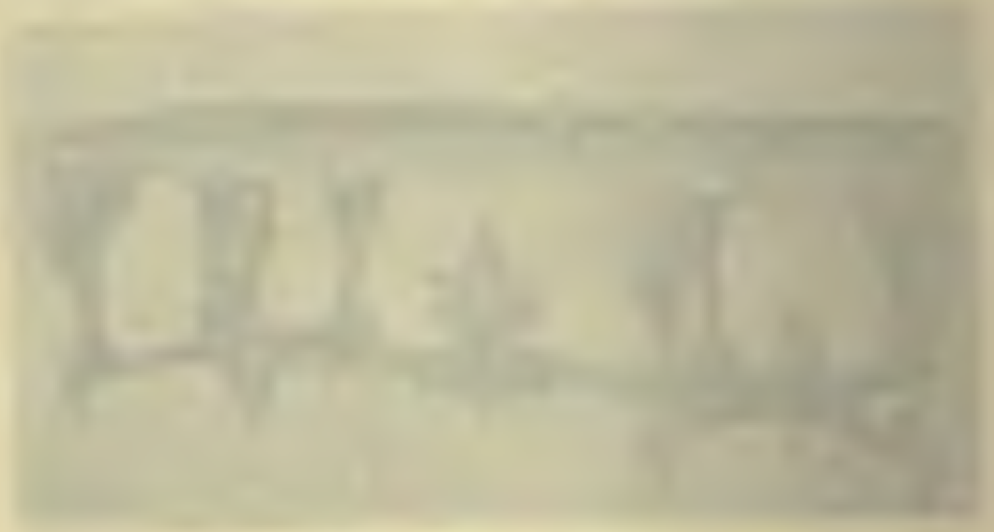

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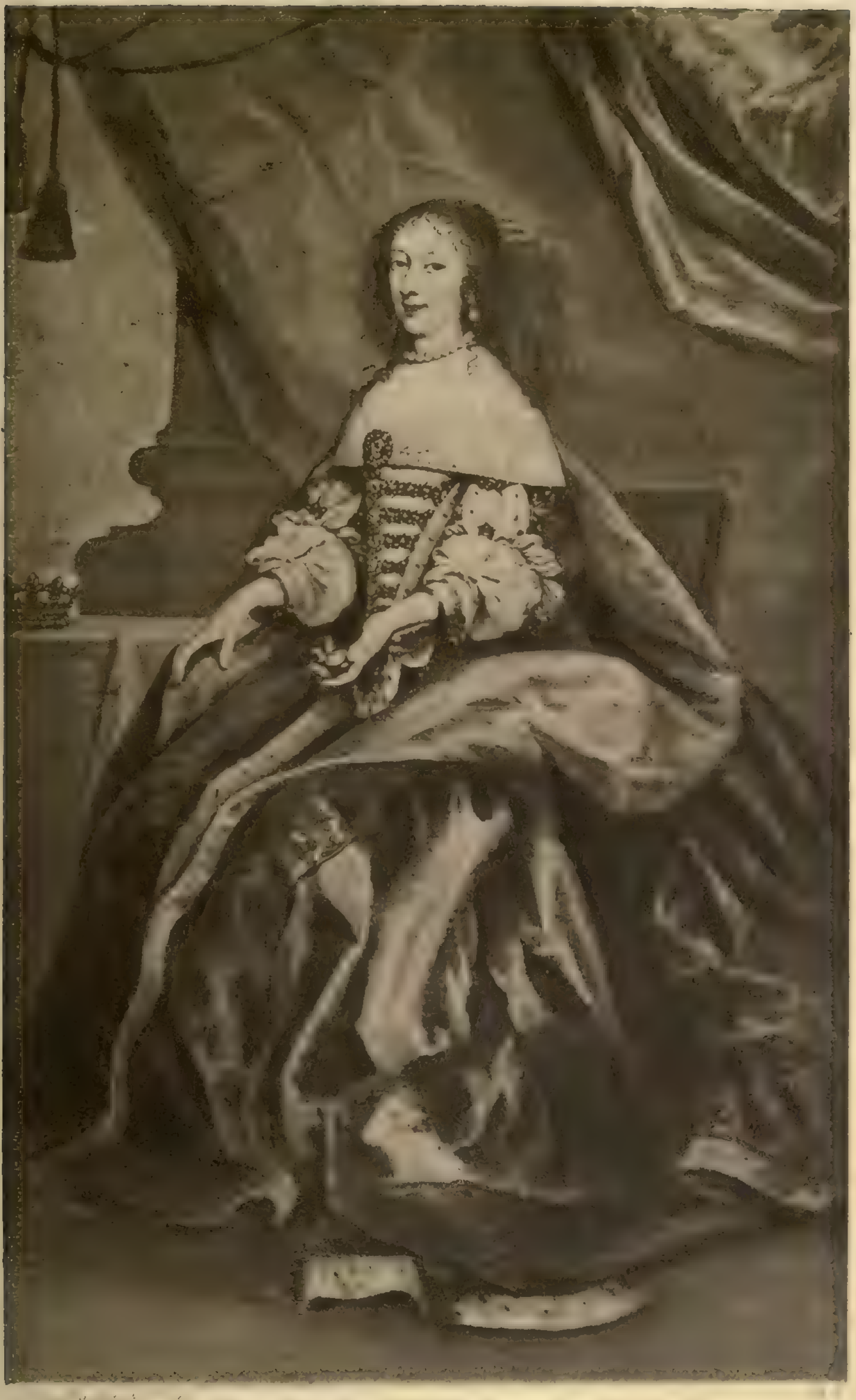
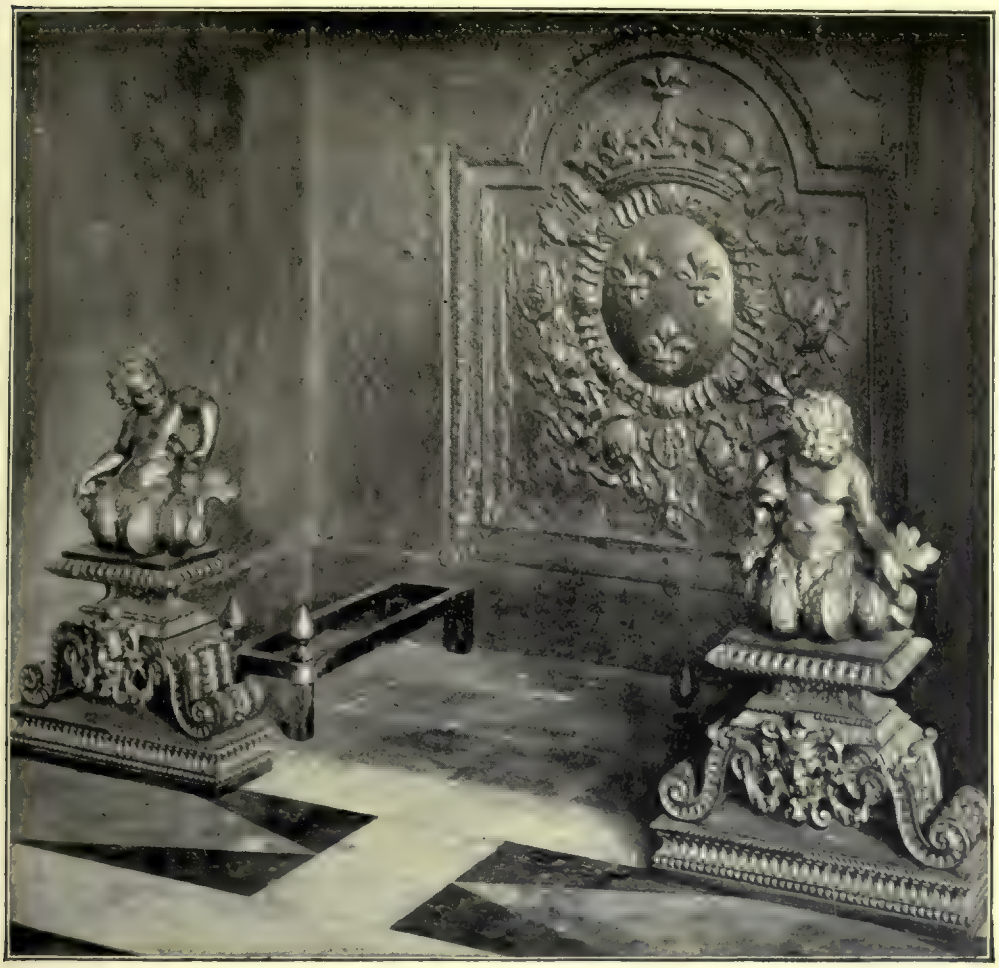


*Henriette d'Angleterre*
*Ducheſſe d'Orléans*
*Peinture appartenant à Mr le Comte de Home*
*en Angleterre*

to Normandy, where he bought an estate, and he lived long there in opulence. The poison," he added, "was diamond-powder, strewn on strawberries instead of sugar."

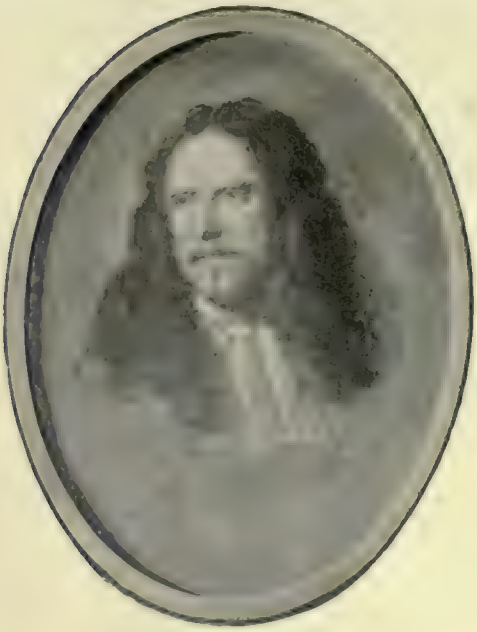
"The Court and the town believed that Madame had been poisoned by chicory-water, as, after drinking some, she suffered terribly, and death-convulsions came on quickly. There was however no reason for this general belief except human malignity and the love of the extraordinary. The water could not have contained poison, seeing that Madame de Lafayette and another person drank what remained in the glass without feeling the slightest inconvenience. Diamond-powder is no more a poison than coral-powder. Madame had been ill for a long time from abscess in



CHIMNEY BACK AND DOGS OF THE TIME OF LOUIS XIV.
(Château de Fontainebleau.—Salon François 1er.)

the liver; she was very unhealthy, and had given birth to a shockingly diseased child. Her husband, who was strongly suspected in Europe, was not even accused of any black deed, either before or after this event, and criminals who have committed only one crime are rare. The human race would be too wretched were it as common to do atrocious things as it is to believe them.

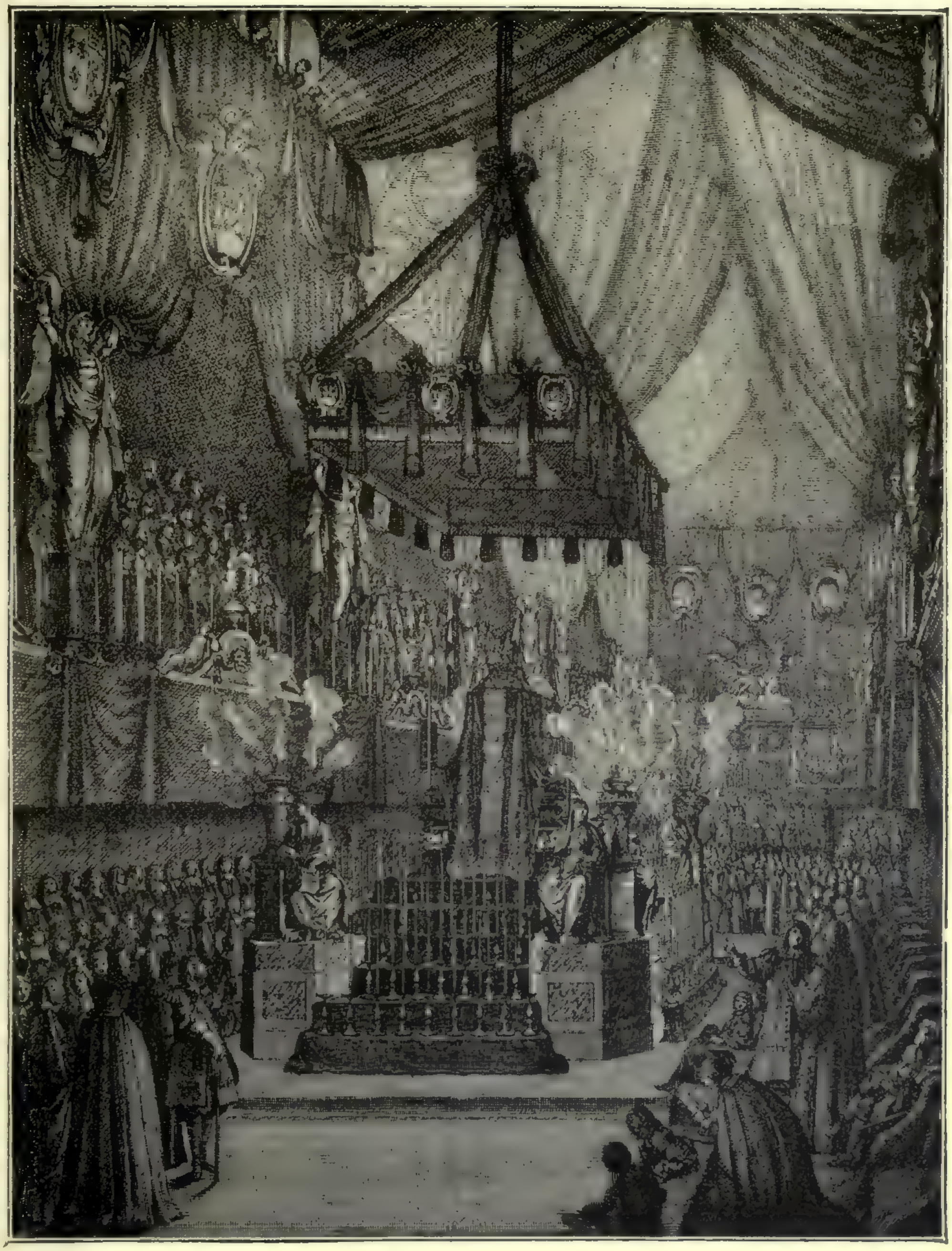
It was alleged that the Chevalier de Lorraine, a favourite of Monsieur, who had been imprisoned and exiled in consequence of some culpable conduct of his towards Madame, had taken this terrible method of revenge. No attention was paid to the fact that the Chevalier de Lorraine was then in Rome, and that it is very difficult for a Knight of Malta, aged twenty, to procure from Rome the death of a great princess in Paris.



THE VICOMTE DE TURENNE.
(Portrait sketch by Lebrun.
Musée de Versailles.)

To a weakness and an indiscretion of the Vicomte de Turenne the origin of all these odious rumours, which are even yet revived with apparent pleasure, must unhappily be traced. At sixty years of age he was the lover and the dupe of Madame de Coëtquen, as he had been of Madame de Longueville. He revealed the state secret, which was kept from Monsieur, to that lady; she told it to the Chevalier de Lorraine, with whom she was in love, and he informed Monsieur. This gave rise to the bitterest reproach and jealousy in the prince's domestic life, and before Madame went on her mission to England there was considerable trouble, which was redoubled on her return. Monsieur's fits of passion and the quarrels of his favourites with Madame's friends made his house a scene of confusion and misery. A short time before her death Madame reproached Madame de Coëtquen in gentle and moving terms with the unhappiness she had caused. The Marquise, kneeling by the side of her bed and shedding tears upon her hand, replied in these lines from *Venceslas*—

J'allais . . . j'étais . . . l'amour a sur moi tant d'empire . . .
Je me confonds, Madame, et ne puis rien vous dire.

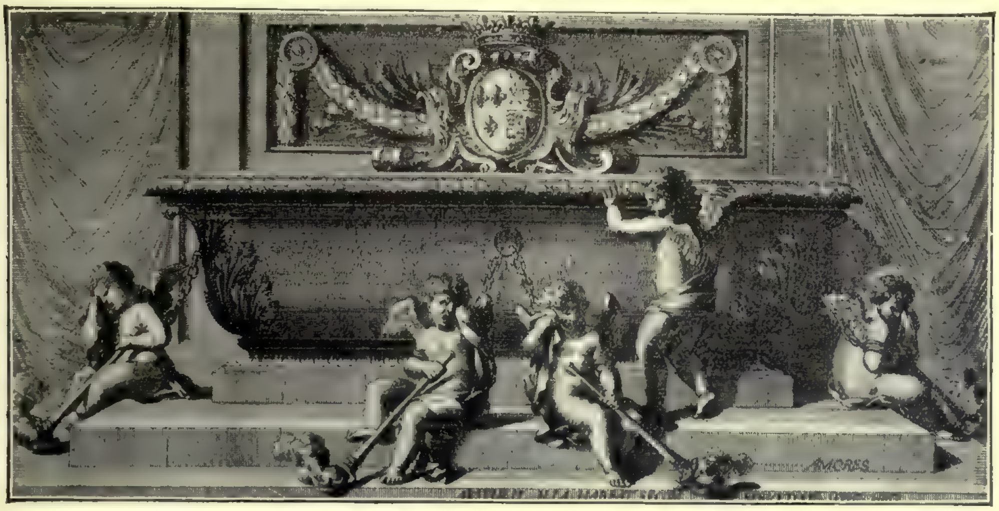


THE REQUIEM MASS FOR MADAME.

(From a print by Lepautre.)

The Chevalier de Lorraine, who originated the dissension, was at first sent by the King to Pierre-Encise; the Comte de Marsan, of the House of Lorraine, and the Marquis (afterwards Maréchal) de Villeroi were exiled. The natural death of the unfortunate Princess was popularly believed to be a crime committed in consequence of those measures.

The public were unfortunately in the suspicion of foul play by the fact that about this time the crime of poison began to be known in France. That cowardly kind of vengeance, which had not been practised in the horrors of the civil war, by a singular fatality broke out in France in the era of glory and pleasure, at a period which softened and refined the national manners, even as it crept into Rome in the palmiest days of the Republic.

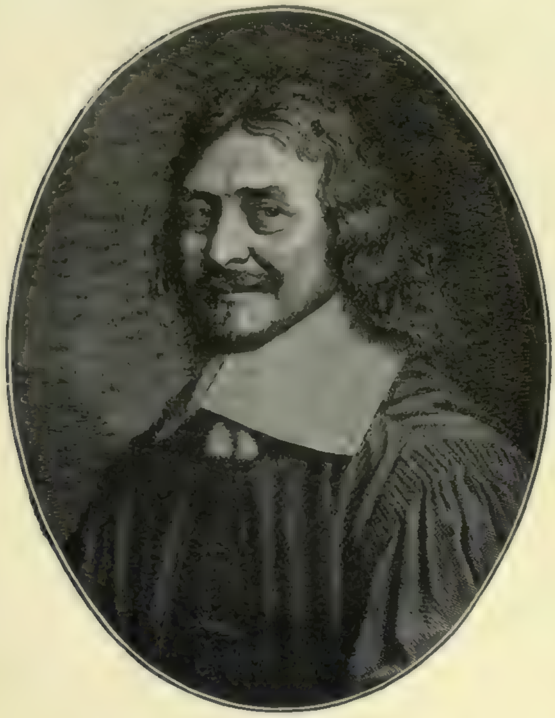


THE LOVES WEEPING AROUND THE COFFIN OF HENRIETTA OF ENGLAND.
(Composition by Lepautre, June 30, 1665.)

Two Italians, one of them was named Exili, had been occupied for a long time, in company with one Glaser, a German, in seeking what is called the philosopher's stone. The two Italians lost the little that they had, and endeavoured to repair their misfortune, which was due to their folly, by crime. They sold poisons secretly.

The Grand Penitentiary of Paris learned through the confessional that some deaths by poison had taken place, and he informed the Government in general terms of the fact. The two Italians were suspected and sent to the Bastille, where one of them died. Exili was kept in prison without being convicted, and from thence he spread throughout

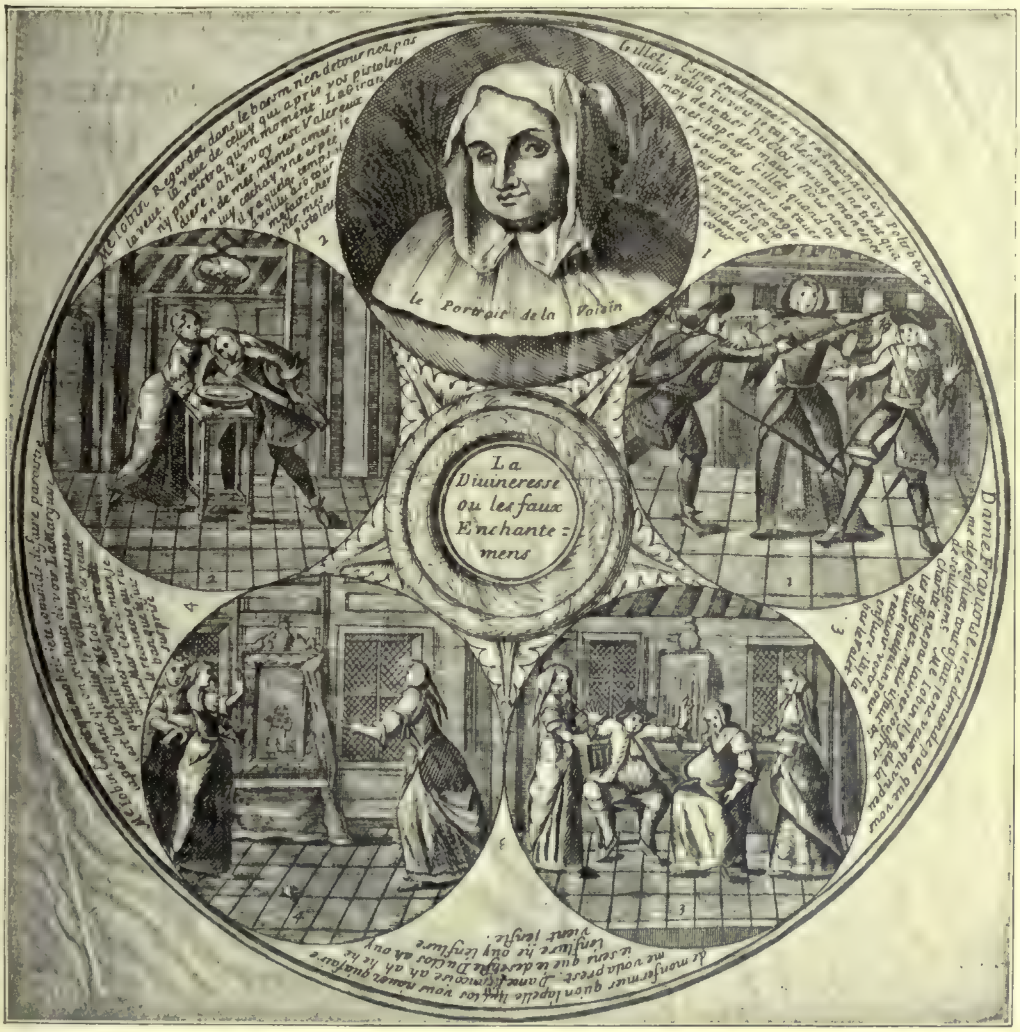
Paris the secrets that cost the Civil Lieutenant d'Aubray and his family their lives, and led to the institution of the court for the investigation of poisoning cases, called La Chambre Ardente (Star Chamber).



THE CIVIL LIEUTENANT D'AUBRAY, FATHER OF MADAME DE BRINVILLIERS.
(Portrait from life by Nanteuil.)

These dreadful crimes had their origin in love. The Marquis de Brinvilliers, whose wife was the daughter of the Civil Lieutenant, received into his house a captain in his regiment named Sainte-Croix. The Marquise acknowledged to her husband that she found their handsome guest very attractive; but he persisted in throwing her constantly into the society of Sainte-Croix, and an intrigue was the result. The Civil Lieutenant was so severe and so imprudent as to solicit a *lettre de cachet*, and to have the Captain sent to the Bastille instead of having him sent to his regiment. Unfortunately Sainte-Croix was placed in the same room with Exili. The Italian taught him a sure mode of vengeance, with the well-known terrible results. The Marquise did not take the life of her husband, who, knowing himself to be much to blame, had treated her with indulgence; but in her thirst for revenge she poisoned her father, her two brothers, and her sister. In the midst of all these crimes she practised her religion, going frequently to confession; and when she was arrested at Liège a general confession, written by her own hand, was found. This did not furnish proof against her, but it did furnish presumptive evidence. It is untrue that she had made trial of her poisons in the hospitals, as the people said, and as it is stated in "Causes Célèbres," a work written by a lawyer without clients, and made up for the people; but it is true that she and Sainte-Croix had secret dealings with persons who were afterwards accused of poisoning crimes. She was burned in 1676, having previously been beheaded. But the crime of poisoning infected Paris from 1670, when Exili began to make poisons, until 1680.

Voisin, Vigoureux, a priest named Le Sage and others trafficked in the secrets of Exili, under the pretext of amusing curious and weak-minded persons by producing apparitions. The crime was believed to be more wide-spread than it really was. The Star Chamber was established at the Arsenal, near the Bastille, in 1680. The greatest personages were cited thither, among others two nieces of Cardinal Mazarin, the Duchesse de Bouillon, and the Comtesse de Soissons, mother of Prince Eugène.

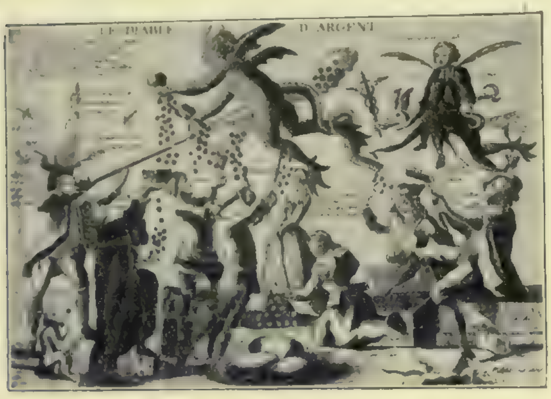

le Portrait de la Voisin
La Diuineresse ou les faux Enchantemens
Mr Lobin. Regardez dans le basin rien detournez pas la veue. la veue de celuy qui a pris vos pistoles ny paroistra qu'un moment. La Girandiere; ah ie voy cest Valcreux vn de mes mesmes amis; ie luy cachay vne espee il y a quelque temps il a voulu a ce coup me faire cher cher mes pistoles
2
Gillet; Espee enchantee je me recommande a toy pour tuer Gilles, voila Tu vous le tuy desormais il ne tient qu'a moy de te tuer Duclos je vange mon affront
1
Dame Françoise
3
4
3
4

THE PORTRAIT, THE CRIMES, AND THE SORCERIES OF LA VOISIN.
(A popular print, February 22, 1680.)

The Duchesse de Bouillon was summoned merely as a matter of form, and accused of no worse than foolish curiosity, too general at the time, but not an affair of justice. The old custom of consulting soothsayers, having horoscopes drawn, and employing love-philters and charms was still retained among the people, and even among the first personages of the kingdom.

We have already remarked that at the birth of Louis XIV. Morin, the astrologer, had been brought into the very room of Anne of Austria to draw the horoscope of the heir to the crown. We have seen the Duc d'Orléans, Regent of France, prying into the imposture that bewitched the whole of the ancient world; and all the philosophy of the celebrated Comte de Boulainvillers failed to cure him of that delusion. It was very pardonable in the Duchesse de Bouillon and the other ladies who shared the prevalent weakness. Le Sage and the two women, Voisin and Vigoureux, made an income out of the curiosity of the ignorant, who were very numerous. They predicted the future, they called up the devil. If they had stopped there they would have appeared in the Star Chamber as objects of ridicule only.

La Reynie, one of the presidents, was so ill advised as to ask the Duchesse de Bouillon whether she had seen the devil. The Duchess replied that she was looking then at him; that he was very ugly, and disguised as a Councillor of State. The examination proceeded no farther.



THE DEMON OF MONEY.
(Popular satire on the needs of the time, 1680.)

The affair of the Comtesse de Soissons and the Maréchal de Luxembourg was more serious. Le Sage, Voisin, Vigoureux, and other accomplices were in prison, charged with having sold poisons which were called "La Poudre de Succession"; they accused all who had come to consult them. The Comtesse de Soissons was one of these. The King condescended to say to the Princess that he advised her to retire if she knew herself to be guilty. She replied that she was innocent, but that she did not like being examined by a court of justice. Subsequently she withdrew to Brussels, where she died at the close of 1708, when her son Prince Eugène avenged her by his many victories and his triumph over Louis XIV.

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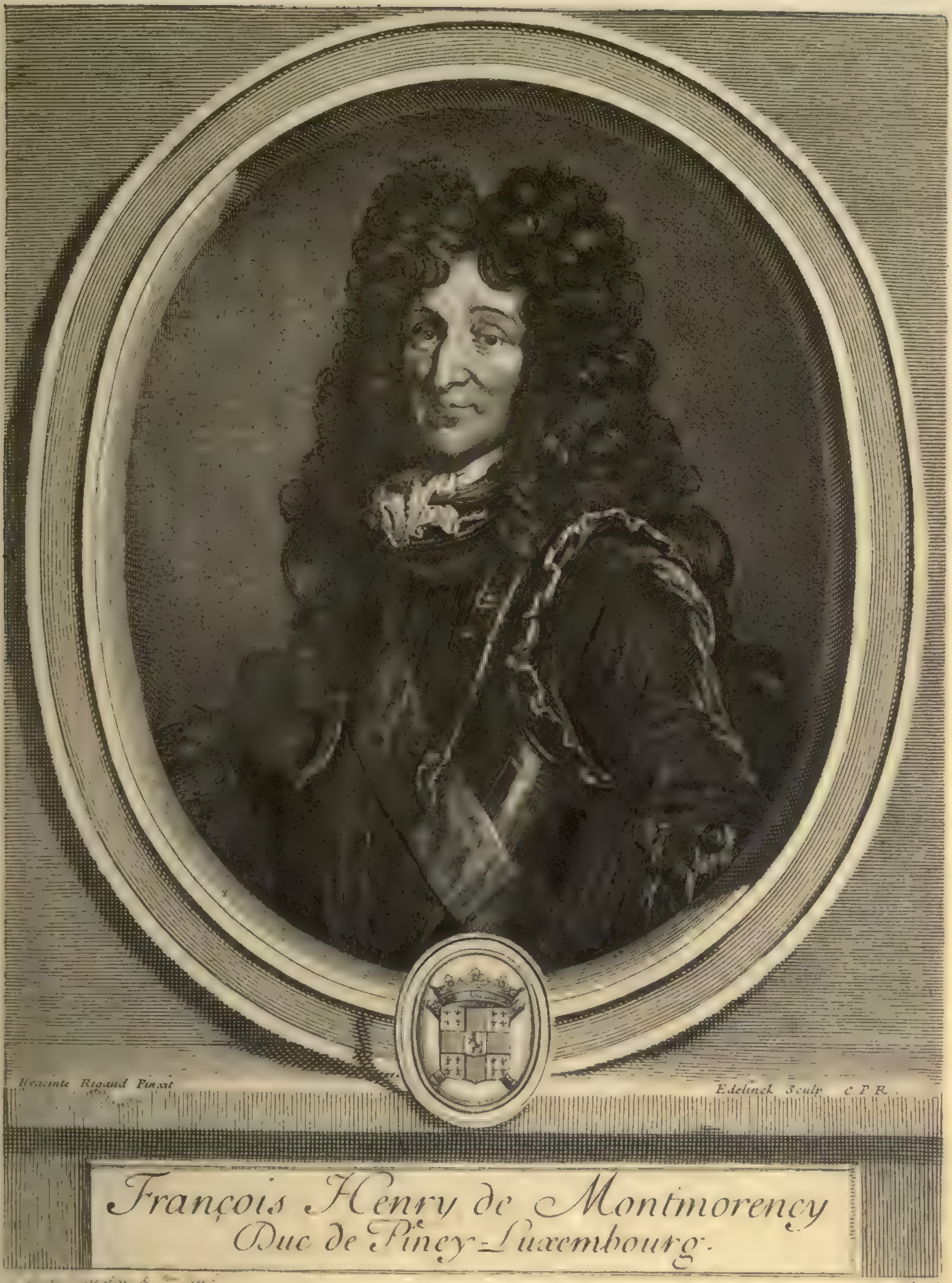
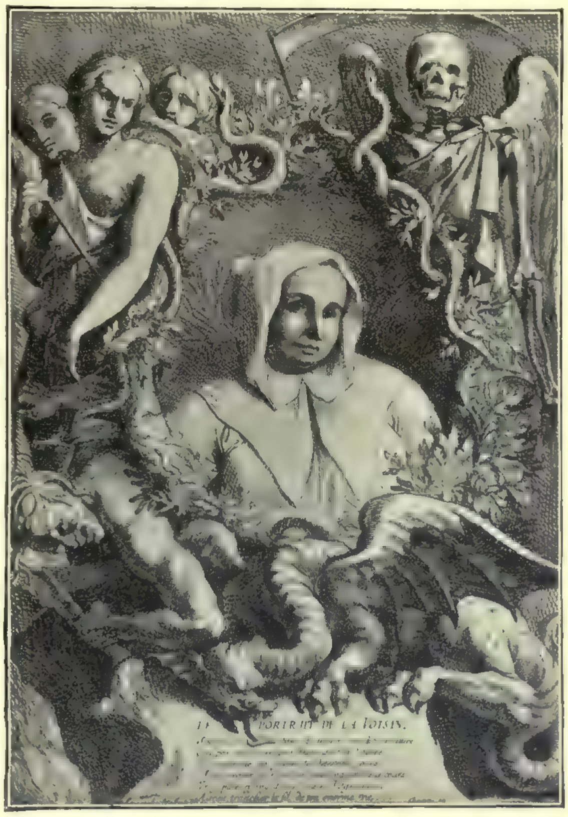

Hyacinte Rigaud Pinxit
Edelinck Sculp C P R.

François Henry de Montmorency
Duc de Piney-Luxembourg.

Imp Eudes et Chassepot

François Henri de Montmorenci-Boutteville, duke, peer and Marshal of France, who united the great name of Montmorenci to that of the imperial House of Luxembourg, and was already famous in Europe as a great captain, was denounced to the Star Chamber. One of his men of business named Bonard, wanting to recover some important papers that had been lost, applied to Le Sage to enable him to find them. Le Sage began by requiring him to go to confession and to visit three different churches, where he was to recite three psalms for nine successive days.


PORTRAIT DE LA VOISIN.

VOISIN BETWEEN DEATH AND THE DEVIL.

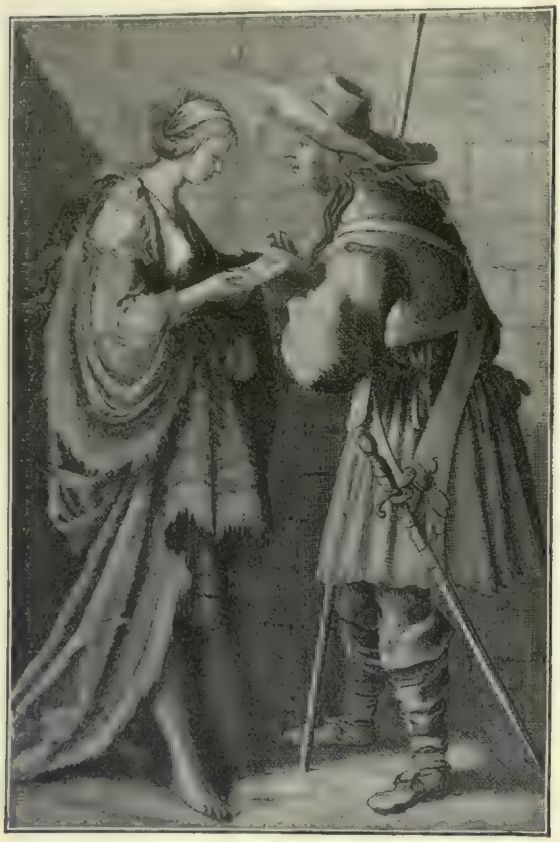
(Composition by Coypel.)

Notwithstanding the confession and the psalms, the papers were not found; they were in the hands of a woman named Dupin. Bonard, in the presence of Le Sage, went through a kind of incantation. Dupin did not give up anything. Bonard in despair got a fresh power of attorney from the Marshal, and between the text and the signature were two lines in a different handwriting, by which the Marshal gave himself to the devil.

Le Sage, Bonard, Voisin, Vigoureux, and more than forty accused persons having been confined in the Bastille, Le Sage deposed that the Marshal had addressed himself to the devil and to him to procure the death of Dupin, who would not restore the papers; their accomplices added that they had assassinated Dupin by his orders, had then cut the body into four quarters and thrown it into the river.

These accusations were equally improbable and atrocious. The Marshal had right of trial before the Court of Peers; both the Parliament and the Peers ought to have claimed their right to try him: they did not do this. The accused presented himself at the Bastille—a step which proved his innocence of the alleged assassination.

Louvois, the Secretary of State, who had no liking for the Marshal-Duke, had him confined in a sort of dungeon six and a half feet long, where he became very ill. He was examined on the second day, and then left for five weeks without continuation of his trial—a cruel injustice to an accused person of any sort, but still more unwarrantable in the case of a peer of the realm. He wished to write to the Marquis de Louvois to complain of this, but he was not permitted. At length his examination was resumed. He was asked whether he had not given bottles of poisoned wine for the purpose of killing Dupin's brother and a woman who lived with him. It seemed very absurd that a Marshal of France, who had commanded armies, should want to poison a petty tradesman and his mistress, having nothing whatsoever to gain by so great a crime.



A GIPSY TELLING HIS FORTUNE TO A SOLDIER.
(From a print by S. Leclerc, taken from *Des conditions de la vie humaine.*)

At last he was confronted with Le Sage and another priest named d'Avaux, and accused of having practised sorcery with them to procure the death of more than one person.

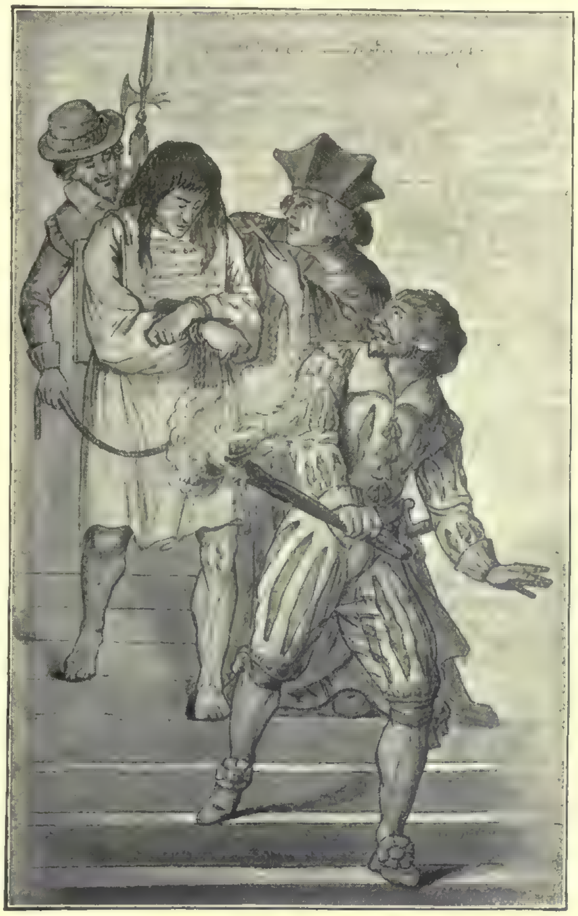
The whole origin of his misfortune was his having once seen Le Sage, and asked him for certain horoscopes.

Among the horrible imputations upon which the prosecution was founded, was a statement by Le Sage that the Marshal had made a compact with the devil in order to marry his daughter to the son of the Marquis de Louvois. The accused answered—

"When Mathieu de Montmorenci wedded the widow of Louis le Gros, he did not address himself to the devil, but to the States-General: they declared that the marriage was necessary to secure the support of the Montmorencis for the King, who was a minor."

This was a proud answer, and not that of a guilty man. The trial lasted fourteen months. No judgment was given either for or against the Marshal. Voisin, Vigoureux and her brother were burned in the Place de la Grève, together with Le Sage. The Maréchal de Luxembourg went into the country for a few days and afterwards returned to Court in his capacity of Captain of the Guard, without seeing Louvois, and without the King's having spoken a word to him of all that had passed. We know that subsequently he had the command of the army —for which he had not asked— and that his many victories imposed silence on his enemies.

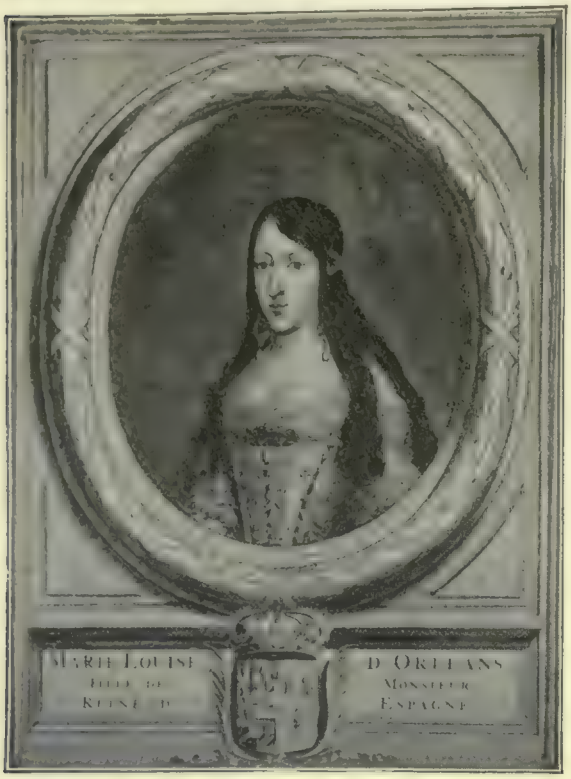
We may judge what terrible rumours were set going in Paris by all these accusations. The punishment of Voisin and her accomplices by fire put an end to the pursuit of criminals and to the crime of poisoning. That abomination was practised by only a few individuals; it did not corrupt the humane morals of the nation, but it left behind it in the public mind a dangerous tendency to suspect natural deaths of having been violent. Thus the same miserable fate that was popularly believed to have befallen Madame was afterwards believed to have befallen her daughter, Marie Louise, who was married to the King of Spain, Carlos II., in 1679. The young Princess set out for Madrid with



A CRIMINAL GOING TO EXECUTION.

(From a contemporary drawing.)

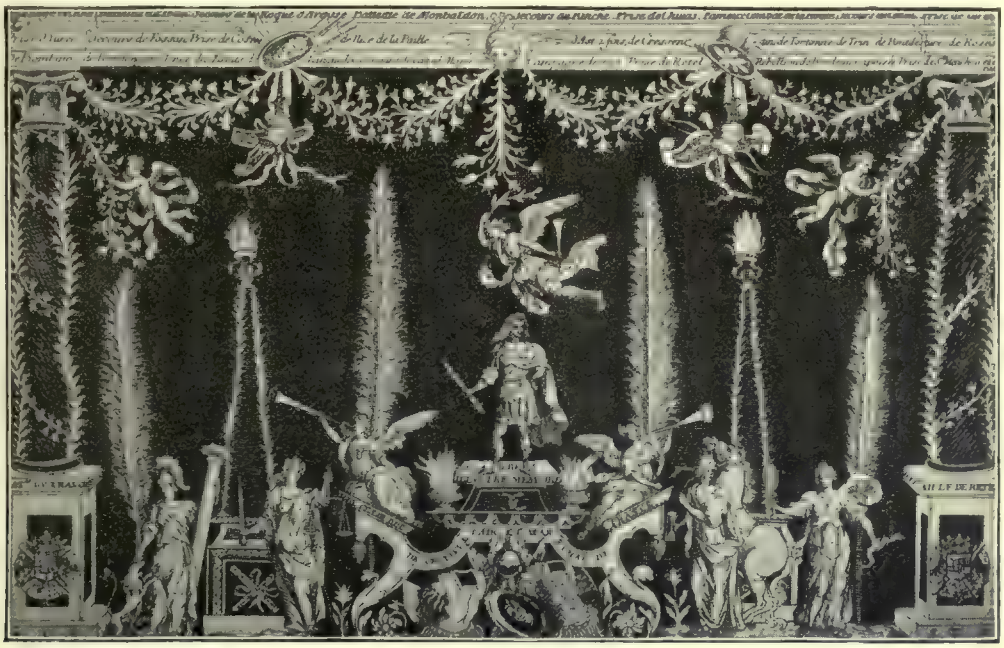
reluctance. Mademoiselle had often said to Monsieur, the King's brother, "Do not take your daughter to Court so frequently; she will be unhappy elsewhere." Marie Louise wished to marry Monseigneur [the Dauphin]. "I make you Queen of Spain," said the King to her; "what more could I do for my daughter?" "Ah," she answered, "you could do more for your niece." She was taken away from this world in 1669, at the same age as her mother. It was regarded as beyond question that the Austrian Council of Carlos II. wanted to get rid of her because she loved her own country, and might prevent the King her husband from declaring himself on the side of the allies against France. A so-called antidote was even sent to her from Versailles; a very uncertain precaution, for a medicine that can cure one kind of malady may aggravate another, and there is no such thing as a universal counter-poison. The pretended antidote arrived after the young Queen's death. In the Memoirs compiled by the Marquis de Dangeau it is stated that Louis XIV., being at supper, said: "The Queen of Spain has died, poisoned in an eel-pie; the Comtesse de Pernitz, and the two waiting-women, Zapata and Nina, who ate after her, have died of the same poison."



MARIE LOUISE D'ORLÉANS, DAUGHTER OF MONSIEUR, QUEEN OF SPAIN.

(From a print by Vischer.)

After I had read this strange anecdote in the manuscript Memoirs, said to have been carefully compiled by a courtier who was hardly ever away from Louis XIV. during forty years, I still remained in doubt on this matter. I inquired of former servants of the King whether he, who was always reticent of speech, had ever uttered words so imprudent. They assured me that nothing could be more false. I asked the Duchesse de Saint-Pierre, who had just come from Spain, whether it was true that those three persons had died with the Queen. She gave me attested evidence that all three had long survived their mistress. In short I learned that these Memoirs of the Marquis de Dangeau were only news-letter history (*nouvelles à la main*), sometimes written by one of his servants; and I can answer for it that the fact is often perceptible in the style, the falsehoods, and the trivialities which abound in the collection. After this digression we must revert to the events that ensued at Court on the death of the English Princess.



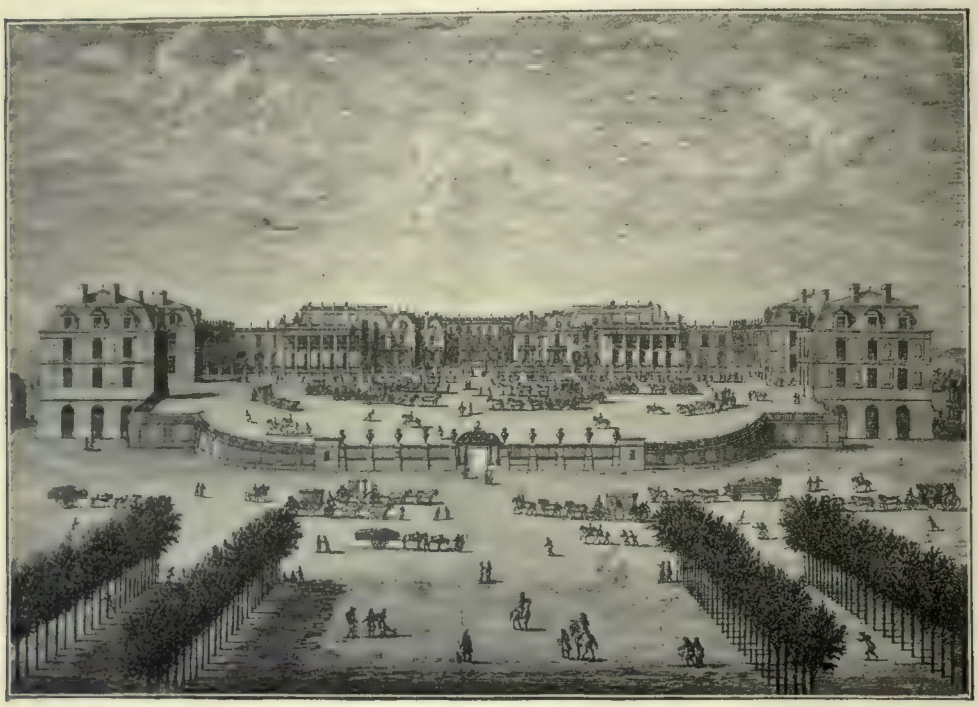
COMPOSITION BY BÉRAIN FOR A FUNERAL CEREMONY.

A year after the death of Madame she was succeeded by the Princess Palatine, who became the mother of the future Duc d'Orléans, afterwards Regent. She had to renounce Calvinism in order to marry Monsieur, but she always entertained a secret respect for her former religion—a sentiment difficult to renounce when it has been impressed upon the heart in childhood.

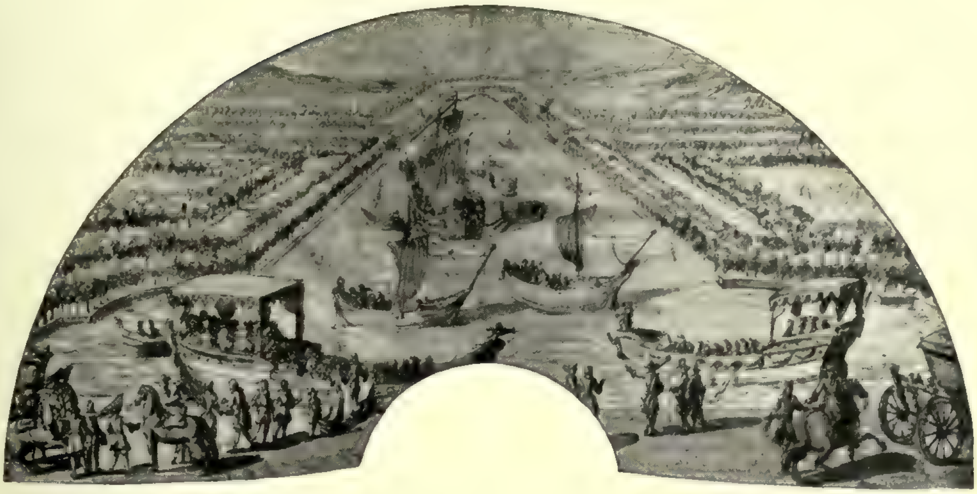
A change was then made in the Queen's establishment: twelve ladies of the palace were substituted for the twelve maids of honour, and since then this arrangement of the household of the Queen has been maintained. The new establishment rendered the Court circle more full and magnificent by the residence of the husbands and kinsmen of those ladies there; society became more numerous, and larger expenditure prevailed.

The Dauphine, a Bavarian Princess, contributed in the beginning to the brightness and vivacity of the Court.

Madame de Montespan was still treated with great friendship and consideration, but this did not console her. The King, who was sorry to cause her such violent grief, had already found the gentle manners and conversation of Madame de Maintenon more to his mind. The Court was in suspense between the three rivals, Madame de Montespan, Mademoiselle de Fontanges, and Madame de Maintenon, whose society was becoming necessary to his troubled soul. It is to the credit of Louis XIV. that none of these affairs had any influence on general business, and that the Government did not suffer in the least from the causes that disturbed the Court. I regard this as a proof of the King's greatness of mind, and would even hold that these Court intrigues, having nothing to do with the State, ought not to come into history at all, were it not that everything in the great century of Louis XIV. is interesting,



THE ROYAL PALACE OF VERSAILLES IN 1674: PRINCIPAL FRONT.
(From a print by Israel Silvestre.)



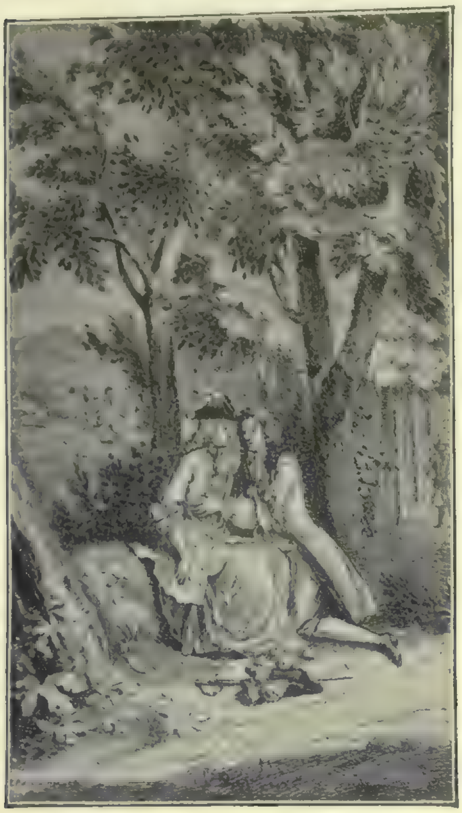
FAN REPRESENTING A WATER FÊTE ON THE GRAND CANAL AT VERSAILLES.
(In the time of the favour of Madame de Maintenon.)

and that so many historians have treated of these matters, mostly to misrepresent them.

The youth and beauty of Mademoiselle de Fontanges, the birth of her son in 1680, and the title of duchess which she had received, excluded Madame de Maintenon from the first place in the King's favour; but the Duchesse de Fontanges and her son died in 1681.

The Marquise de Montespan had no longer an avowed rival, but she had lost her hold on the King's affections; he was tired of her and her complaining. Madame de Maintenon, who felt the secret power that she was gaining day by day, conducted herself with art and discretion. During this time of her growing favour, and while Madame de Montespan was nearing her fall, these two rivals met every day, sometimes with concealed dislike, at others in a transient intimacy, induced by the necessity of speaking to one another and the weariness of constraint. They agreed

that each should write memoirs of all that was going on at Court. The respective works did not make much progress. Madame de Montespan used to read aloud passages from hers to her friends in the last years of her life. Religion had also intervened; the King's conscience was awakened, and this made the position of Madame de Maintenon more secure, and that of Madame de Montespan more hopeless. This embarrassing state of things lasted until 1685, the memorable year of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Then far different scenes were beheld: on one side despair and the flight of a portion of the nation, on the other fresh fêtes at Versailles, Trianon and Marly built, and gardens—in which the resources of art were exhausted—laid out. The last triumph of Madame de Montespan, prior to her withdrawal from Court, was the marriage of Mademoiselle de Nantes, her daughter by the King, with the Duc de Chartres, afterwards Regent of the kingdom, and the marriage of the Duc du Maine, her son, with Louise Bénédicte de Bourbon, granddaughter of the great Condé and sister of the Duc de Chartres, a princess renowned for her talents and her artistic tastes.



LOUIS XIV. AT THE FEET OF MADEMOISELLE DE FONTANGES.

(From a satirical print early in the eighteenth century.)

(1685.) In honour of the marriage of the Duc de Chartres and Mademoiselle de Nantes, but before its celebration, the Marquis de Seignelay (Colbert) gave a fête, worthy of Louis XIV., in the gardens at Sceaux, which Le Nôtre had laid out and planted as tastefully as those of Versailles. There the idyl of *La Paix*, composed by Racine, was performed. A tournament was held at Versailles, and after the marriage the King displayed his magnificence in a fashion which had been originated by Mazarin in 1656. In the great salon at Marly four stalls were set up, laden with all the richest and rarest products of Parisian industry. These four stalls,

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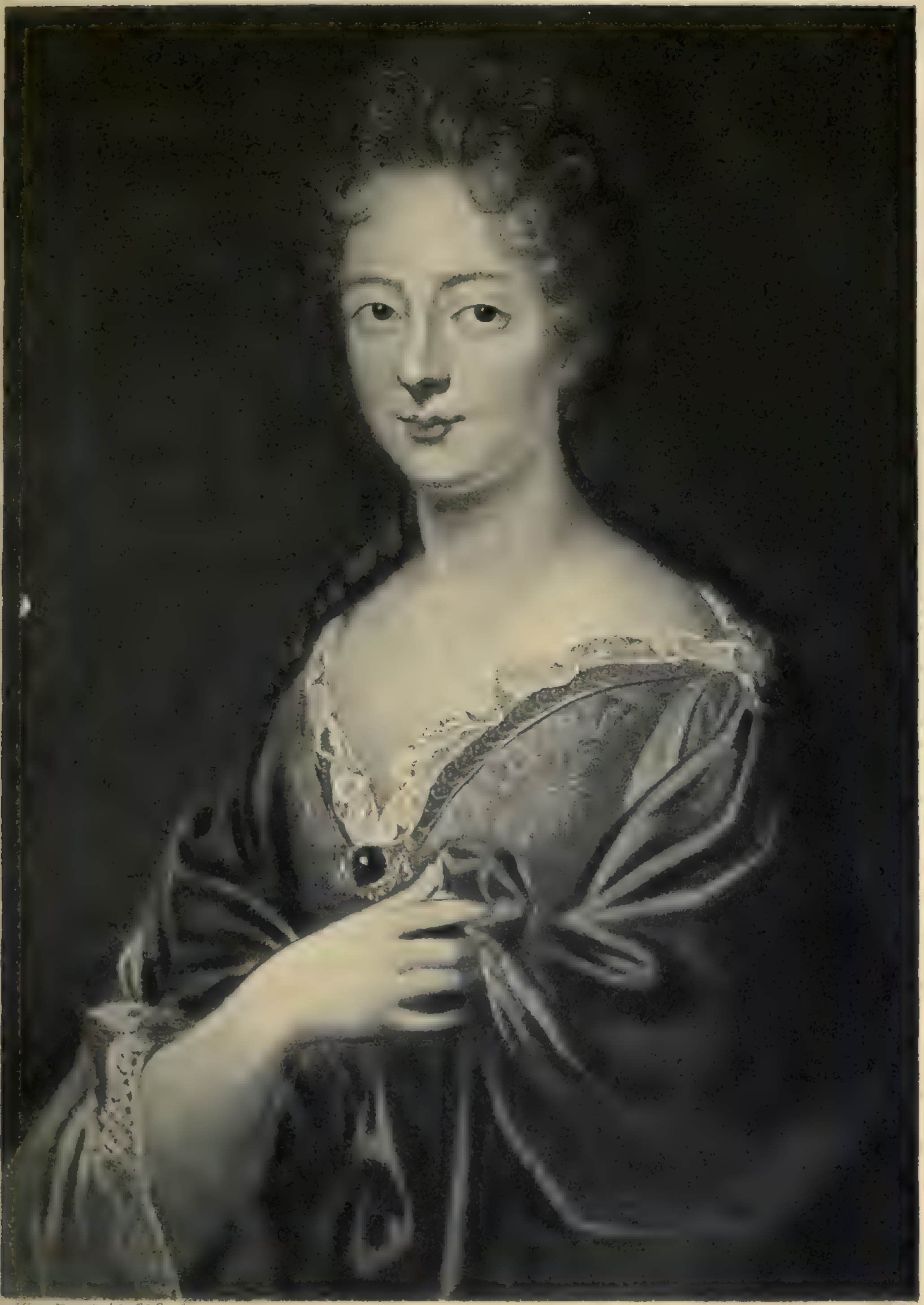


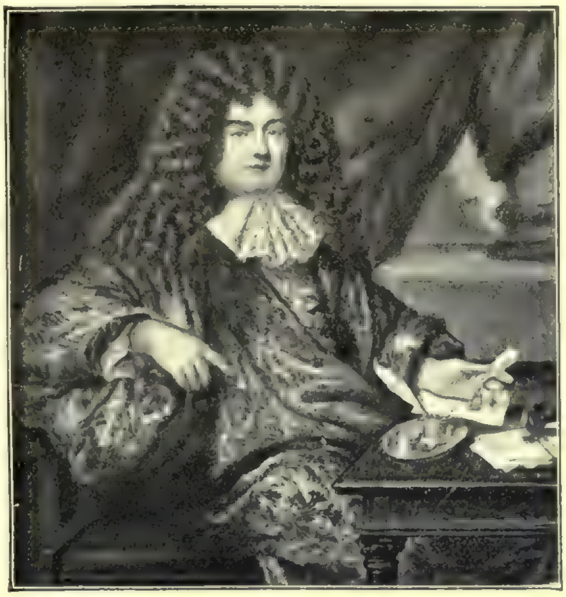
Low, Marston & C° Lim^d

Jeanne Baptiste d'Albert de Luynes Comtesse de Verue

Portrait appartenant au Comte de Revel

which formed superb decorations, represented the four seasons of the year. Madame de Montespan held one stall with Monseigneur [the Dauphin]; Madame de Maintenon, her rival, held a second with the Duc du Maine; the bride and bridegroom each held one; the Duke with Madame de Thiange, and the Duchess, whom decorum forbade to hold hers with a man on account of her extreme youth, was with the Duchesse de Chevreuse. The ladies and gentlemen nominated for the "*voyage*" drew lots for the jewellery laid out on the stalls. Thus the King made presents to all the Court in a manner worthy of a King. Cardinal Mazarin's lottery was less ingenious and less splendid. The Roman Emperors had indeed previously adopted the custom of lotteries, but none of them combined their magnificence with equal gallantry.

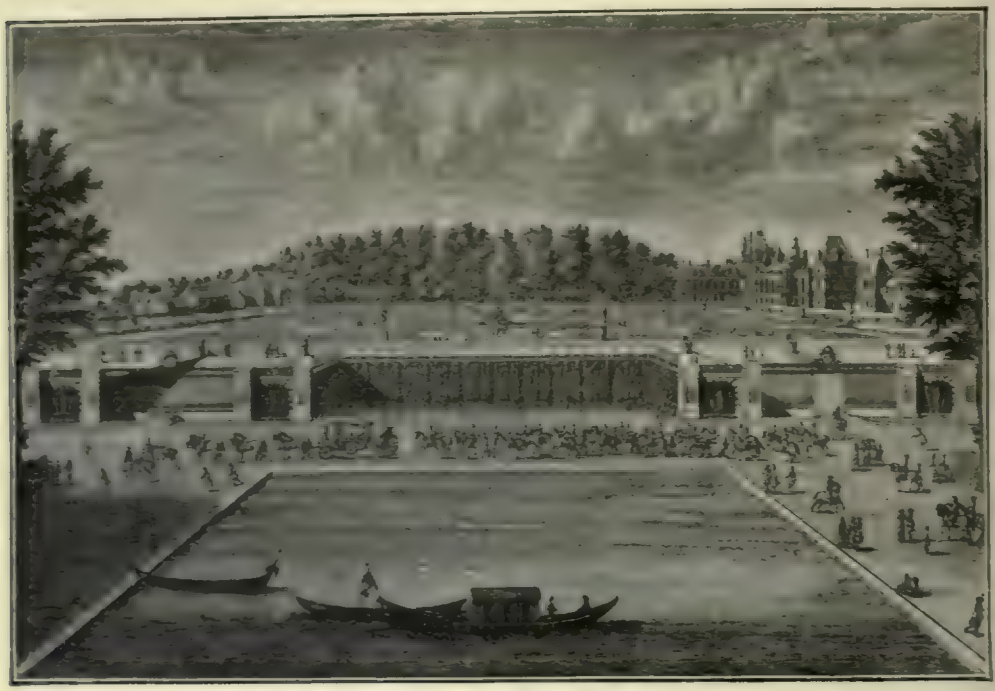
After the marriage of her daughter, Madame de Montespan appeared no more at Court. She lived in Paris with great dignity. She had a large revenue, but it was for life only, and the King allowed her a monthly pension of one thousand louis-d'or. Every year she went to Bourbon to take the waters, and there she made marriages for the young girls of the neighbourhood, to whom she gave dowries. She died at Bourbon in 1707.


JEAN BAPTISTE DE COLBERT, MARQUIS DE SEIGNELAY,
MINISTER SECRETARY OF STATE.
(Portrait by Cl. Lefebvre.—Musée de Versailles.)

A year after the marriage of Mademoiselle de Nantes with the Duc de Chartres, the Prince de Condé died at Fontainebleau, at the age of sixty-six, of an illness aggravated by the exertion he made in visiting the young Duchess, who had small-pox. We may judge by this action, which cost him his life, whether he regarded the marriage of his grandson with the daughter of the King and Madame de Montespan with the repugnance that has been imputed to him by the lying newsmongers with whom Holland swarmed.

After the marriage of the daughter and the total eclipse of the mother, Madame de Maintenon gained such ascendency over the now scrupulous King that he married her privately, on the 22nd of October, 1685, by the advice of Père La Chaise, in a little chapel at the far end of the apartment afterwards occupied by the Duc de Bourgogne.

There was no contract, no stipulation. The Archbishop of Paris, Harlay de Chanvalon, married them: the confessor was present: Montchevreuil and Bontems, first *valets de chambre*, were the witnesses. Louis XIV was then in his forty-eighth year, and Madame de Maintenon was in her fifty-second. The King, famous and glorious, tempered the cares of government with the blameless happiness of private life: his marriage did not bind him to anything unworthy of his rank. It was left an open question by the Court whether Madame de Maintenon was or was not married: she was respected as the King's chosen companion without being treated as Queen.

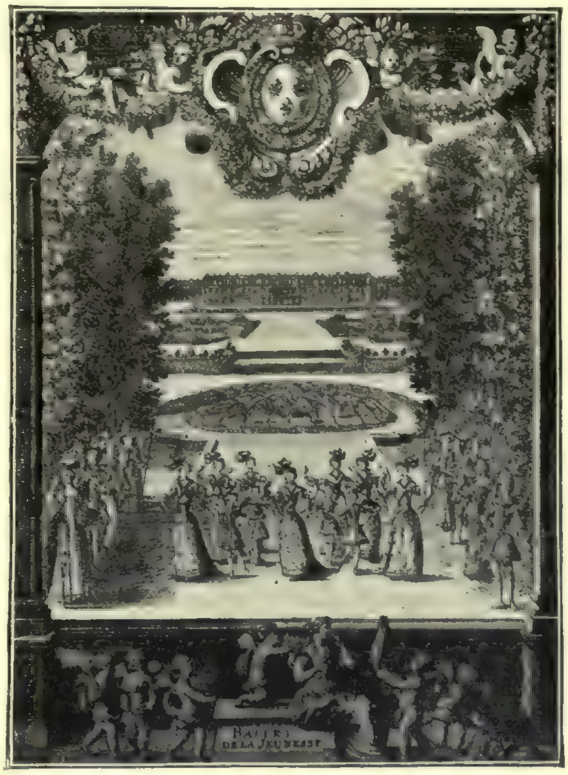


THE CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES IN 1674.

(South front, Orangery Terrace, and Pièce d'Eau des Suisses. From a print by Israel Silvestre.)

Madame de Maintenon was a granddaughter of Théodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, gentleman of the bed-chamber in ordinary to Henri IV. His father, Constant d'Aubigné, desiring to settle in the Carolinas, had addressed himself to the English, and was imprisoned for that offence in the Château

Trompette. The daughter of Cardillac, the Governor—a gentleman of Bordeaux—contrived his escape. Constant d'Aubigné married his benefactress in 1627 and took her to South Carolina. On his return to France with her some years after, they were both imprisoned at Niort in Poitou by an order of the Court. In that prison Françoise d'Aubigné, who was destined to experience all the frowns and all the smiles of fortune, saw the light in 1635. She was taken to America in her third year, and back to France in her twelfth, brought up with excessive strictness by her kinswoman, Madame de Neuillant, mother of the Duchesse de Navailles, and was glad to marry Paul Scarron in 1651. Scarron was descended from an old family of the parliament class which boasted distinguished alliances, but he made a profession of jesting, and this degraded him while it made him popular. He was ugly and not particularly well off; nevertheless it was very lucky for Mademoiselle d'Aubigné that he married her. She abjured Calvinism, the religion of her ancestors, before her marriage. Her beauty and wit were promptly recognised. She was sought by the most distinguished members of society in Paris; and this was the happiest period of her life. Scarron died in 1660, and she petitioned the King, through her friends at Court, for the continuance of a small pension of fifteen hundred livres which Scarron had enjoyed. Her solicitations were made in vain for a long time, but at last the King gave her a pension of two thousand livres, and said to her: "Madame, I have kept you waiting very long; but you have so many friends that I wanted to have the sole credit with you."

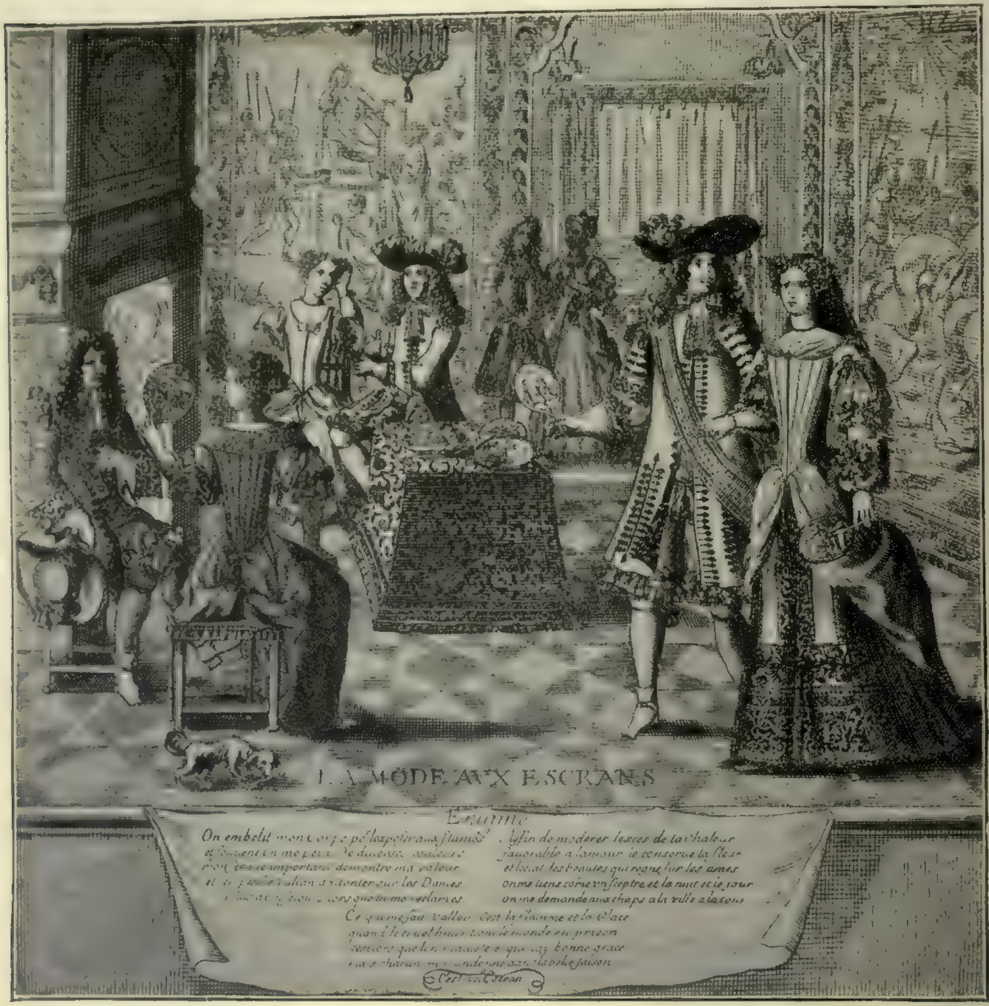


BALLET OF "LA JEUNESSE," 1680.

(One of the last danced in the Gardens of Versailles. From a print in the Hennin Collection.)

This was told me by Cardinal de Fleury, who liked to repeat it, because he said that Louis XIV. had paid him the same compliment when giving him the bishopric of Fréjus.

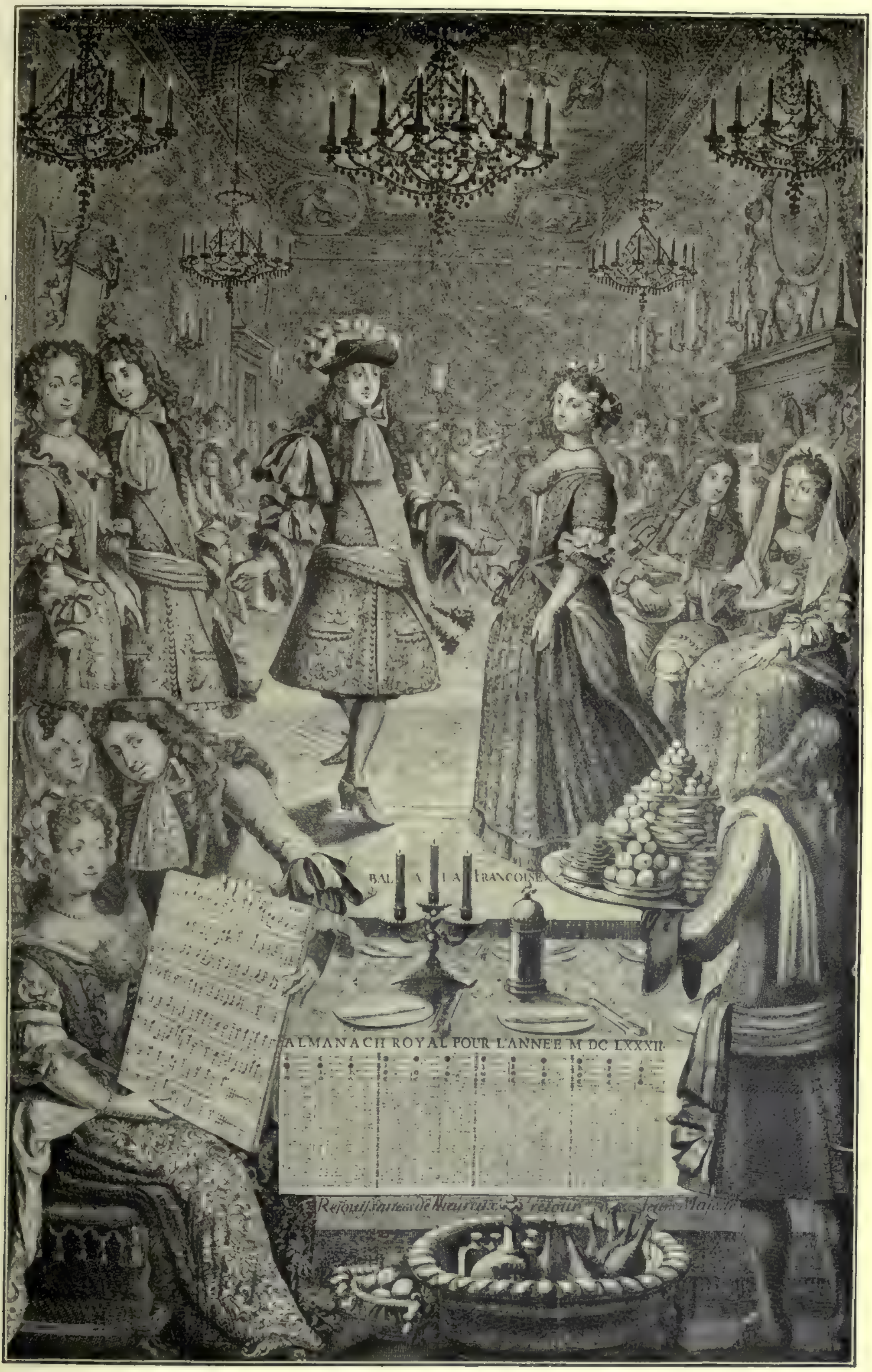
Nevertheless it is proved by letters from Madame de Maintenon herself that she owed this small favour, which placed her above absolute poverty, to Madame de Montespan. Some years later she was selected for the confidential post of "governess" to the Duc du Maine.



A LOUIS XIV. SALON.

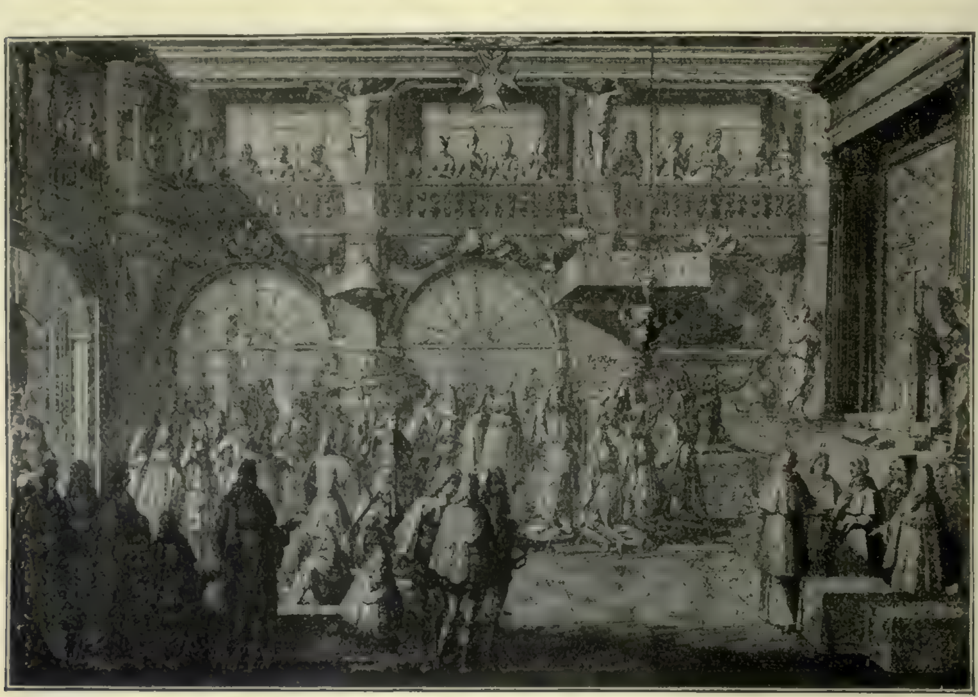
(From *La Mode aux Escrans*—an enigmatical engraving on the use of the hand-screen.)

The child was born with a deformed foot, and when he was two years old D'Aquin, first physician to the King, and in his confidence, recommended the Barège waters for him. A trustworthy person was required, and the


BAL A LA FRANCOISE
ALMANACH ROYAL POUR L'ANNEE M DC LXXXII
Rejouissances de l'heureux retour de sa Majesté

A BALL "À LA FRANÇAISE" IN 1682.
(From an Almanac of the time.)

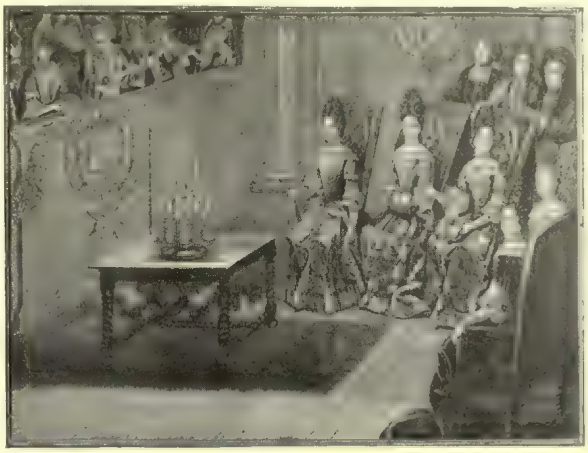
Her elevation meant retirement for Madame de Maintenon. She lived entirely in her apartment, which was on the same floor as the King's; her only visitors were two or three ladies, who, like herself, had withdrawn from society, and even these she saw but seldom. The King came to her apartment every day after his dinner, before and after the Court supper, and remained until midnight. He received his Ministers and transacted business with them there, while Madame de Maintenon either read or worked, showing no readiness to talk of affairs of State—often appearing ignorant of them; putting far from her anything like intrigue and cabal; much more desirous to please him who governed than to govern, and economising her influence by using it only with extreme circumspection. She did not avail herself of her position to secure all the great dignities and posts for her own people. Her brother, the Comte d'Aubigné, a former lieutenant-general, was not even a Marshal of France. The order of the Saint-Esprit and a private share in the revenue receipts formed his only wealth. He said one day to the Maréchal de Vivonne, brother of Madame de Montespan, "I have had my marshal's bâton in ready money."

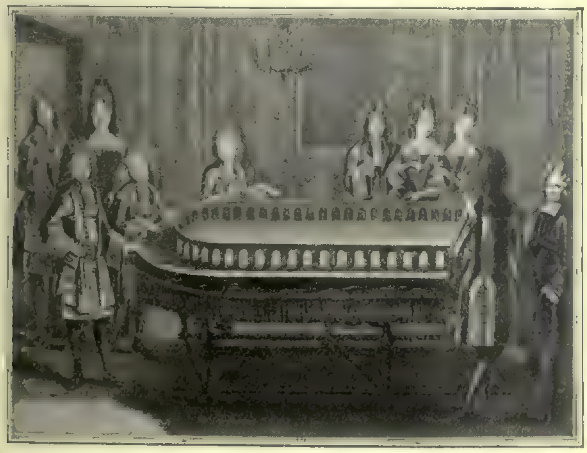


THE LARGE CHAPEL OF THE CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES.

(From a print representing a ceremony of the Chevaliers du Saint-Esprit, 1689.—This chapel was in the space now occupied by the Salon d'Hercule, and was abolished when Louis XIV. built the new church. From a print in the Hennin Collection.)

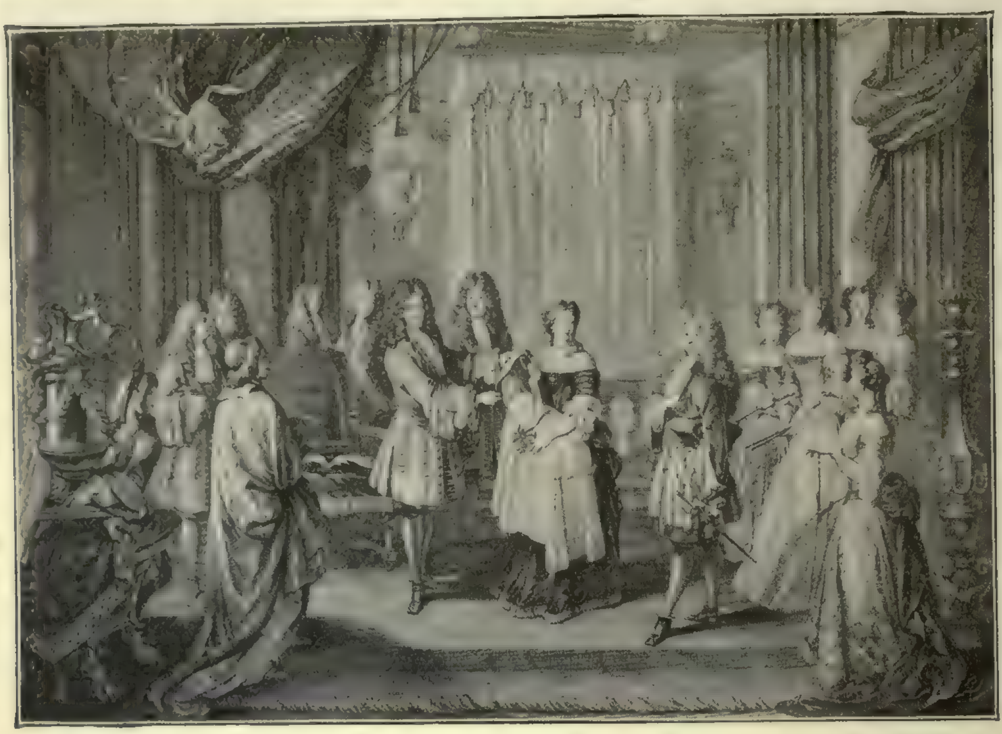
The lands of Maintenon, which she had purchased with the King's gifts, were her sole possessions. She hoped the public would overlook her elevation for the sake of her disinterestedness. The second wife of her cousin the Marquis de Villette—afterwards Countess of Bolingbroke—never could obtain anything from her. I have frequently heard her say that she had reproached Madame de Maintenon with doing so little for her own family, and said to her angrily, "You want to enjoy your moderation, and that your family should suffer for it." Madame de Maintenon would not do anything that could ruffle the King. She did not even venture to support Cardinal de Noailles against Père Le Tellier. She was very friendly to Racine, but her friendship was not even sufficiently courageous to protect him against the passing anger of Louis XIV. He had been talking to her one day of the poverty of the people in 1698—poverty which was then exaggerated, but really did become extreme afterwards—and she induced her friend to write a statement of the evil and the remedy for it. The King having read this document and spoken angrily concerning it, Madame de Maintenon was so weak as to name the author, and also to refrain from defending him. Racine's weakness was greater still: he was so overwhelmed with grief that he eventually died of it.


LIFE AT THE COURT, 1694: THE ROYAL FAMILY AT A CONCERT.
(Print by Trouvain in the series of the *Appartements Royaux*.)

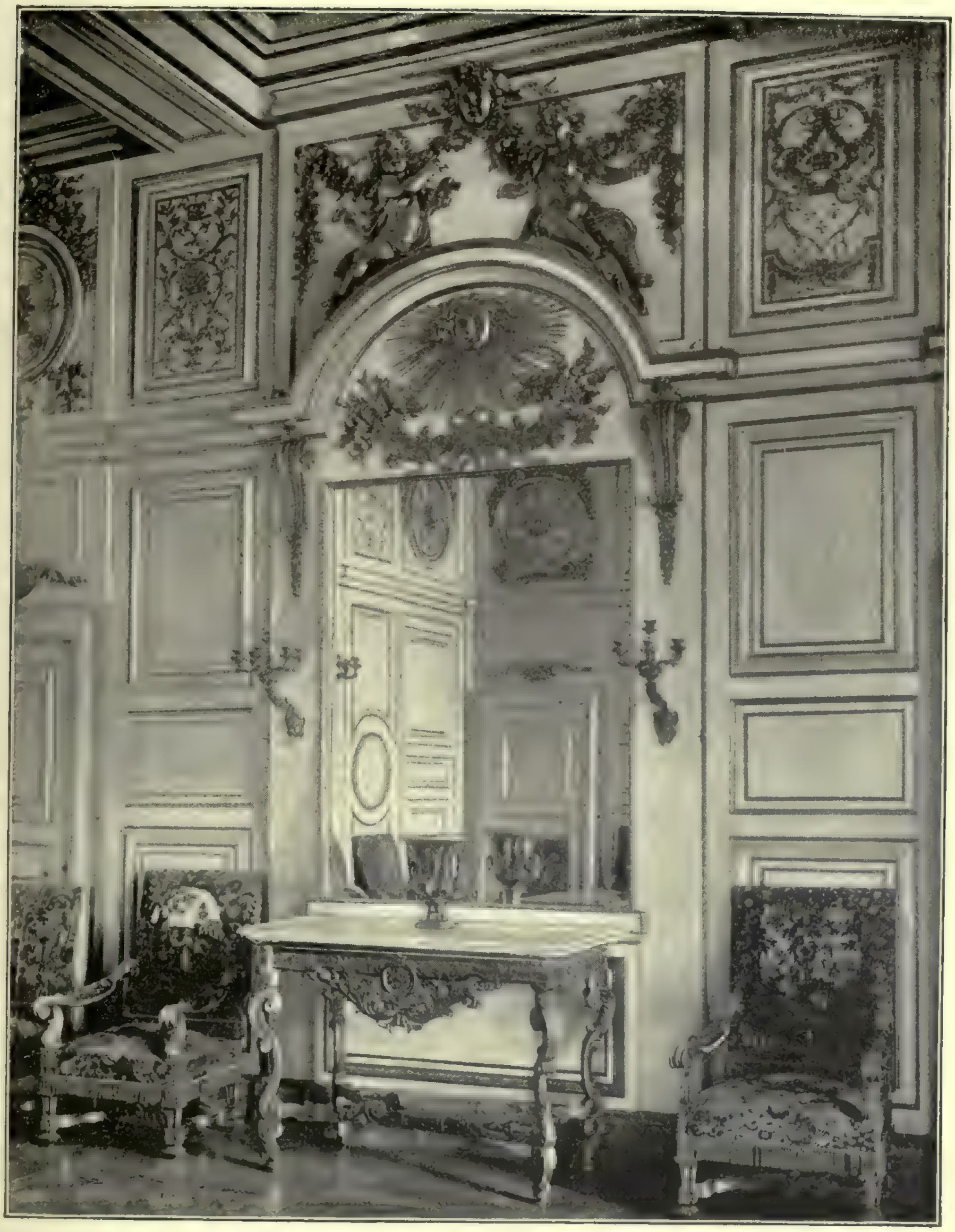

LIFE AT THE COURT: THE KING'S CHILDREN AT THE GAME OF "TROU-MADAME" (PIGEON HOLES).
(Print by Trouvain.)

As she was incapable of serving, so she could not injure anybody deliberately. The Abbé de Choisy tells us that Louvois went on his knees to entreat the King not to marry Scarron's widow. Madame de Maintenon was informed of the fact; yet not only did she pardon Louvois, but she would pacify the King when the Minister's rough humour made him angry.

Louis XIV. found an agreeable and submissive consort in Madame de Maintenon. One sole ostensible distinction marked her secret elevation; it was that at Mass she occupied one of the two small gilded galleries hitherto reserved for the King and Queen only. The piety which she had imparted to the King, and which she had employed to secure her marriage, by degrees became a real and profound sentiment. It had age and *ennui* to strengthen it. She had brought several young ladies of quality together to be educated at Noisy, and the King handed over the revenues of Saint-Denis to the budding community. Saint-Cyr was built at the back of the park of Versailles in 1686. She then regularly constituted that establishment, arranged the rules with Godet Desmarets, Bishop of Chartres, and herself acted as Lady Superior of the convent. She frequently went there to pass a few hours, and when I say it was *ennui*



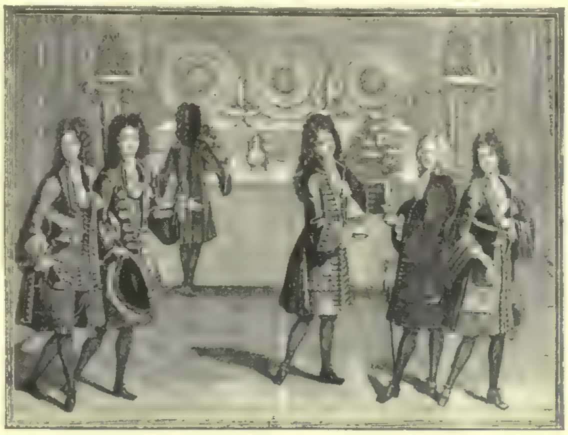
THE BAPTISM OF THE DUC DE BOURGOGNE.
(From an engraving by Larmessin.)



A ROOM IN THE CHÂTEAU DE FONTAINEBLEAU, USED BY LOUIS XIV. AND MADAME DE MAINTENON IN 1685, DECORATED WITH THE ARMS OF THE KING—THE SUN AND THE L.-L. INTERTWINED.

that took her there I only repeat her own statement. She wrote as follows to Madame de La Maisonfort, who is referred to later in the chapter on "Quietism":—

"Why can I not give you my experience? Why can I not make you see the *ennui* that devours the great, and the trouble it gives them to fill up their days? Do you not see that I am dying of *ennui*, in the midst of hardly imaginable good fortune? I have been young and handsome, I have tasted of pleasure, and I have been loved everywhere. At a more mature age I passed years in intellectual intercourse. I have come to favour, and I protest to you, my dear daughter, that all these conditions leave a hideous void." If anything could cure ambition it would assuredly be that letter. And yet Madame de Maintenon had no other trouble than the monotony of the life she led with a great king. "I cannot bear it any longer," she said to her brother the Comte d'Aubigné. "I wish I were dead." His well-known answer was, "Do you then mean to marry God the Father?"



LIFE AT THE COURT: THE KING'S CHILDREN AT COLLATION.

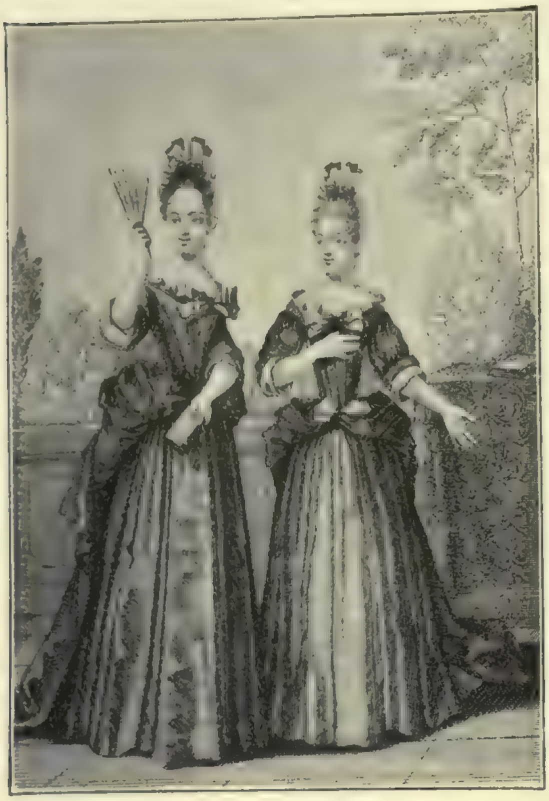
(Print by Trouvain in the series of the *Appartements Royaux*.)

On the King's death she retired to Saint-Cyr. It was surprising that the King had secured hardly anything to her. He only recommended her to the good offices of the Duc d'Orléans. She would accept only a pension of eighty thousand livres, which was punctually paid until her death on the 15th of April, 1719.

The Court became less lively and more serious after the King began to lead a more retired life with Madame de Maintenon, and after his very severe illness in 1686 he lost his liking for the grand festivities which had previously marked each year of his reign. The art of surgery, although it made more progress in France during that reign than in all the rest of Europe, was not acquainted with fistula, the malady by which the King was assailed. Cardinal de Richelieu had died of the same disease for want of proper treatment. The King's danger aroused all

France. The churches were crowded with people, who prayed for his recovery with tears.

The King's first physician, Félix, went to all the hospitals to visit patients who were in the like danger; he consulted the best surgeons, and in concert with them he invented instruments which abridged the necessary operation and rendered it less painful. The King bore it without a murmur. He transacted business the same day with his Ministers, who came to his bedside, and, lest the news of his danger should disturb the European Courts, he gave audience to the ambassadors on the following day. He also royally rewarded Félix by the gift of an estate worth more than fifty thousand crowns.



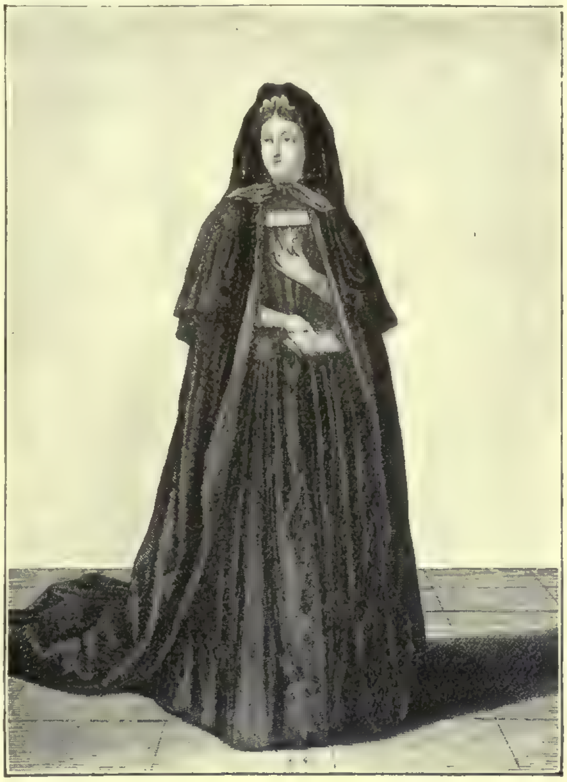
"DEMOISELLES DE SAINT-CYR" IN 1686: PUPILS IN THE THIRD CLASS.
(From an engraving by Bonnart.)

After this period the King attended the plays no more. The Dauphine, who had become melancholy and was falling into a decline which proved fatal in 1690, withdrew from every kind of entertainment, and secluded herself in her apartment. She loved learning, she had even written verse; but in her depression she cared for nothing but solitude.

The revival of the tastes for things intellectual was due to the convent of Saint-Cyr. Madame de Maintenon requested Racine, who had then renounced the stage for Jansenism and the Court, to write a tragedy for representation by her nieces. She wished for a biblical subject. Racine composed *Esther*, and the piece was afterwards acted several times before the King at Versailles in the winter of 1689. Prelates and Jesuits hastened to obtain leave to witness this singular play. *Esther* had a marked and universal success, yet *Athalie*, acted by the same persons two years later, had none. The contrary was the case when the two pieces were produced in Paris after the author was dead and the day of partiality was over. *Athalie*, in 1717, was received, as it deserved, with warm admiration, and *Esther*, in 1721, with such coldness that it was not again played. It is easy to fathom the cause of this apparent caprice of judgment. The courtiers who had flattered Madame de Maintenon by recognising her in Esther, and had gratified their malignity by identifying Madame de Montespan with Vashti, M. de Louvois with Haman, and the Huguenots with the proscribed Hebrews, were no more, and the impartial public found nothing in *Esther* to arouse their interest or enlist their sympathy.

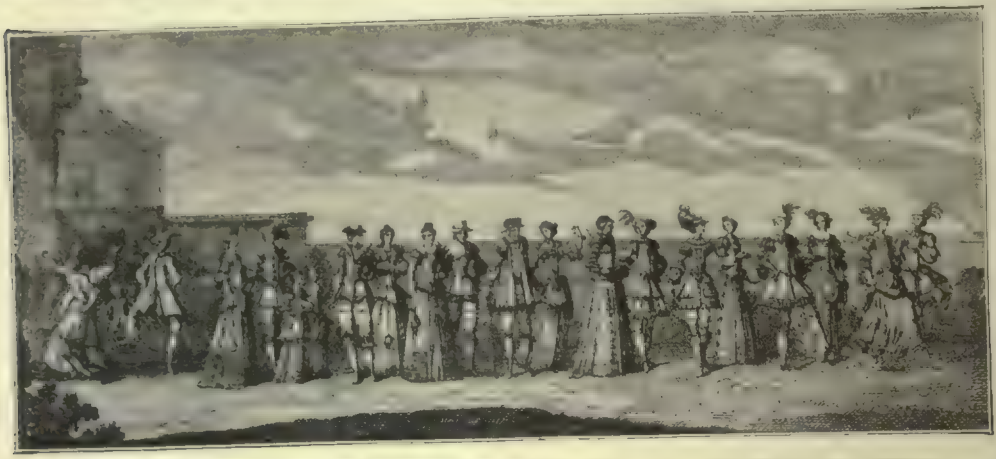
These entertainments were revived for the education of the young Duchesse de Bourgogne, Adelaide of Savoy, who had been brought to France at the age of eleven years.

It is one of the contradictions in our national manners that, on the one hand, a certain disreputability still attaches to plays acted in public, and on the other such performances have ever been regarded as the most fitting and noble recreation for royal personages. A little theatre was now set up in the apartment of Madame de Maintenon. The Duchesse de Bourgogne and the Duc d'Orléans acted in plays with such persons of the Court as had dramatic talent. Baron, the famous actor, gave them lessons and himself acted with them. Most of the tragedies written by Duché, the King's *valet de chambre*, were composed for this theatre, and the Abbé Genest, chaplain to the Duchesse d'Orléans, composed plays for the Duchesse du Maine, which were performed by the Princess and her circle.



"DAME RELIGIEUSE" OF SAINT-CYR.
(From a print by Bonnart.)

The Duchesse de Bourgogne advanced rapidly in graces of person and character. The praise that was bestowed upon her sister in Spain inspired her with emulation and quickened her desire to please. She was not a beauty, but in her eyes there was a look like her son's (Louis XV.); she had a fine figure and the *grand air*. She had good abilities and an extreme desire to win the approbation of all. She was, like Henrietta of England, the idol and the model of the Court, with higher rank; she stood near the throne. France expected from the Duc de Bourgogne government such as the sages of antiquity prescribed, but also that its austerity would be tempered by the graces of the Princess; these were more admired and popular than the philosophy of her husband. All the world knows how grievously those hopes were disappointed. It was the fate of Louis XIV. to lose all the members of his family in France by premature deaths: his wife at forty-five; his only son at fifty, and a year after the death of the Grand Dauphin, the Dauphin Duc de Bourgogne, his wife, and their eldest son, the Duc de Bretagne, were laid in the same tomb at Saint-Denis, in April 1712, while their youngest child, an infant, was lying at the gates of death. The Duc de Berry, brother of the Duc de Bourgogne, and his infant daughter, followed them only two years later.



THE VILLAGE WEDDING: BALL AND MASQUERADE DANCED AT VERSAILLES BY THE GRAND DAUPHIN AND THE COURTIERS IN 1683.
(From a print of the period.)

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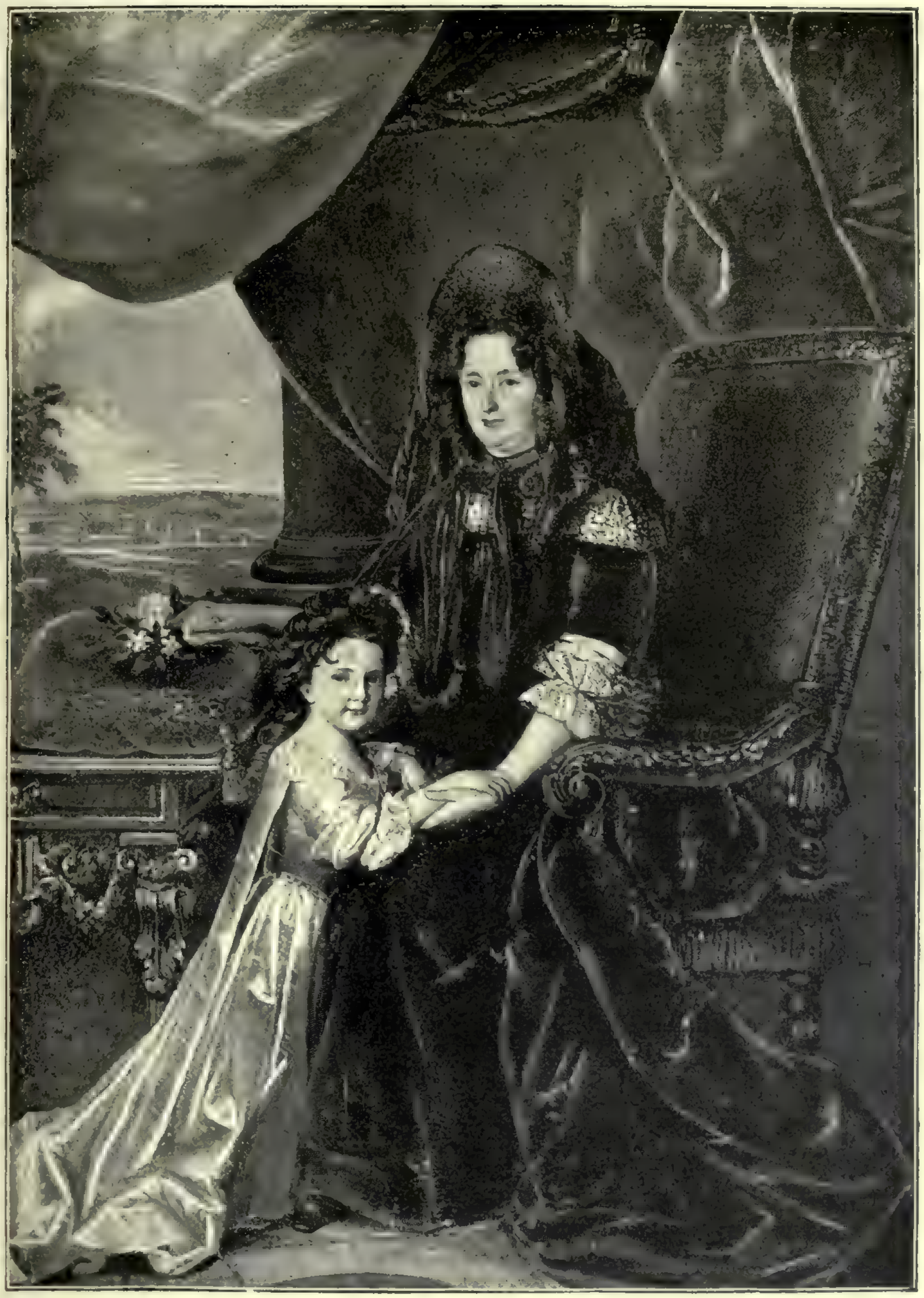
Of all these grievous bereavements the King was most deeply afflicted by the death of the Duchesse de Bourgogne. He had been greatly pleased with her when she came to France, as a little girl, in 1696.



MADAME DE MAINTENON AND HER NIECE, MADEMOISELLE D'AUBIGNÉ, WITH SAINT-CYR IN THE DISTANCE.

(From the original painting by Ferdinand, preserved at Saint-Cyr, at present in the Musée de Versailles.)

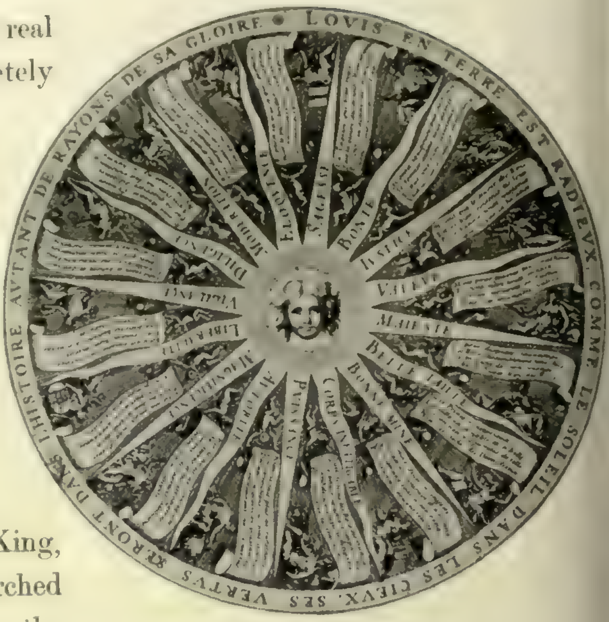
X

"I led her," he wrote to Madame de Maintenon, "through the crowd, letting her be seen now and then by having the lights held close to her face. She went through this march with grace and modesty. At length we reached her room, where there was a crowd and heat fit to kill us. I showed her to those who came up, and observed her in every way so that I might tell you what I think of her. She has the best air and the best figure I have ever seen, is beautifully dressed, her hair as well; her eyes are full of life and very fine, the lashes dark and admirable; she has a very smooth complexion, red and white as could be wished; also a great quantity of beautiful fair hair; she is thin, as she ought to be at her age; her mouth is very red, thick lips, teeth long, white, and very irregular, hands well shaped, but of the colour of her age. She curtsies badly, rather in the Italian style, and there is something of the Italian in her face, but she pleases, and I have seen it in the eyes of everybody. As for me, I am altogether pleased. Speaking to you as I do always, I think she is just what is to be wished; I should be sorry if she were more beautiful. Everything is pleasing except the curtsey. I will tell you more about her after supper. I forgot to say that she is short rather than tall for her age."

THE GRAND DAUPHIN AND HIS FAMILY.

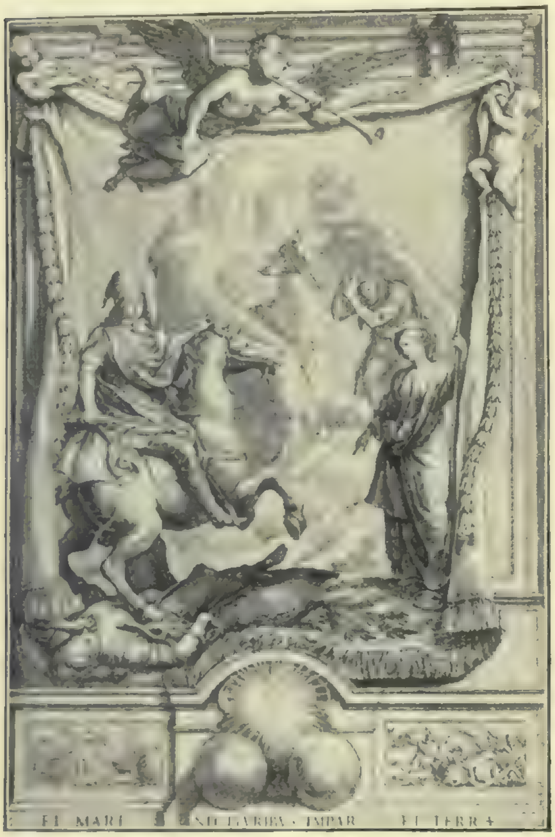
(Copy by Delutel (1692) of the picture by Mignard at the Louvre Musée de Versailles—the Queen's Guard-Room.)

This early impression grew into real affection; the little Duchess completely won the King's heart. She spared no pains, according to Saint-Simon, to accomplish that victory. He draws a charming picture of her.


LOVIS EN TERRE EST RADIEVX COMME LE SOLEIL DANS LES CIEVX. SES VERTVS SERONT DANS L'HISTOIRE AVTANT DE RAYONS DE SA GLOIRE

PRINT IN HONOUR OF LOUIS XIV.
(The virtues are the rays of the king, "who on the earth is radiant like the sun in the skies.")

"In public she was serious, circumspect, respectful, and on timidly good terms with Madame de Maintenon, whom she called 'aunt,' as a pretty way of blending rank and regard. In private she flitted about Madame de Maintenon and the King, prattling, romping, laughing, now perched upon the arm of the chair of one or the other, anon sitting on their knees, or hanging round their necks. She kissed and caressed them, rumpled their laces, chucked them under the chin, teased them, rummaged their tables, their papers, and their letters, reading the latter sometimes in spite of them, if she saw they were in a good humour.


ET MARI
IMPAR
ET TERRA

LOUIS XIV. ALL-POWERFUL ON LAND AND ON SEA.
(From an allegorical print by Chevardi.)

"One evening at Fontainebleau, when all the princesses' ladies were in the same cabinet with her and the King after supper, she had been jabbering in all sorts of languages, and playing a hundred childish tricks to amuse His Majesty, who was highly pleased, when

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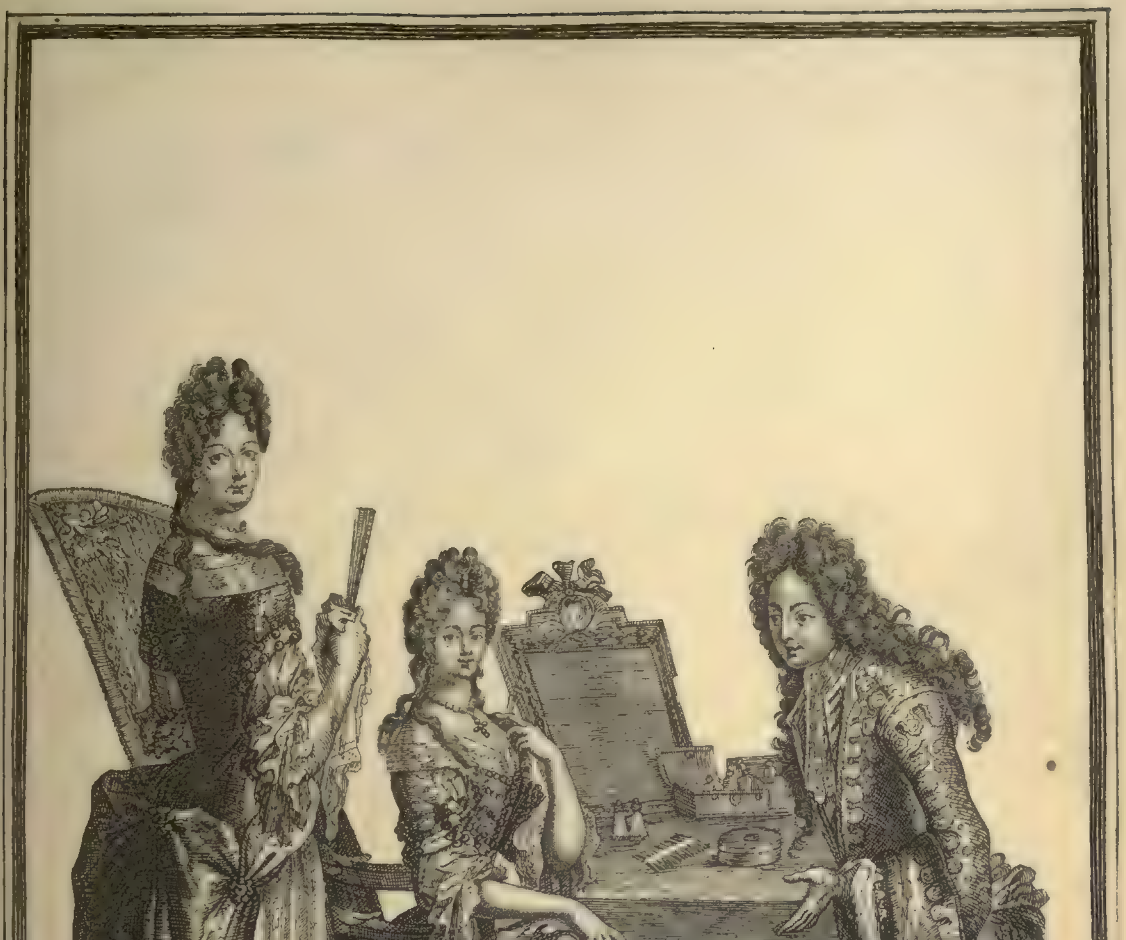
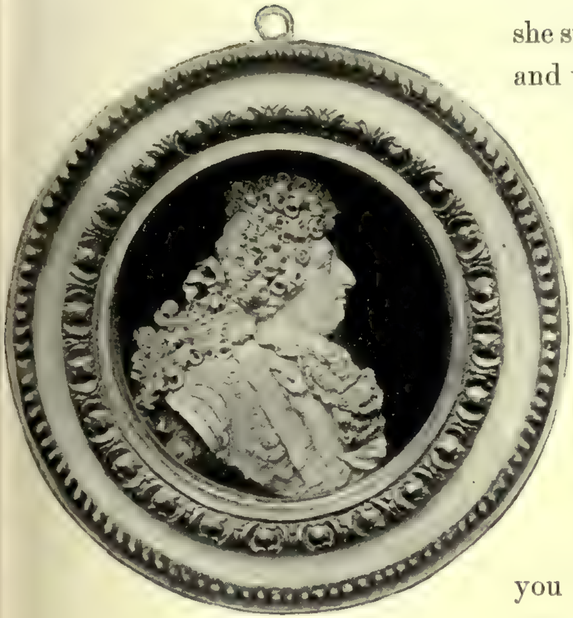

Me la Duchesse du Lude

N. Arnoult fecit

Monseigr. Le Duc de Bourgogne rendant visitte a
Madame la Princesse de Sauoye a sa Toillette

Ce Vend a Paris Chez N. Arnoult rue de la fromagerie aux Halles au bon Raisin Avec Privilege du Roy

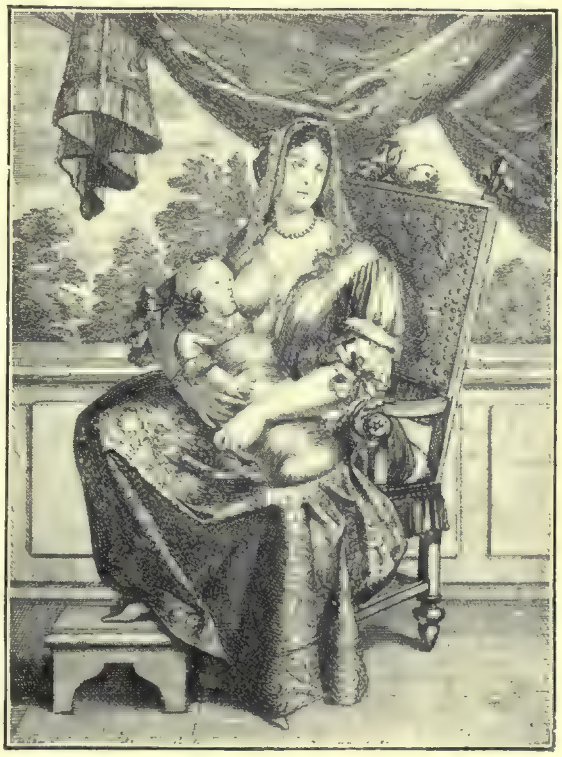
she suddenly observed that Madame la Duchesse and the Princesse de Conti looked significantly at each other and shrugged their shoulders with an air of contempt and disdain. The King having risen and gone as usual into a back room to feed his dogs before wishing the princesses good-night, the Dauphine took hold of Madame de Saint-Simon with one hand and Madame de Levi with the other, and indicating the two ladies who were only a few steps off, by a nod, she said: 'Did you see, did you see? I know that there was no common-sense in anything I said or did, and that it is odious. But he must have a stir about him, and these things amuse him.'"



THE GRAND DAUPHIN.

(Medallion from the little figure in wax belonging to Baron Jérôme Pichon.)

It was then with intent that she taught Louis XIV. the art and the happiness of being a grandfather. The lesson was wonderfully successful. "The King could not do without her. Everything was amiss with him when the pleasure parties which, in his tenderness and consideration for her, he would not allow her to forego, took her away from him; and even at his public supper, on the rare occasions when she was not present, there seemed to be a cloud of gravity and silence over the King. Whatever taste she may have had for those entertainments, she was very sparing of them, and always took care to have

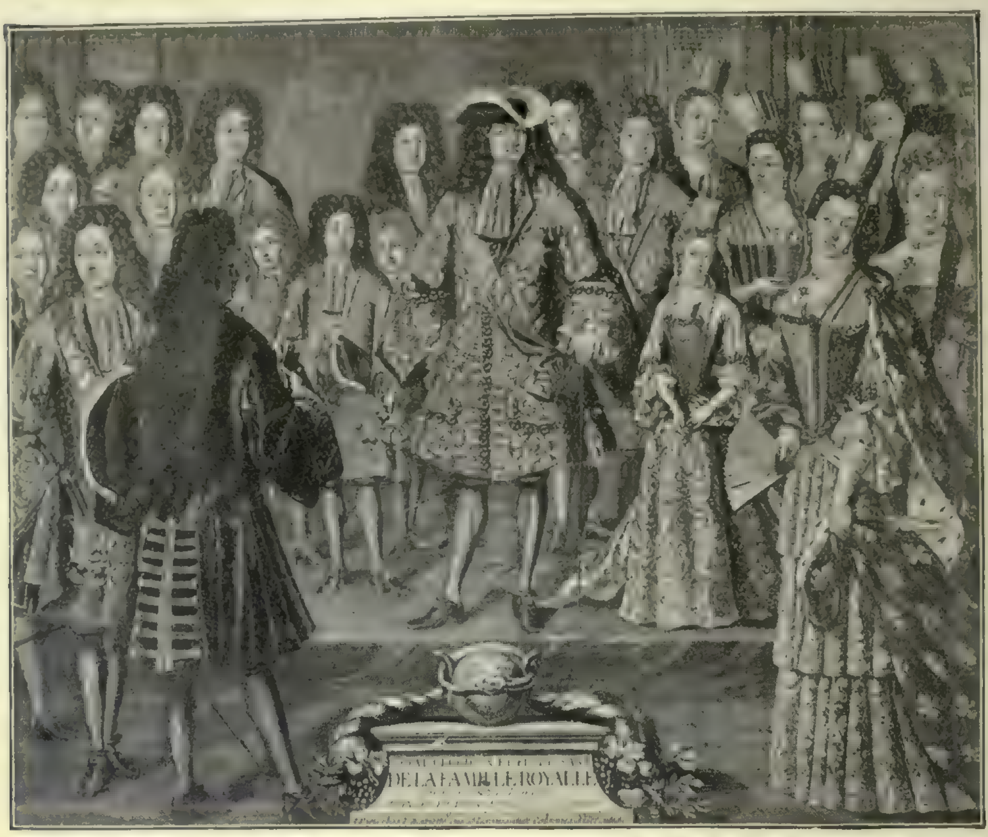


THE DUC DE BOURGOGNE IN THE ARMS OF HIS NURSE.

(From a popular print.)

herself 'commanded.' She scrupulously saw the King on going and returning, and if a ball in winter or a late party in summer kept her out at night, she arranged matters so as to be with him so soon as he was awake, that she might amuse him with a description of the entertainment.

"Judged by rule, she was ugly; with drooping cheeks, an inexpressive nose, too prominent a forehead, thick lips, dark chestnut hair and eyebrows, the most speaking and beautiful eyes in the world, few teeth, and those decayed—herself the first to talk and laugh about them—the most beautiful skin and complexion, the bust small but admirable, the throat long, with just a touch of goître, which was not unbecoming, a gay, graceful and majestic carriage of the head, and the same to be said of her look, a most expressive smile, a long, rounded, supple, perfectly-formed waist, and a goddess-mark [dimple] in the cheeks. She was charming to the last degree.



LOUIS XIV. IN 1698, SURROUNDED BY ALL THE MEMBERS OF HIS FAMILY.

(Print by Mariette for an Almanac. "The glorious and flourishing state of the family of France.")

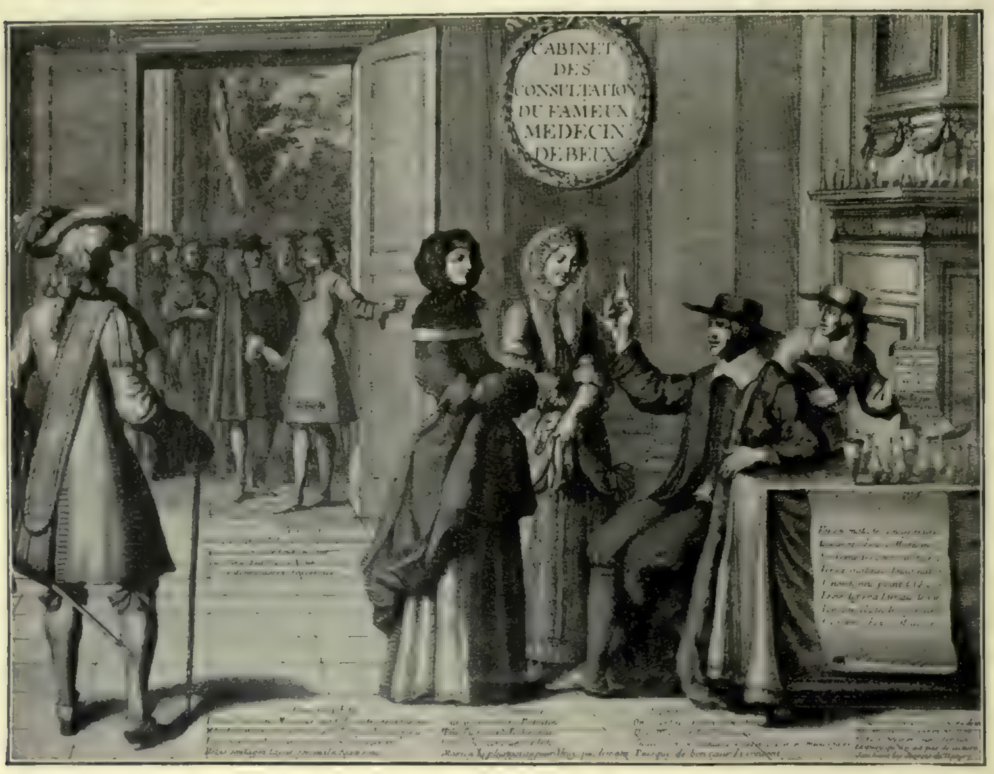
THE DUCHESSE DE BOURGOGNE.
(Marble bust by Coysevox, from nature.—Musée de Versailles.)

THE DUCHESSE DE BOURGOGNE.
(From a gold medal, 1701.)

"The Graces were new born in her steps, in all her ways, and in her most ordinary discourse. Her manner, always simple and natural, often almost childish, but full of intelligence, charmed all with ease that so belonged to her that it communicated itself to all who approached her, . . . gentle, shy but adroit, and so kind that she shrank from giving the least pain to anyone, and, with all her liveliness and trifling, very capable of sound views and well considered judgments. The irksome constraint [of her life], though she felt its full weight, seemed to cost her nothing. It was natural to her to be obliging to everyone; her kindness came from the heart, she felt it even for her Court.

THE DUCHESSE DE BOURGOGNE AS A HUNTRESS.
(Marble statue by Coysevox.—Musée du Louvre.)

"She desired to please the most useless and insignificant persons, but she never seemed to be trying to do so. One was tempted to believe that she was entirely and solely engrossed by those with whom she was. Her youthful, bright, active spirits animated everything, and her nymph-like lightness carried her about like the whirlwind which fills leagues of space all at once, and gives everything within them life and movement. She adorned the plays, was the soul of the fêtes, the pleasure parties and the balls, where the accuracy and perfection of her dancing charmed the company. She liked card-playing, was amused even by games played for low stakes, for everything amused her; she preferred the high, however, and was the most strict, exact and clever player in existence, dealt the cards in an instant, and was equally ready and pleased to read serious books aloud in the afternoons, and discuss them while she worked with her 'serious ladies,' as the elder ladies of the palace were called. She spared nothing, not even her health, she forgot nothing, not even the smallest things, in order to win Madame de Maintenon, and with her the King."



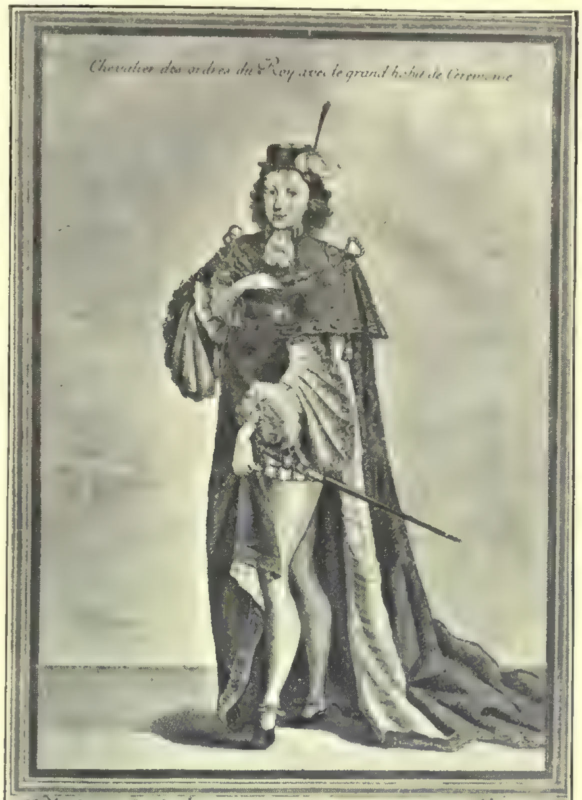
THE FASHIONABLE DOCTOR IN HIS CONSULTING-ROOM.
(From an Almanac of the time.)

The depth of the anguish caused by the death of this bewitching being to the King, his family, and all the Court may be readily conceived. "With the charming princess all joy, pleasure, amusement and charm of every sort vanished. Thick darkness covered the face of the Court. Never was princess so regretted, never was one so worthy of regret." This funeral oration by Saint-Simon is equal to the famous "Madame se meurt" of Bossuet: "The involuntary and secret bitterness of it [her loss] has remained, with a void that never has been filled."

⁂

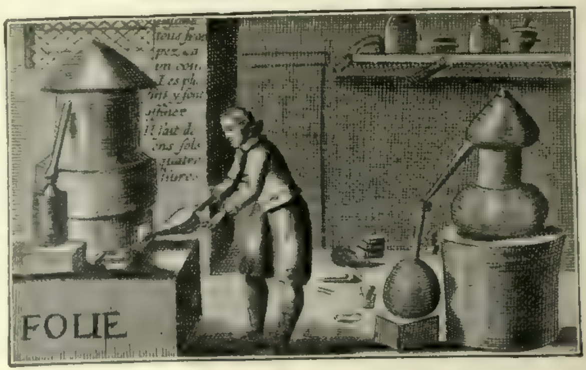
This period of sorrow left so deep an impression on the hearts of all that even in the minority of Louis XV. I have met persons who could not speak of those deaths without shedding tears. The most to be pitied among all who had to mourn them, was the child whose inheritance of the throne seemed very near.

The same suspicion that had been aroused by the death of Madame and that of Marie-Louise, Queen of Spain, was revived in full force. The excessive grief of the public would have almost excused the calumny, had it been excusable, but there was delirious folly in the notion that so many royal persons could have perished by a crime which left the only one with power to avenge them alive. The malady that carried off the Dauphin Duc de Bourgogne, his wife and his son, was measles—epidemic at the time. In less than a month five hundred people had died of it in Paris. The Duc de Bourbon, grandson of the Prince de Condé, the Duc de La Tremouille, Madame de la Vrillière, and Madame de Listenay were attacked with it at the château. The Marquis de Gondrin, son of the Duc d'Antin, died of the disease in two days. All France was stricken by the epidemic. In Lorraine it carried off the elder brother of François, Duc de Lorraine, who was destined to be an emperor in the future and to restore the House of Austria. Nevertheless it was enough for a doctor named Boudin, an ignorant and


Chevalier des ordres du Roy avec le grand habit de Ceremonie

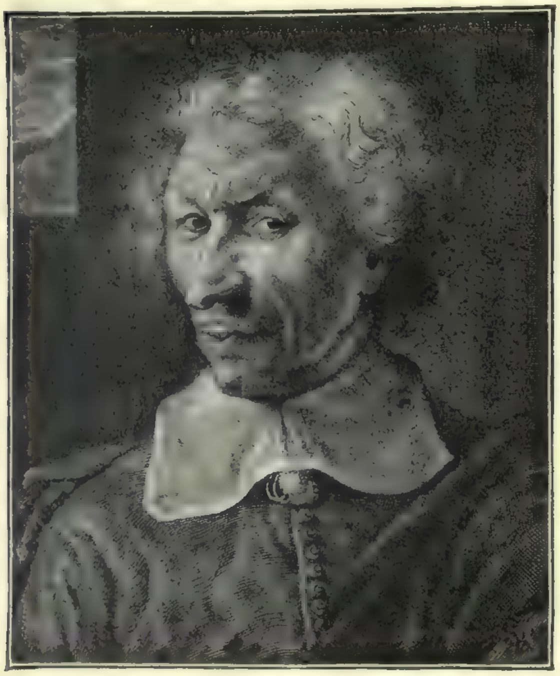
Philippe d'Orleans Duc de Chartres fils de Monsieur frere unique du Roy et Duc d'Orleans. Il fut fait Chevalier du S.t Esprit par le Roy Louis le Grand. le 2me Juin 1686.

dissipated man, to say, "We understand nothing about such maladies." This was enough, I say, to set calumny off on an unchecked course.



AN ALCHEMIST'S LABORATORY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(From a print taken from *Illustres Proverbes* by Laguiet.)

Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, the King's nephew, had a laboratory, and studied chemistry, with several other arts. Here was an indisputable proof. The public excitement was not to be believed except by those who witnessed it, and these absurd suspicions would have been handed down to posterity by various writers and in so-called histories of Louis XIV. had not well-informed persons taken care to destroy them. I say for myself that, having been aware at all times of the injustice of men, I made diligent search into the truth. This is what I have heard repeatedly from the Marquis de Canillac, one of the most honest men in the kingdom, and in intimate relations with the suspected Prince, of whom he has since great reason to complain. The Marquis de Canillac went to see him at the Palais Royal in the midst of this public outcry. He found him lying on the floor, shedding tears, crazy with grief. His chemist, Homberg, went to the Bastille to give himself up; but no order to receive him had been given, and he was refused. In the excess of his trouble, the Prince himself (who could believe it?) demanded to be sent to prison. He required that his innocence should be formally established,

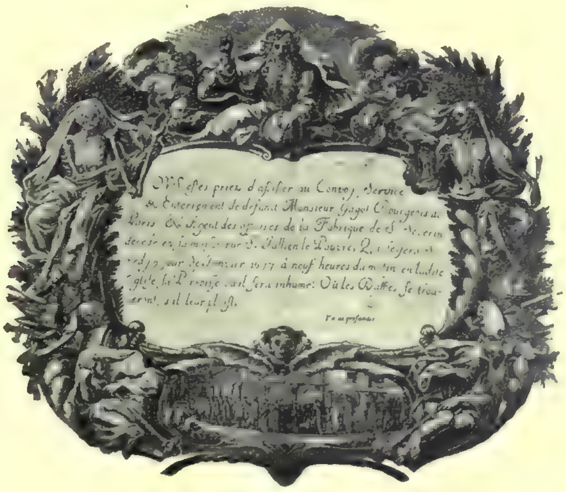


GUY PATIN.
(A type of the Paris doctor.—From a print by Masson.)

and his mother [the Princess Palatine] joined in his demand for this cruel justification. The *lettre de cachet* was despatched, but it was not signed, and the Marquis de Canillac only, amid the perturbation, retained sufficient coolness to realise the consequences of so desperate a step. He induced the mother of the prince to oppose that ignominious letter. The monarch who granted, and his nephew who demanded it were equally unfortunate.

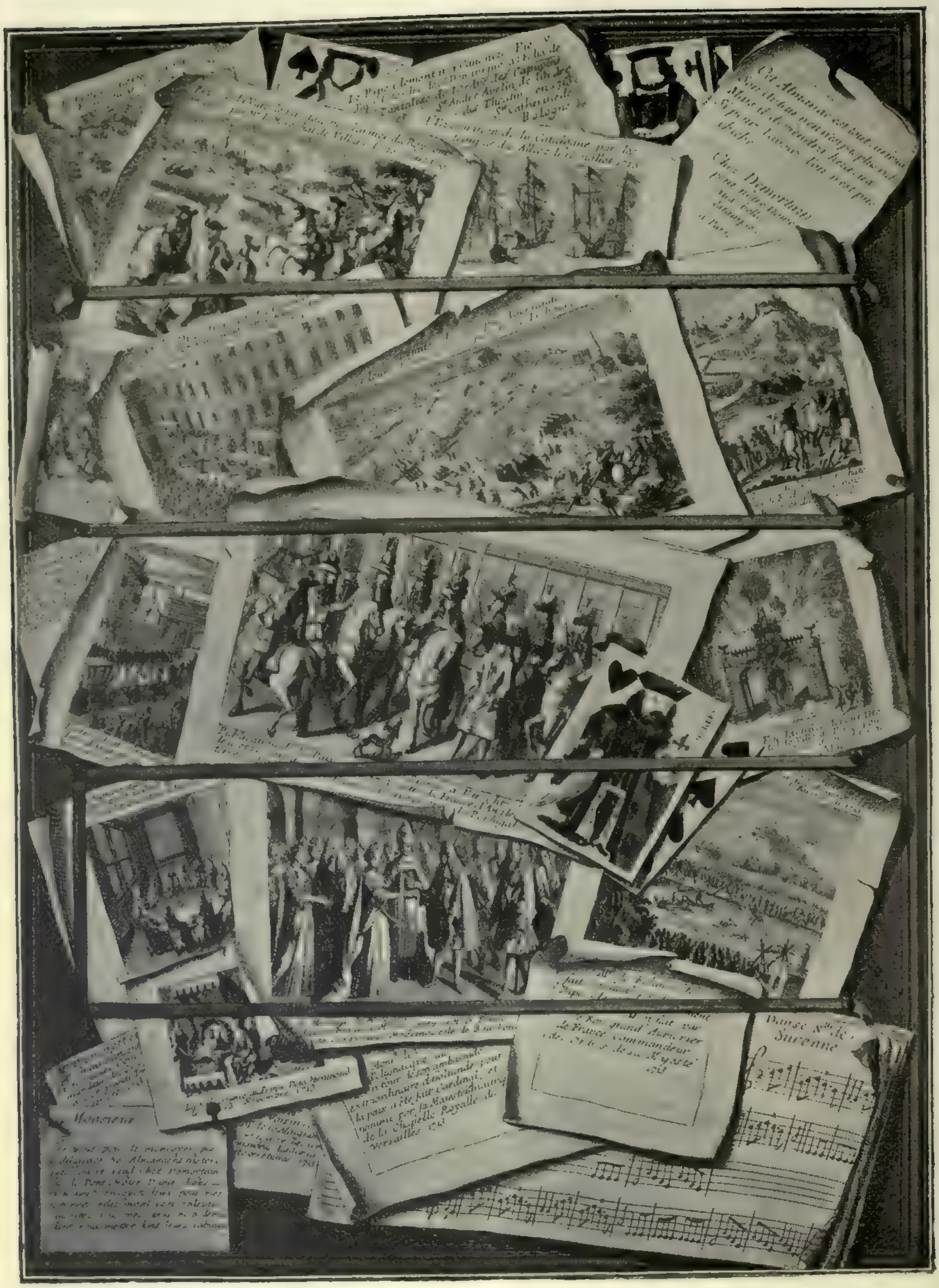
⁂

Voltaire does right in defending the Duc d'Orléans against these unjust suspicions. Saint-Simon also has done the same from motives of friendship and fairness. He writes as follows respecting the credit given by the public to the accusations against the Duke: "I learned that what began to leak out concerning the Duke, the covert hints, the whispered secret, no longer remained in those conditions. The rumour rapidly reached the Court, Paris, the provinces, the most remote corners of the kingdom, isolated monasteries, the most empty and sterile solitudes, finally, every foreign country and every European people."



CARD OF INVITATION TO A FUNERAL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(Cabinet of Prints, Hennin Collection.)



ADVERTISEMENT OF THE ALMANAC FOR 1713.

(Reproduction of Demortain the printseller's advertisement. Hennin Collection, Bibliothèque Nationale.)

FATO PRUDENTIA MAJOR

WISDOM TRIUMPHS OVER DESTINY.
(From a composition and engraving by Regnesson.)

## IV.

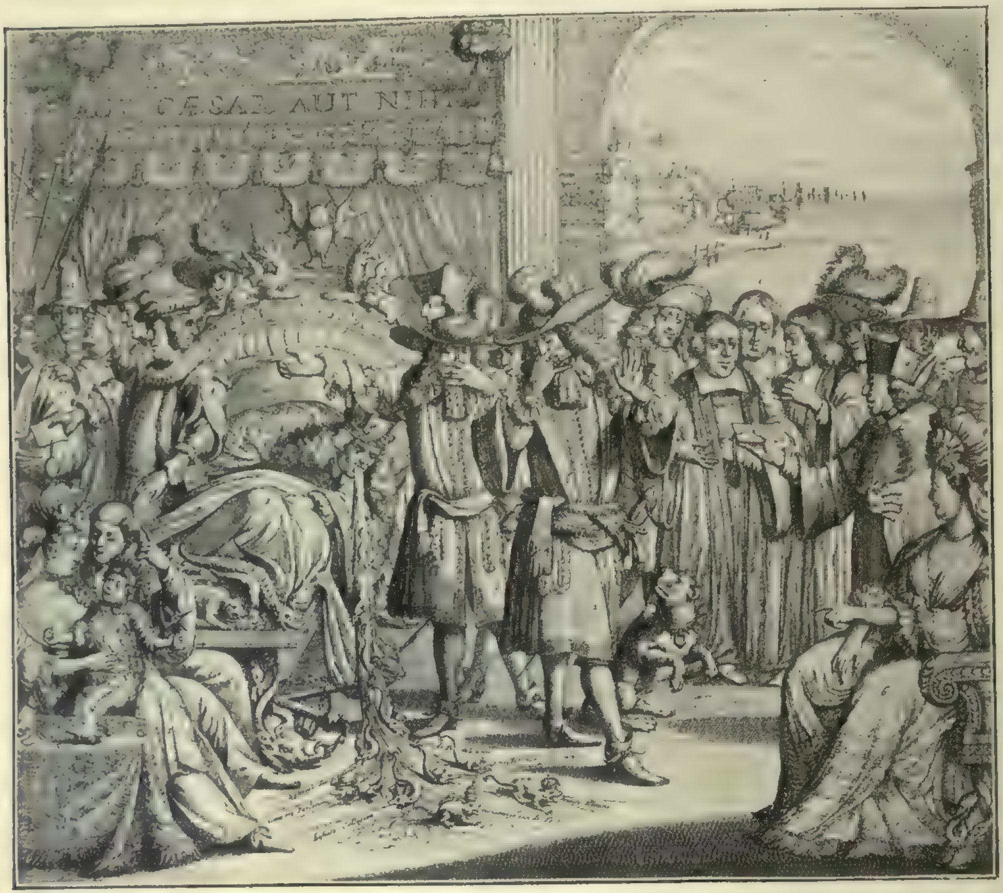
## THE DECLINE OF THE REIGN: THE KING'S OLD AGE AND DEATH.

LOUIS XIV. IN 1690.
(From a silver crown, with the eight L's crowned.)

LOUIS XIV. concealed his grief in public; he allowed himself to be seen as usual, but in private he was overwhelmed by affliction, and suffered from convulsions. He had to bear all these domestic bereavements just after a disastrous war, before peace was secure, and at a time of great poverty throughout his kingdom, but he was never known to sink under the burden of his woes.

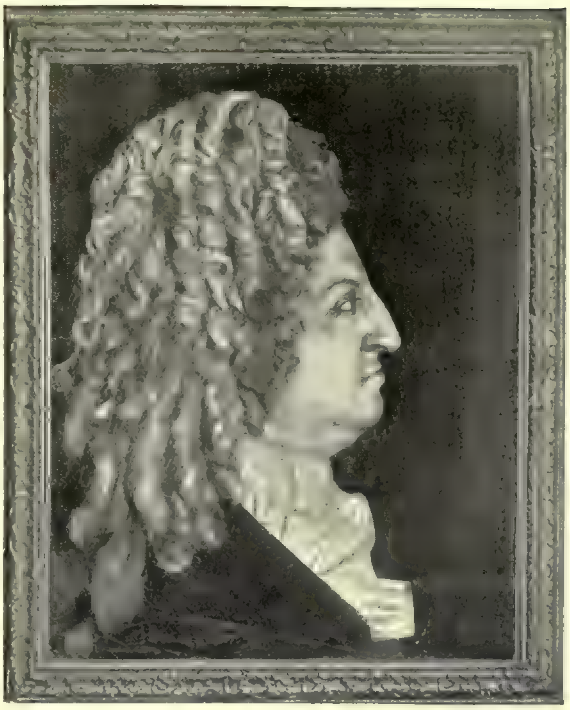
The rest of his life was sad. The bad condition of the finances, which he could not remedy, alienated the people from him, and his confidence in Le Tellier, the Jesuit, completed their estrangement. It is worthy of remark that the public, who forgave him his mistresses, never forgave him his confessor. In the three closing years of his life he lost in the estimation of the greater number of his subjects all that he had won during the great and memorable years of his reign.

He had lost almost all his children, and his attachment to his legitimatised sons, the Duc du Maine and the Comte de Toulouse, led him to declare them and their descendants heirs to the crown, in default of the princes of the blood, by an edict which was registered without any remonstrance in 1714. He thus tempered the severity of the conventional laws, which deprive children born out of wedlock of the right to paternal inheritance, by the natural law. Kings can dispense from the former, and the King believed he could do for his own blood the same that he had done for several of his subjects. Above all, he believed he could effect a settlement for two of his children, such as the Parliament had passed without opposition in the case of the princes of Lorraine. Afterwards, in 1715, he raised the rank of his natural sons to equality with that of the princes of the blood. The suit instituted against the legitimatised



(From the satirical Dutch caricature, "Tel homme, tel discours." *La Fin des Rois orgueilleux.*)

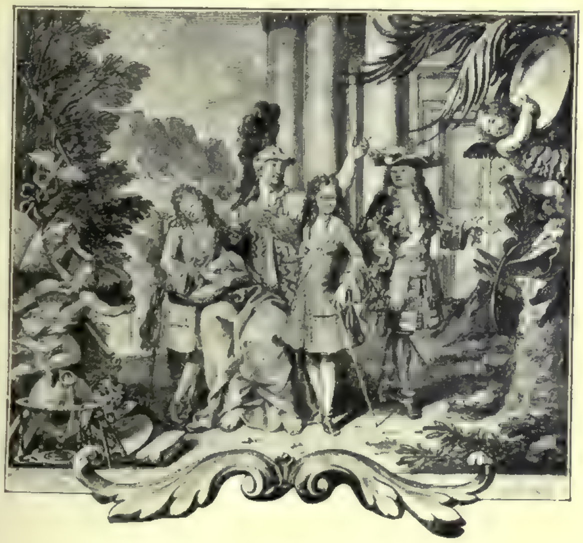
princes is well known. The latter were confirmed for themselves and their children in the honours conferred upon them by Louis XIV. The destiny that awaits their posterity will depend on time, merit and fortune.



LOUIS XIV. IN OLD AGE.

(From the wax medallion by Benoist, in the King's chamber, Château de Versailles.)

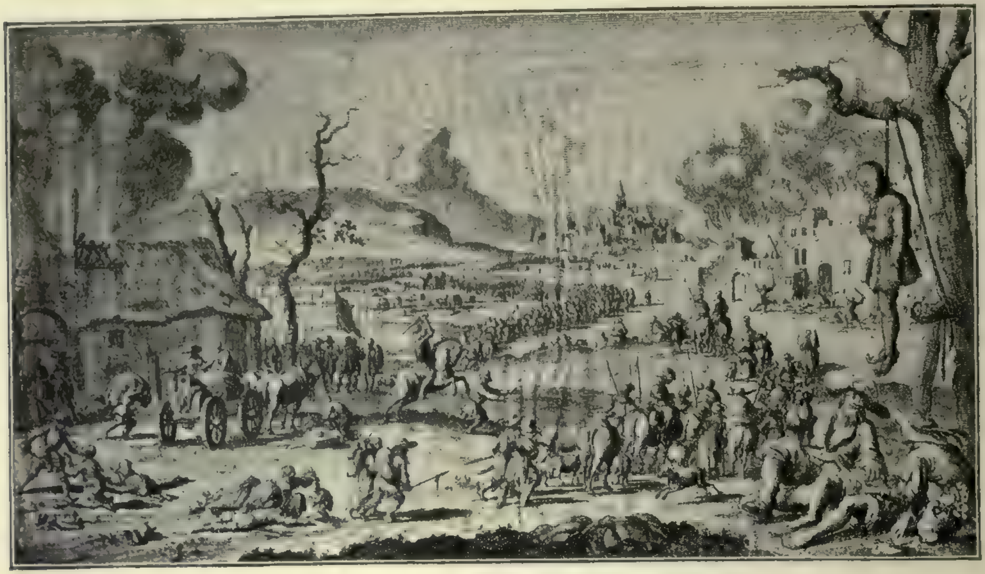
About the middle of the month of August, 1715, Louis XIV. was attacked, on his return from Marly, by the malady that proved fatal. His legs swelled and gangrene supervened. The English Ambassador, the Earl of Stair, made a bet that the King would not outlive the month of September. The Duc d'Orléans, who had been absolutely forsaken during the Marly *voyage*, was immediately surrounded by all the courtiers. Then, during the King's last days a quack doctor gave him an elixir which restored his strength for the time. The patient was able to eat, and the quack asserted positively that he would recover. That moment the crowd about the Duc d'Orléans melted away. "If the King eats a second time," said the Duke, "we shall no longer have anybody." But the malady was mortal. Measures were taken for giving the absolute regency to the Duc d'Orléans. The King had left it to him by his will (deposited



THE EDUCATION OF THE CHILDREN OF FRANCE.

(Aquatint engraving.—Cabinet of Prints.)

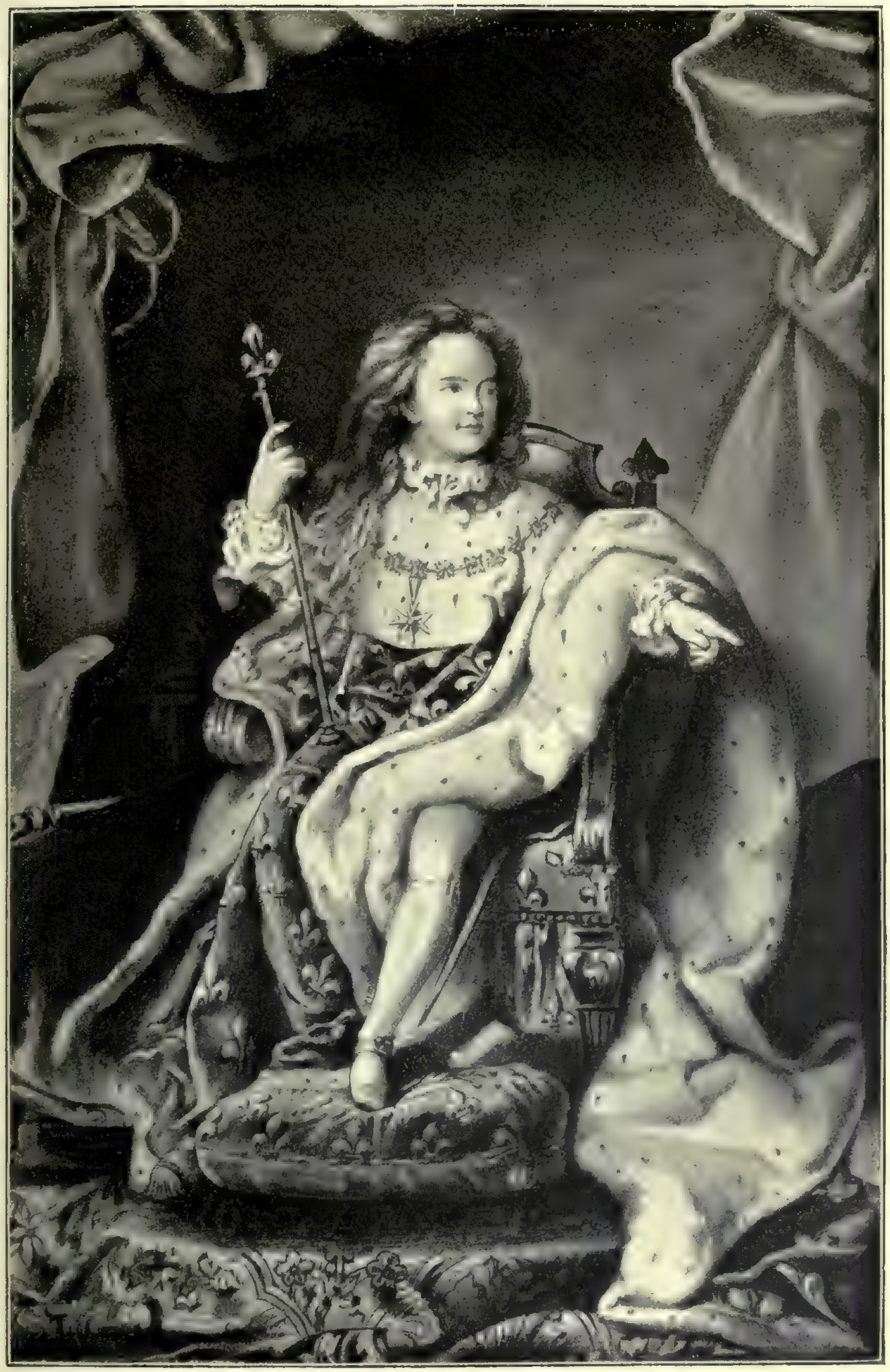
with the Parliament), to a very limited extent, or rather he had simply constituted him head of a council of regency, in which he would have had only the casting vote. And yet he said to the Duke, "I have secured to you all the rights which your birth gives you." The fact was he did not believe there existed a fundamental law which would give unlimited power during a minority to the heir-presumptive of the kingdom. He imagined that having been implicitly obeyed in his lifetime so he should be after his death, and he did not remember that the will of his own father had been broken.



EXCESSES COMMITTED BY THE FRENCH IN THE PALATINATE.
(Satirical Dutch print on the Evils of War.)

(1st September, 1715.) The grand composure with which the King awaited the approach of death is known to all. He said to Madame de Maintenon, "I had thought it was more difficult to die," and to his servants, "Why do you weep? Did you think I was immortal?" And he gave his orders about many things, including his funeral, quite tranquilly.

His courage on this supreme occasion was free from the ostentation that had characterised Louis XIV. all his life long, and it extended even to an acknowledgment of his faults. His successor faithfully preserved in writing, and placed at the head of his bed, the remarkable words which the dying monarch addressed to him, holding him in his arms. Those words have not been correctly reported in the histories; they are faithfully set down here:—



LOUIS XV. AS A CHILD.

(From the portrait by H. Rigaud, Musée de Versailles.)

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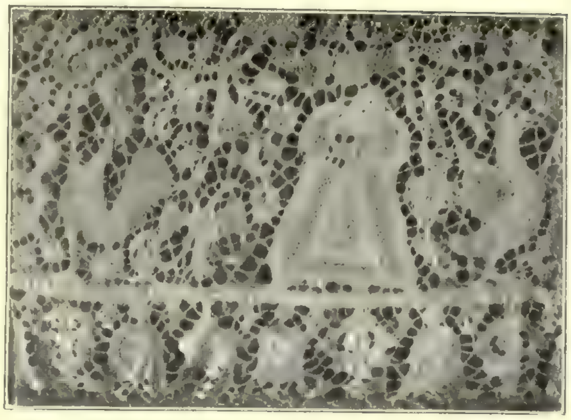
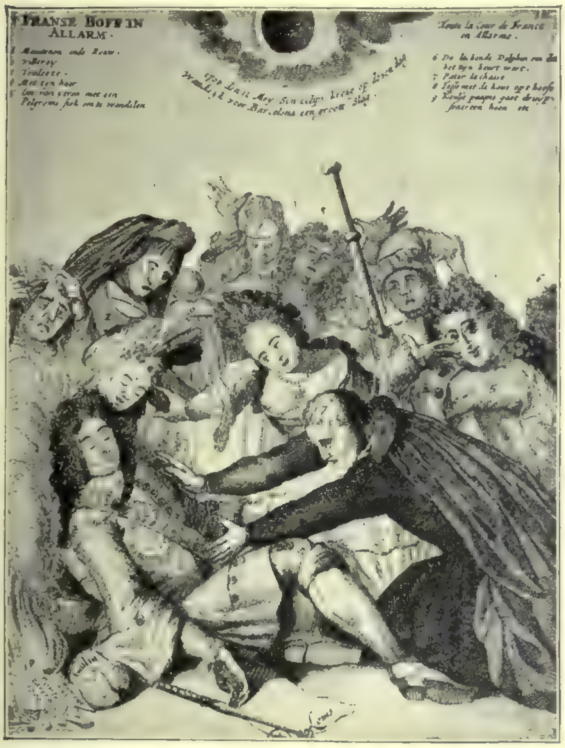


LACE COVERLET OF THE BED OF LOUIS XIV., STILL IN ITS PLACE.
(Château de Versailles.)

"You will shortly be king of a great kingdom. What I most strongly urge upon you is never to forget your obligations to God. Remember that to Him you owe all that you are. Try to keep peace with your neighbours. I have been too fond of war; do not imitate me in that, or in the too great spending of money. Take counsel in all things, and seek to learn the better way that you may always follow it. Relieve your people as soon as you can, and do what I have had the misfortune to be unable to do myself."

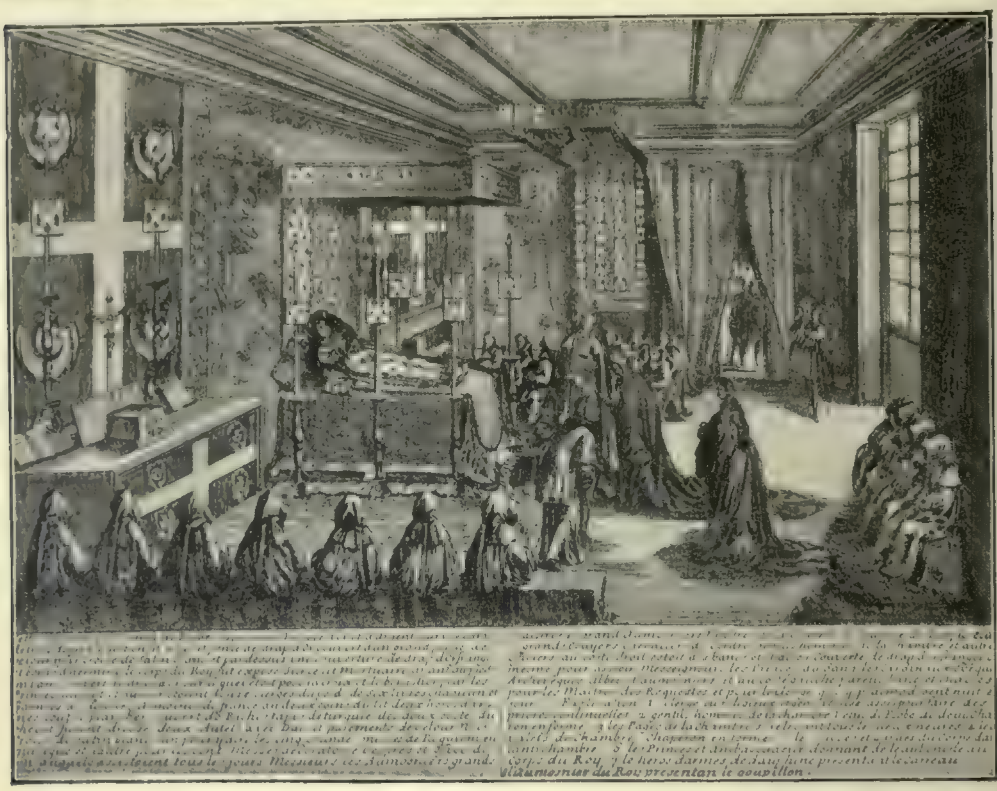
This admonition does not bear out the imputation of narrow-mindedness that is cast by several writers upon the memory of Louis XIV.


FRANSE HOFF IN ALLARM.
Toute la Cour de France en Allarme.

DUTCH CARICATURE: LOUIS XIV. DYING IN THE ARMS OF PRIESTS AND WOMEN.
(Cabinet of Prints.)

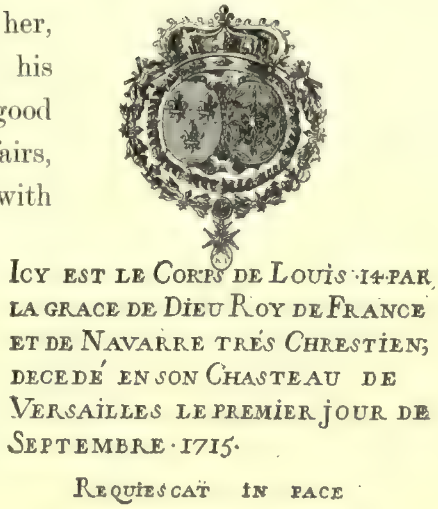
Although the King had been truly great both in his life and death, he was not regretted as he deserved to be. The love of novelty, the approach of a period of minority, in which each one foresaw a fortune, the quarrel of the Constitution, with the enmities created by it, all combined to cause the news of his death to be received with indifference. The same people who had prayed with tears for the recovery of their King in 1686, followed his funeral procession with far other demonstrations. It is related that the Queen, his mother, said to him one day, in his early youth, "My son, be like your grandfather, and not your father." The King asked why, and she replied, "Because at the death of Henri IV. people cried, but at the death of Louis XIII. they laughed."

Although he has been reproached with some mean actions, with harshness in his zeal against Jansenism, with haughty treatment of foreigners when successful, with his many love affairs, his extreme severity in personal matters, with wars that, nevertheless, were lawfully undertaken, with the burning of the Palatinate and the persecution of the reformed sects, his great qualities and his actions weigh more heavily than his faults, when finally placed in the balance. Time, which ripens the judgments of men, has set the seal to his reputation, and, notwithstanding all that has been written against him, his name will never be spoken without respect, and will be always associated with an ever-memorable century. If we regard this prince in private life we find him too full of his own greatness, it is true, but affable, giving his mother no share in the government, but



LOUIS XIV. LYING IN STATE.
(From a popular print of 1715.)

fulfilling all the duties of a son towards her, observing all the externals of propriety in his behaviour to his wife; a good father, a good master, diligent in his Cabinet, exact in affairs, thinking justly, speaking well and kindly, with dignity.



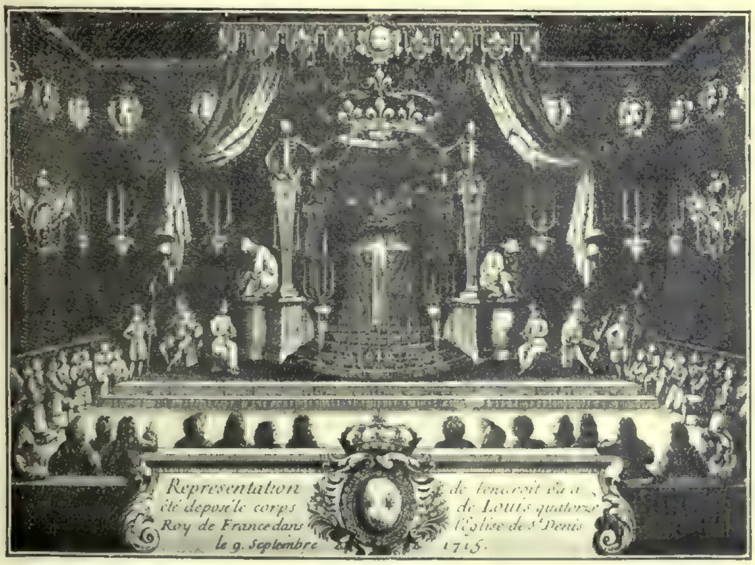
ICY EST LE CORPS DE LOUIS ·14·PAR
LA GRACE DE DIEU ROY DE FRANCE
ET DE NAVARRE TRÉS CHRESTIEN;
DECEDÉ EN SON CHASTEAU DE
VERSAILLES LE PREMIER JOUR DE
SEPTEMBRE ·1715·

REQUIESCAT IN PACE

FAC-SIMILE OF THE MEMORIAL TABLET OF LOUIS XIV. AT SAINT-DENIS.

Louis XIV. never uttered the words that have been put into his mouth when the First Gentleman of the Bed-chamber and the Grand Master of the Wardrobe were contesting the honour of waiting on him: "What does it matter which of my valets serves me?" So coarse a speech could not have come from the lips of so polite and attentive a man as he, and is incompatible with the question he put one day to the Duc de La Rochefoucauld on the subject of his debts: "Why do you not speak to your friends?" A very different saying indeed, and worth much had it stood alone, but it was accompanied by a gift of fifty thousand crowns.

It is not true either that he wrote to the Duc de La Rochefoucauld: "I congratulate you, as your friend, upon the post of Grand Master of the Wardrobe, which I give you as your King." The praise of this letter by some historians shows that they have failed to perceive the want of delicacy, nay, more, the rudeness, of reminding one whose master one is of that mastery. Rose, his Cabinet

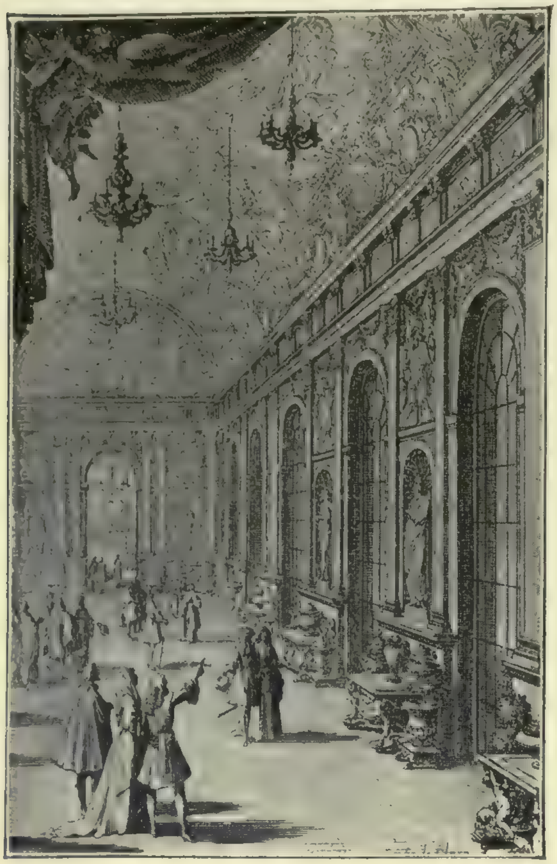

Representation de tenoit où a
été deposé le corps de Louis quatorze
Roy de France dans l'Eglise de S.t Denis
le 9. Septembre 1715.

FUNERAL OF LOUIS XIV. AT SAINT-DENIS.

(From an engraving of the period.)

Secretary, wrote that letter, and the King had the good taste to prevent its being sent. That same good taste made him suppress the boasting inscriptions composed by Charpentier, of the Académie Française, for the pictures by Lebrun in the gallery of Versailles: *The Incredible Passage of the Rhine*, *The Marvellous Taking of Valenciennes*, etc. The King felt that *The Passage of the Rhine*, *The Taking of Valenciennes*, were more eloquent.

Some sayings of Louis XIV. have been collected, but they do not amount to much. It is related that when he resolved to abolish Calvinism in France he said: "My grandfather liked the Huguenots, and did not fear them; my father did not like and did fear them; I neither like them nor fear them." Having given the place of First President of the Parliament of Paris to M. de Lamoignon, then Master of Requests (reporter of petitions to the Council of State), he said to him: "Had I known a better man and a more worthy subject I would have chosen him." He used almost the same words to the Cardinal de Noailles when he made him Archbishop of Paris. It is alleged that an indiscreet preacher pointed to him one day at Versailles, and that Louis XIV. merely observed: "I like, father, to take my share of a sermon, but I do not like to be given it."*



THE "GALERIE DES GLACES" AT VERSAILLES, AS IT WAS AT THE MOST GLORIOUS PERIOD OF THE REIGN.

(From a print by Sebastien Leclerc.)

He always expressed himself elegantly and with precision, being careful to speak as well as to act like a sovereign in public. When the

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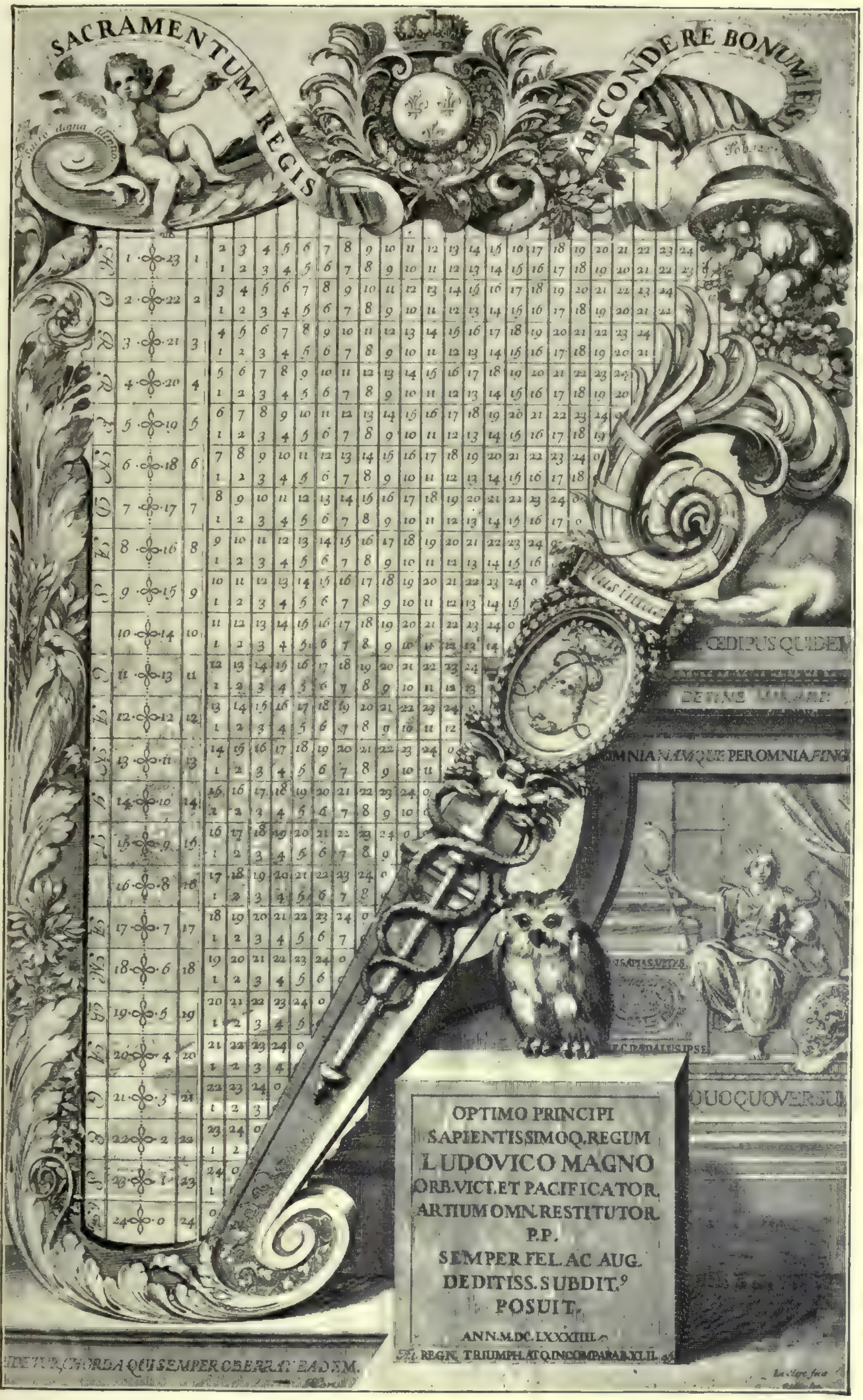
* The phrase is, "Mon père, j'aime bien à prendre ma part d'un sermon, mais je n'aime pas qu'on me la fasse."


SACRAMENTUM REGIS ABSCONDERE BONUM EST
Plus ultra
ŒDIPUS QUIDEM
OMNIA NAMQUE PER OMNIA FINGI
QUOQUOVERSUM
OPTIMO PRINCIPI
SAPIENTISSIMOQ. REGUM
LUDOVICO MAGNO
ORB. VICT. ET PACIFICATOR.
ARTIUM OMN. RESTITUTOR.
P.P.
SEMPER FEL. AC AUG.
DEDITISS. SUBDIT.
POSUIT
ANN. M.DC.LXXXIIII.
REGN. TRIUMPH. AT Q. INCOMPARAB. XLII.
IDETUR CHORDA QUI SEMPER OBERRAT EADEM.

ENIGMATIC PRINT TO THE PRAISE OF LOUIS XIV.

(Composition by Sebastien Leclerc, in honour of the first twenty-four years of the King's reign.)

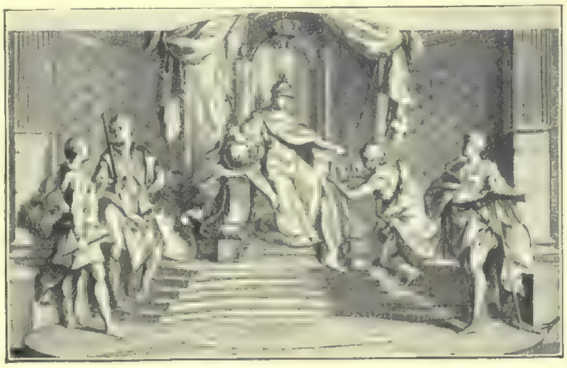
BALUSTRADE IN CARVED AND GILDED WOOD IN FRONT OF THE BED OF LOUIS XIV.

(Château de Versailles.—The King's bedchamber.)

Duc d'Anjou was leaving France to reign in Spain, the King said to him, to mark the union which was thenceforth to exist between the two nations, "There are no more Pyrenees."

His character is most clearly to be discerned in the following memorandum, which is written entirely by his own hand :—

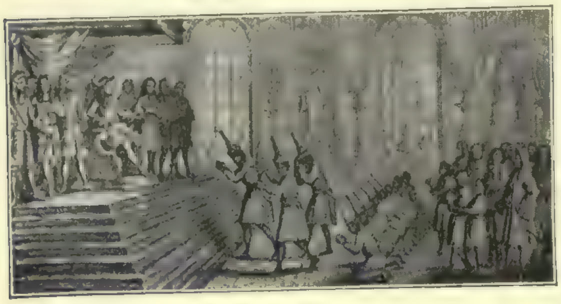
"Kings are frequently obliged to do things against their inclination, and that are hurtful to their good disposition. They ought to love giving pleasure, but it is often needful that they should chastise, and the interest of the State must come first. One ought to force one's inclination, and not put oneself in a condition to incur self-reproach in anything of importance that one might do better; but some private interests have prevented me from this, and have turned aside the views I ought to have taken for the greatness, the good, and the power of the State. There are frequently painful situations to be encountered, delicate points to be solved; and one's ideas are confused. So long as that is the case one may refrain



LOUIS XIV. IMPRESSES THE SEAL.

(From a print by S. Leclerc.)

from coming to a determination, but so soon as the mind is made up upon a matter, and that one has seen the best thing to do, that course must be pursued. By doing this I have often succeeded in what I have undertaken. The mistakes I have made, and which have given me infinite pain, have been due to over-complacency and to my having yielded too carelessly to the opinions of others. Nothing is so dangerous as weakness, of whatever kind it may be. To command others one must raise oneself above them, and after having heard all that comes from every side, arrive at a decision by one's own judgment with an untroubled mind, taking care neither to command nor to do anything that is unworthy of oneself, of the character that one bears, or of the greatness of the State. Princes who have good intentions, and have gained a knowledge of affairs, whether by experience, or by study and great application, have to assert themselves in so many different matters that they ought to be capable of both special care and universal application. A king must guard against himself, mistrust his inclination, and be always on the watch against his own disposition. The business of a king is great, noble and gratifying, when one feels capable of worthily fulfilling all the obligations it involves, but it is not exempt from trouble, fatigue, and disquiet. Uncertainty is sometimes most distressing, and when reasonable time has been passed in examining a matter a resolution must be taken, and the line one believes to be the best followed.

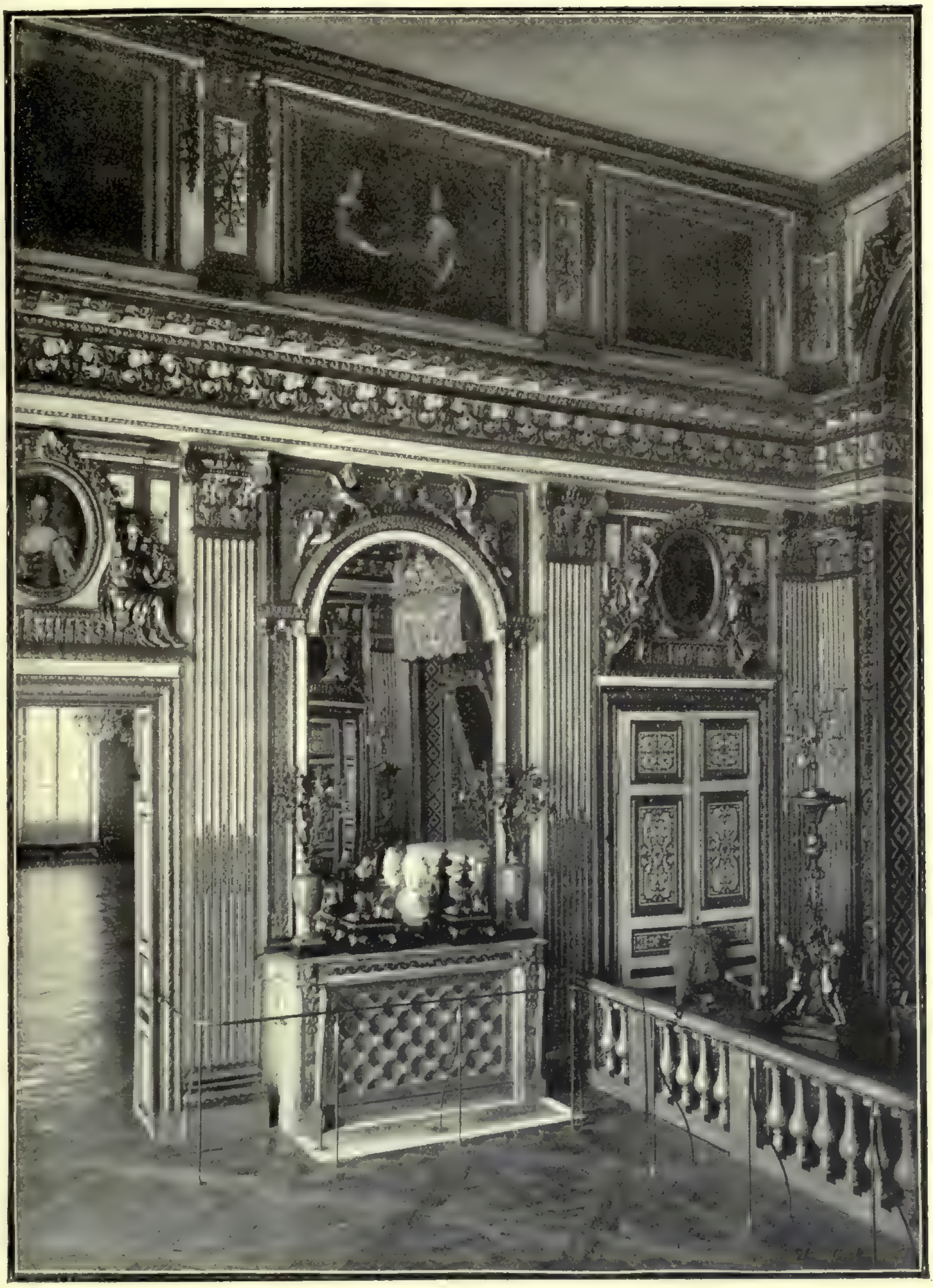


AUDIENCE GIVEN BY THE KING TO THE AMBASSADORS FROM SIAM.

(From a contemporary print published by Nolin.)

"While keeping the State in view one works for oneself; the good of the one makes the glory of the other. When the former is prosperous, exalted, and powerful, he who is the cause of this may be proud, and enjoy all that is most agreeable in life more fully than his subjects on his own account and theirs. When one has made mistakes, the fault should be repaired as soon as possible, and no consideration, not even that of kindness, be allowed to prevent this.

"In 1671, a man died who held the position of Secretary of State, having the foreign department. He was a capable man, but not without

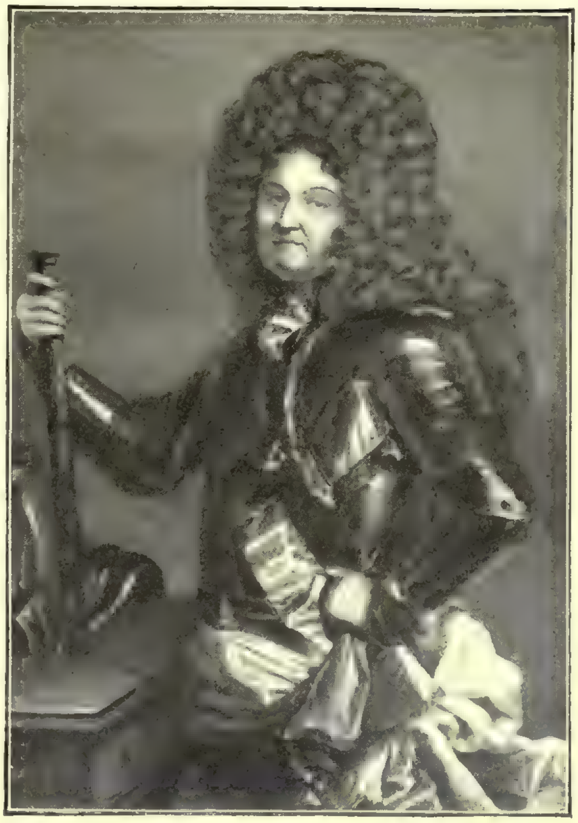


RIGHT SIDE OF THE BEDCHAMBER OF LOUIS XIV. IN 1701.

(Château de Versailles.)

defects. He had not failed, however, to fulfil the duties of that very important post.

"I gave some time to considering whom I should appoint in his place, and after I had examined the matter well, I decided that a man who had served long in the embassies would be the best to fill it.



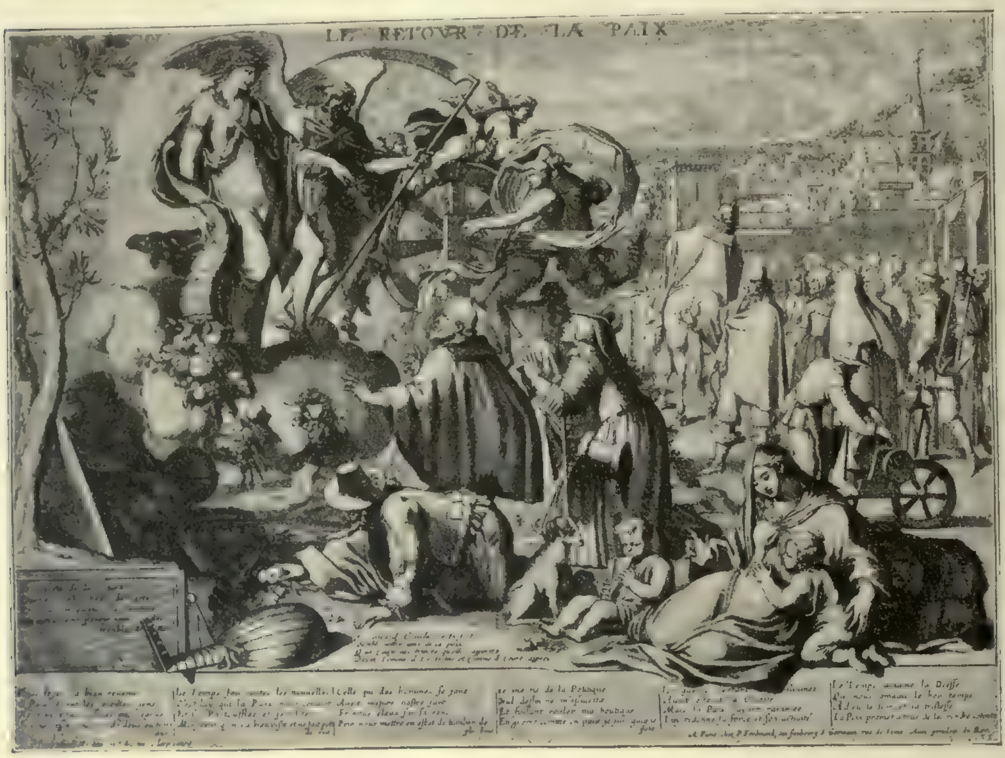
LOUIS XIV. IN ARMOUR.
(From a portrait by Rigaud.—Musée de Versailles.)

"He was then summoned to me. My choice was approved by everybody—which does not always happen. I put him in possession of that post on his arrival. I knew him only by reputation and by the commissions I had entrusted to him, and these he had always executed well; but the new employment which I gave him proved too great and wide-reaching for him. I have not profited fully by the advantages I might have had, and this through kindness. At last I had to order him to retire, because nothing that was done through him was done with the grandeur and the force that ought to attend the execution of the orders of a king of France. If I had decided earlier on removing him I should have avoided the inconveniences that have arisen, and been free from self-reproach for complacence towards him that may have done the State harm. I have entered into this detail as an example of what I have previously said."

LA
COURTOISIE
FRANCOISE

FRENCH COURTESY.
(Frontispiece of a book published under this title in Germany, in 1658.)

This precious document, unknown until now, is a testimony to the King's uprightness and magnanimity bequeathed to posterity. We may even point out that he is too severe upon himself; that he was not to blame with regard to M. de Pomponne, since the services and reputation of that Minister were sufficient reasons for selecting him, and the King's decision had received general approval. If he blames himself for the appointment of M. de Pomponne, who had the good fortune to serve in a time of great prosperity, what ought he not to say about M. de Chamillart, whose ill-fated ministry was so universally condemned?


LE RETOVR DE LA PAIX

THE JOY OF THE FRENCH IN THE RESTORATION OF PEACE UNDER THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

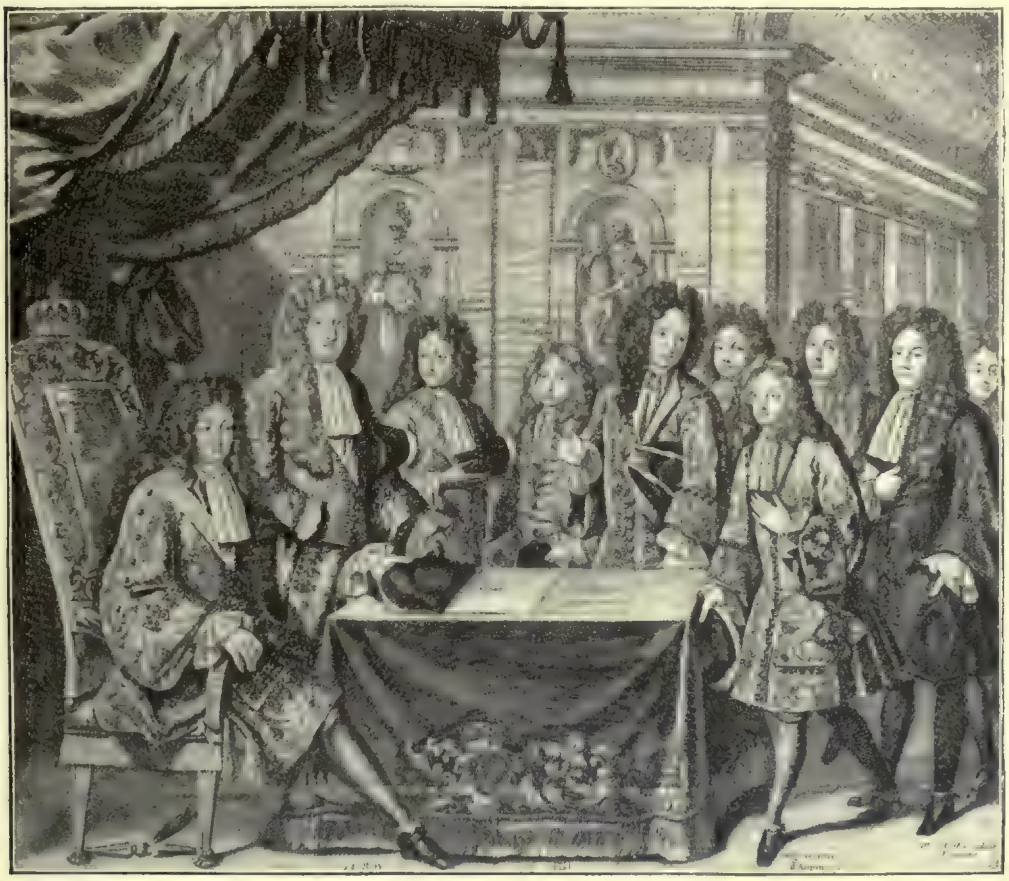
(From an Almanac of the time.)

The following forms a part of the King's instructions to his grandson, Philip V., on his departure to assume the crown of the Spains. He wrote them in haste, and with negligence that allows more of his mind be seen than would be revealed by a studied exhortation. In these counsels we see the father and the King:—

"Love the Spaniards, and all subjects attached to your crowns and to your person. Do not prefer those who shall flatter you most; but esteem such as will risk your displeasure for the sake of the right. These are your true and real friends.

"Make your subjects happy, and with a view to this do not make war unless you are forced to do so, and have well considered and weighed the reasons for it in your Council.

"Endeavour to put order into your finances; watch over the Indies and over your fleet; study commerce; live in close union with France; there is no such benefit to our two powers as that union which nothing can resist.



THE DUC D'AUMALE DECLARED KING OF SPAIN BY LOUIS XIV

(From an Almanac of 1701.)

"If you are constrained to make war, put yourself at the head of your armies.

"Occupy yourself with the reconstruction of your forces everywhere, and begin with those in France.

"Never neglect your business for your pleasure, but set a rule for yourself which will give you time for liberty and diversion.

"There is no more innocent amusement than hunting, and a liking for a country-house, provided that you do not spend too much upon it.

"Give great heed to business during its discussion; listen attentively in the first place, without forming a decision.

"When you have gained more knowledge, remember that it is for you to decide; but whatever experience you may have, always listen to all the opinions and all the arguments of your Council before making up your mind.

"Do all that you possibly can to acquire a thorough knowledge of the most important people, so that you may use them at need.

"Endeavour that your viceroys and governors may always be Spaniards.

"Treat everybody well; never say unpleasant things to anyone; but specially distinguish persons of quality and merit.

"Let it be seen that you are grateful to the late King, and to all those who were in favour of your being chosen to succeed him.

"Place great confidence in Cardinal Porto-Carrero, and show him how highly you esteem the course he has pursued.

"I think you ought to do something considerable for the Ambassador who has had the happiness to come for you, and to be the first to salute you in the capacity of your subject.

"Do not forget Bedmar, who possesses merit, and is capable of serving you.

"Place complete reliance on the Duc d'Harcourt; he is an able man and an honest man, and will give you counsel for your own sake only.

"Keep all the French in order.

"Treat all your servants well, but do not treat them with familiarity, and still less with confidence. Use their services while they behave well, but send them away at the least fault they may commit, and never support them against the Spaniards.

"Have no intercourse with the Queen-Dowager beyond that which is indispensable. Manage so that she leaves Madrid but does not go out of Spain. And observe her conduct wherever she may be, and prevent her from having anything to do with affairs. Hold those who shall see too much of her as suspect.

"Continue to love your kindred. Remember the pain it has given them to part with you. Preserve close relations with them in great things and

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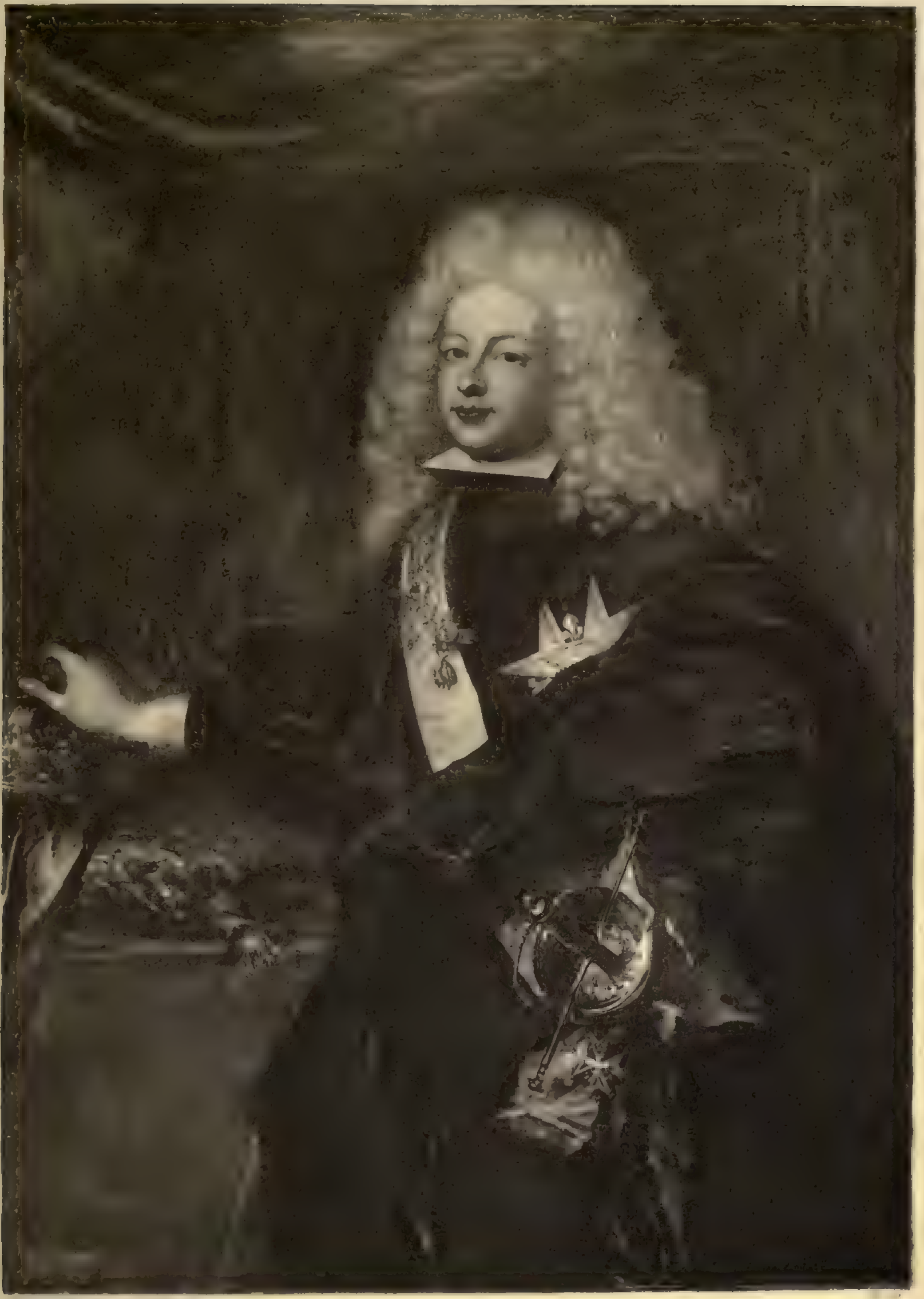


Philippe V, Roi d'Espagne
d'après Hyacinthe Rigaud (Musée de Versailles)

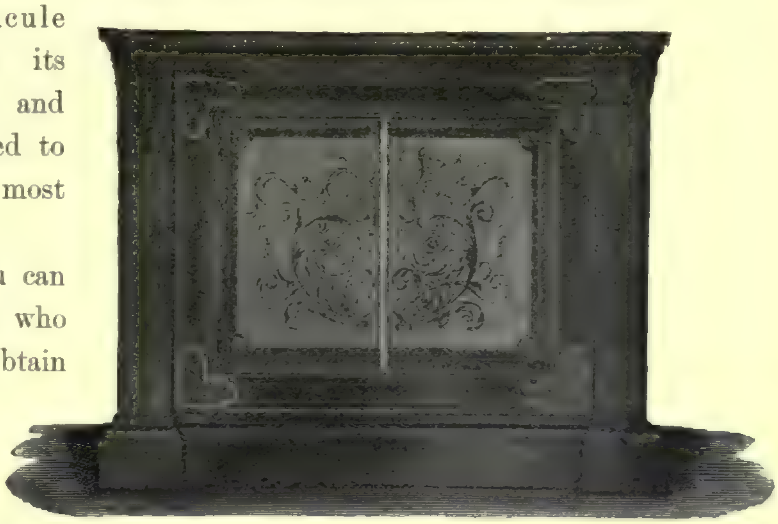
in small. Ask us for whatsoever you may require or desire to have that is not in your own house; we will do the same with you.

"Never forget that you are French, and what may happen to you. When you shall have secured the succession to Spain by children, visit your kingdoms, go to Naples and to Sicily, thence to Milan, and come into Flanders; this will give an opportunity of seeing us again. In the meantime, visit Catalonia, Aragon, and other places. See what can be done for Ceuta.

"Throw some money to the people when you arrive in Spain, especially on entering Madrid.

"Do not appear displeased at the extraordinary-looking people you will see. Do not ridicule them. Each country has its own particular manners, and you will soon be accustomed to the things that surprise you most in the beginning.

"Avoid as much as you can bestowing favours on those who give money in order to obtain them. Give suitably and liberally, and do not receive presents unless they are trifles. If occasionally you cannot avoid receiving presents, make more considerable gifts to those who have bestowed them, after having allowed a few days to pass.



CABINET BY BOULE.

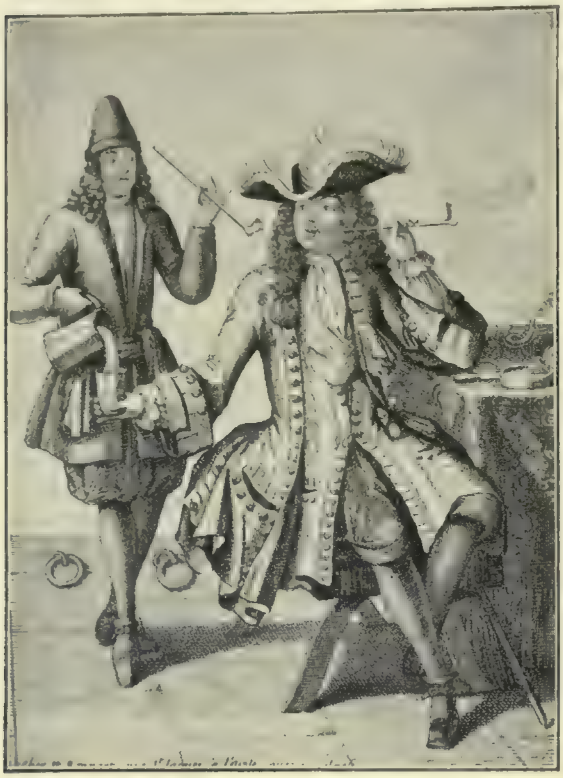
(Mobilier National, Château de Fontainebleau.)

"Have a casket [safe] to hold your own private belongings, and let none but yourself have the key.

"I conclude by a most important part of the advice that I have to give you. Do not allow yourself to be governed. Be master; never have a favourite or a prime minister. Consult and listen to your advisers, but decide for yourself. God, who has made you king, will give you the wisdom that is necessary for you, so long as you shall have good intentions."

Louis XIV. had more rectitude and dignity than ready wit, and besides, a king is not required to say memorable things, but to do them.

He could say pleasant things, and he had made a habit of saying them. Between him and his courtiers there existed a continual exchange of all the favours that majesty may bestow without lowering itself, and all that eagerness to serve and to please may suggest without an appearance of servility. The King's politeness and attention to women encouraged both on the part of the courtiers, and he never lost an opportunity of saying those things to men which gratify self-complacency while they excite emulation, and leave a lasting remembrance.

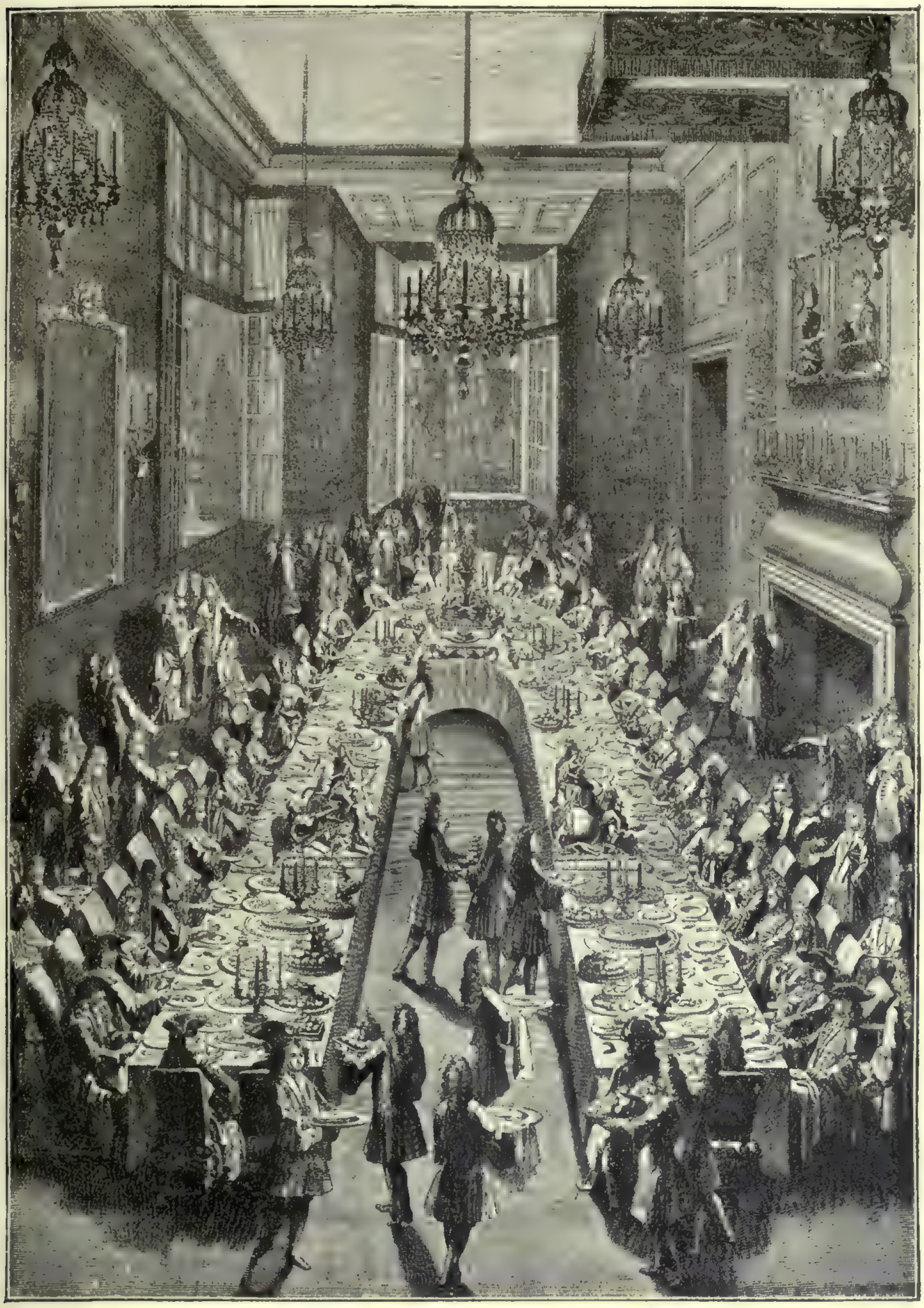


AN OFFICER WHO WAS NOT A COURTIER.
LE SIEUR JEAN BART (ADMIRAL).
(From a popular print by Bonnart.)

One day at the public supper, the Duchesse de Bourgogne, then very young, observed an officer who was remarkably ugly, and audibly made several jesting comments upon his appearance. "I consider him, Madame," said the King, speaking more loudly than she had spoken, "one of the handsomest men in my kingdom, for he is one of the bravest."

A certain general, rather blunt of speech, and whose temper had not been improved even by the Court of Louis XIV., had lost his arm in action, and complained to the King, who had already recompensed him, so far as a man can be recompensed for a lost arm. "I wish I had lost the other also," said he, "and no longer had to serve your Majesty." "I should be very sorry if you had, for your sake and my own," replied the King. He so carefully avoided saying disagreeable things—which are deadly darts in the mouth of a prince—that, unlike private individuals who indulge in the cruel and harmful kind every day, he did not allow himself even the most innocent and gentle sort of jesting.

He took pleasure in ingenious things, impromptus, and songs, and

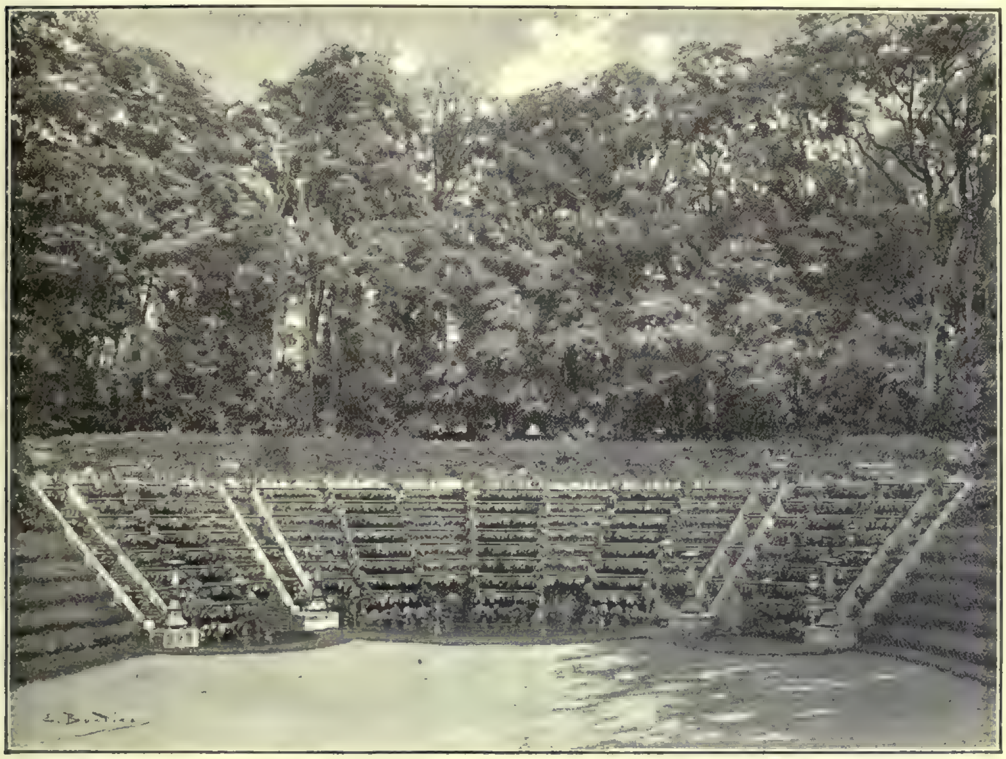


AN ENTERTAINMENT IN PARIS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(Banquet given in Paris by the Duke of Alva, Ambassador from Spain, on the birth of the Prince of the Asturias. Print by the elder Scotin, from Desmaretz.)

sometimes on the instant he would make little parodies like the following on popular airs :—

Chez mon cadet de frère,
Le chancelier Serrant
N'est pas trop nécessaire ;
Et le sage Boifranc
Est celui qui sait plaire.



THE BALL-ROOM IN THE GARDENS OF VERSAILLES, CONSTRUCTED IN 1680.

(Drawn by Boudier from Nature.)

He dismissed the Council on one occasion with another :—

Le conseil à ses yeux a beau se présenter,
Sitôt qu'il voit sa chienne, il quitte tout pour elle ;
Rien ne peut l'arrêter
Quand la chasse l'appelle.

His letter to the Archbishop of Rheims concerning the Marquis de Barbesieux, although written in an extremely careless style, does more honour to his character than the most ingenious ideas would have done to his wit. He had given the post of Secretary of State for War to the marquis; it had formerly been filled by the Marquis de Louvois, his father, and, having reason to be displeased with the conduct of his new Secretary of State, he wished to correct but not to mortify him. With this purpose he wrote to the Archbishop of Rheims requesting him to warn his nephew. His words are those of a master fully informed of everything, but also those of a father.

"I know," he says, "what I owe to the memory of M. de Louvois; but if your nephew does not alter his conduct I shall be forced to come to a resolution. I shall be sorry for this, but it must be done. He has talents, but he does not make a good use of them. He too frequently gives suppers to the princes instead of doing his work; he neglects business for pleasure; he keeps the officers waiting in his ante-room too long; he speaks to them haughtily, and sometimes harshly."

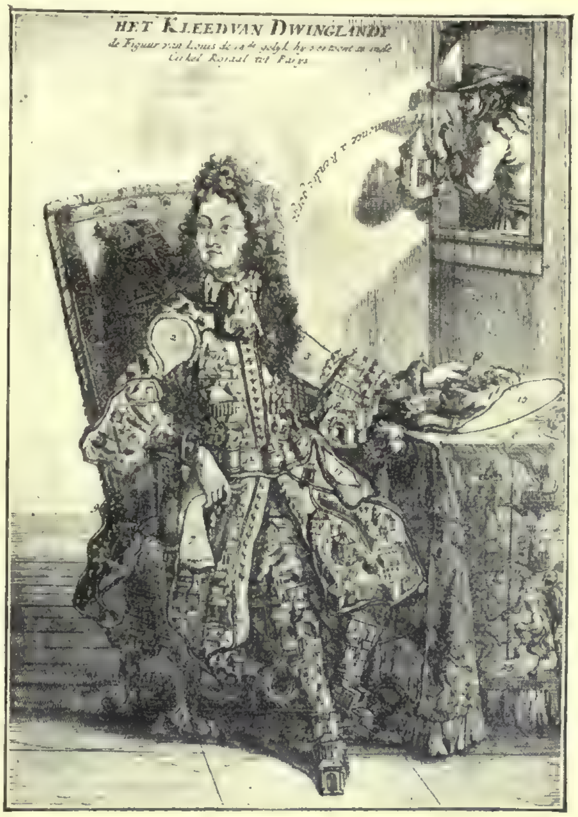
MARBLE VASE.
(Gardens of Versailles.)

So much I can recall of the letter, which I have seen in the original. It shows plainly that Louis XIV. was not governed by his Ministers, as was supposed, and that he knew how to govern them.

He loved praise, and it is desirable that a king should love praise, because he will then endeavour to deserve it. But Louis XIV. did not always accept praise when it was overdone. Our Academy, which duly informed him of the subjects proposed for its prizes, laid before him this one: "Of all the King's virtues which is to be preferred?" The King's face flushed, and he refused to sanction the subject.

He endured the prologues written by Quinault; but that was in the noon-day of his glory, when the intoxication of the nation excused his own.

If Corneille had said to one of the courtiers in the presence of Cardinal de Richelieu, "Tell the Cardinal that I am a better judge of verse than he," the Minister never would have forgiven him; Despréaux, however, said exactly that in a loud tone of the King, when some verses which His Majesty approved and he condemned were in discussion. "He is right," said the King, "he is a better judge than I." The Duc de Vendôme had a follower named Villiers, one of those men of pleasure, who pride themselves on impudent freedom of speech. The Duke gave this person lodging in his apartment. He was commonly called Villiers-Vendôme. He loudly condemned the King's taste in music, painting, architecture, gardens. If the King planted a shrubbery, furnished an apartment, put up a fountain, Vendôme pronounced it all wrong and expressed himself in terms by no means measured. "It is strange," said the King, "that Villiers has chosen my house to come to in order to ridicule everything that I do." Meeting him one day in the gardens, he pointed out one of his late improvements, saying: "This, then, has not the good fortune to please you?" "No," replied Villiers. "And yet," said the King, "there are many people who are not so discontented with it." "That may be," replied Villiers, "each to his own mind." The King answered, laughing, "One cannot please everybody."



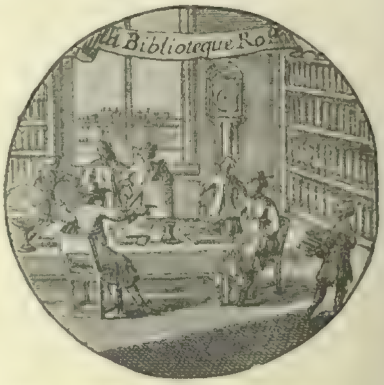
THE USURPED COAT. LOUIS XIV. DRESSED IN THE STRONGHOLDS HE HAD CONQUERED

(From a Dutch caricature of 1693.)

One day Louis XIV., when playing backgammon, made a doubtful cast. It was disputed, and the courtiers kept silence. The Comte de Grammont came in. "Judge between us," said the King. "Sire, you are in the wrong," said de Grammont. "And how can you tell that I am in the wrong when you do not know what the question is?" "Eh, sire, do you not see that if the thing had been only ever so little doubtful, all these gentlemen would have given it in your favour?"

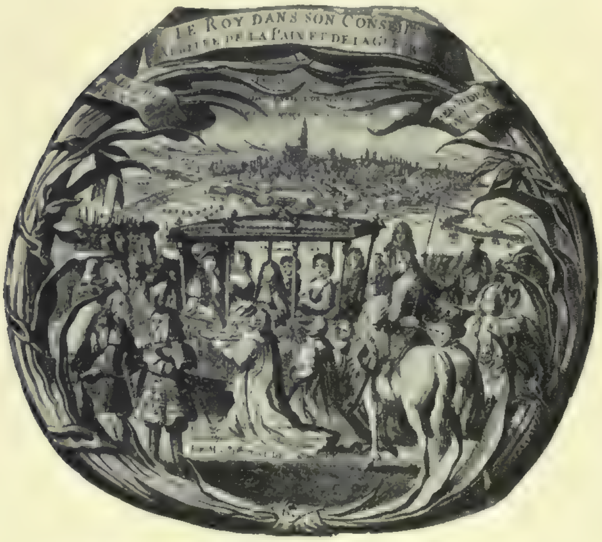
The Duc d'Antin was remarkable for singular skill, not in saying flattering things, but in doing them. The King, passing a night at Petit-Bourg, objected to a great avenue of trees there because it obstructed the view of the river. The Duc d'Antin had it cut down during the night. The King on awaking was astonished not to see the trees which he had condemned. "It is because your Majesty condemned them that you no longer see them," answered the Duke.

A second ingenious compliment of a similar kind is recorded of the Duc d'Antin. Having observed that a wood at the end of the Canal de Fontainebleau was displeasing to the King, he took the opportunity of a Court promenade, and, everything being prepared, he contrived to get an order to cut down the wood given to him. In an instant it had fallen.



THE BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE OF PARIS.
(Medallion of an Almanac of 1670.)

Louis XIV. has been accused of intolerable pride because the base of his statue on the Place des Victoires is surrounded by slaves in chains. But it was not he who caused either this statue or that in the Place Vendôme to be erected. The former is the expression of the gratitude of the first Maréchal de La Feuillade to his sovereign. He expended upon it five hundred thousand livres—nearly a million of our present money—and the city added as much to complete the regularity of the site. It appears, therefore, that it is equally unjust to impute the boastfulness of that statue to Louis XIV., and to admit nothing better than vanity and flattery as the motives of the Marshal.


LE ROY DANS SON CONSE

LOUIS XIV. AND THE COURT LADIES GOING TO RECEIVE THE HOMAGE OF STRASBURG.
(Fragment of an Almanac of the time.)

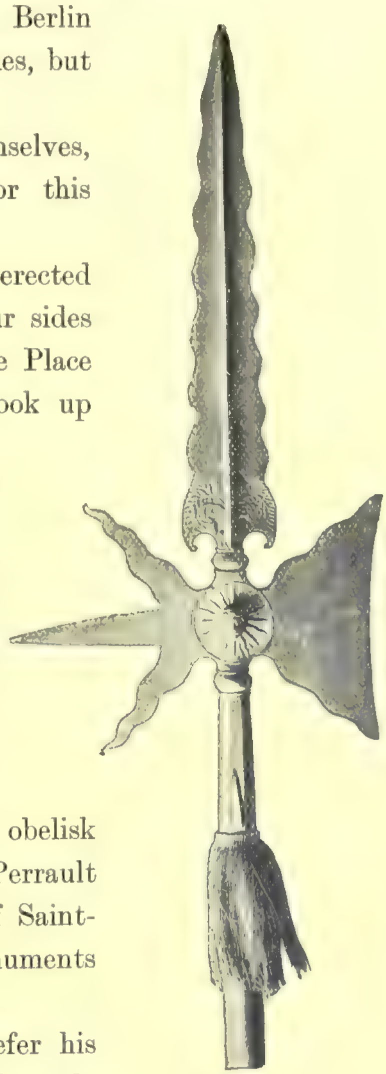
Only the four slaves were censured; but these are figurative of vices subdued, as well as nations conquered, of the duel abolished and heresy put down; the inscriptions are sufficient proof of this. They also commemorate the junction of the seas, the peace of Nimeguen, and symbolize countries rather than warlike exploits. Moreover, it is an ancient custom of sculptors to put slaves at the feet of the statues of kings. We see them at the feet of the clement Henri IV. and of Louis XIII. in Paris, at Leghorn under the statue of Ferdinand de' Medici, who certainly did not put fetters on any nation; we see them at Berlin beneath the statue of an Elector who repulsed the Swedes, but made no conquest.

The neighbours of France, and the French themselves, have most unjustly made Louis XIV. responsible for this custom.

As for the statue in the Place Vendôme, it was erected by the city of Paris. The Latin inscriptions on the four sides of the base are more gross in flattery than those of the Place des Victoires. They declare that Louis XIV. never took up arms except against his will. He most solemnly refuted this adulation on his deathbed, in words which will be remembered long after those inscriptions—of which he was ignorant, and which are the base work of certain men of letters—are forgotten.

The King had destined the buildings on the Place des Victoires for his public library, but the misfortunes of 1701 obliged the city to build private houses on the ruins of the palace that had been begun and abandoned. Thus the Louvre was not finished; the fountain and the obelisk which Colbert intended to erect opposite the doorway by Perrault have appeared in the designs only; the fine doorway of Saint-Gervais has remained blocked up, and most of the monuments of Paris are of an inferior kind.

The nation would have wished Louis XIV. to prefer his Louvre and his capital to the palace, which the Duc de Créqui called an undeserving favourite. Posterity admires and is grateful for those public actions of his that are really great; but criticism comes in when we consider the mixture of the superb and the faulty in the King's château at Versailles.

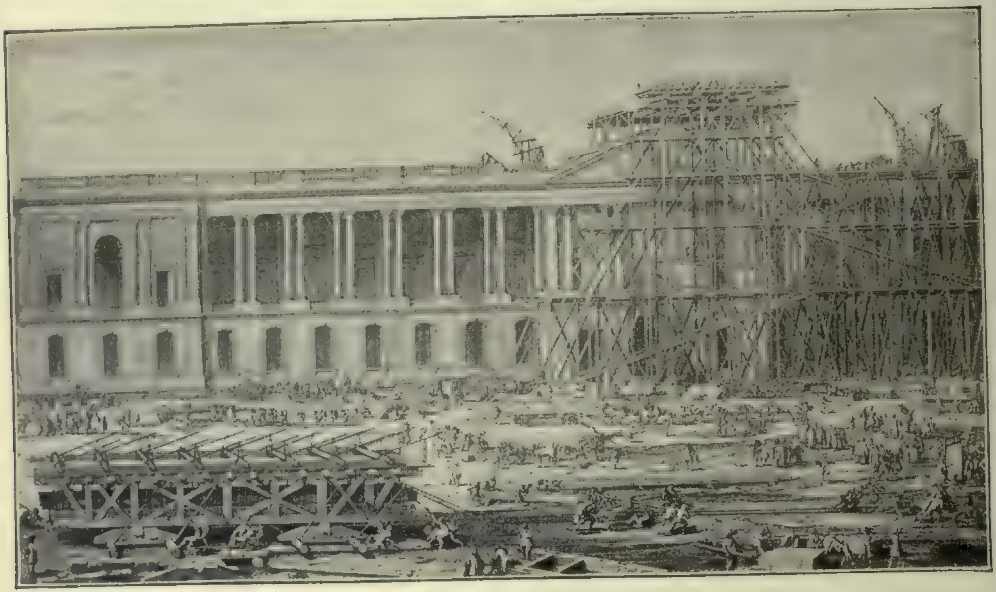


HALBERD NO. 90 OF THE SCOTCH GUARD OF LOUIS XIV., WITH THE ARMS OF THE SUN-KING.

(Collection of M. Charles de Rossigneux.)

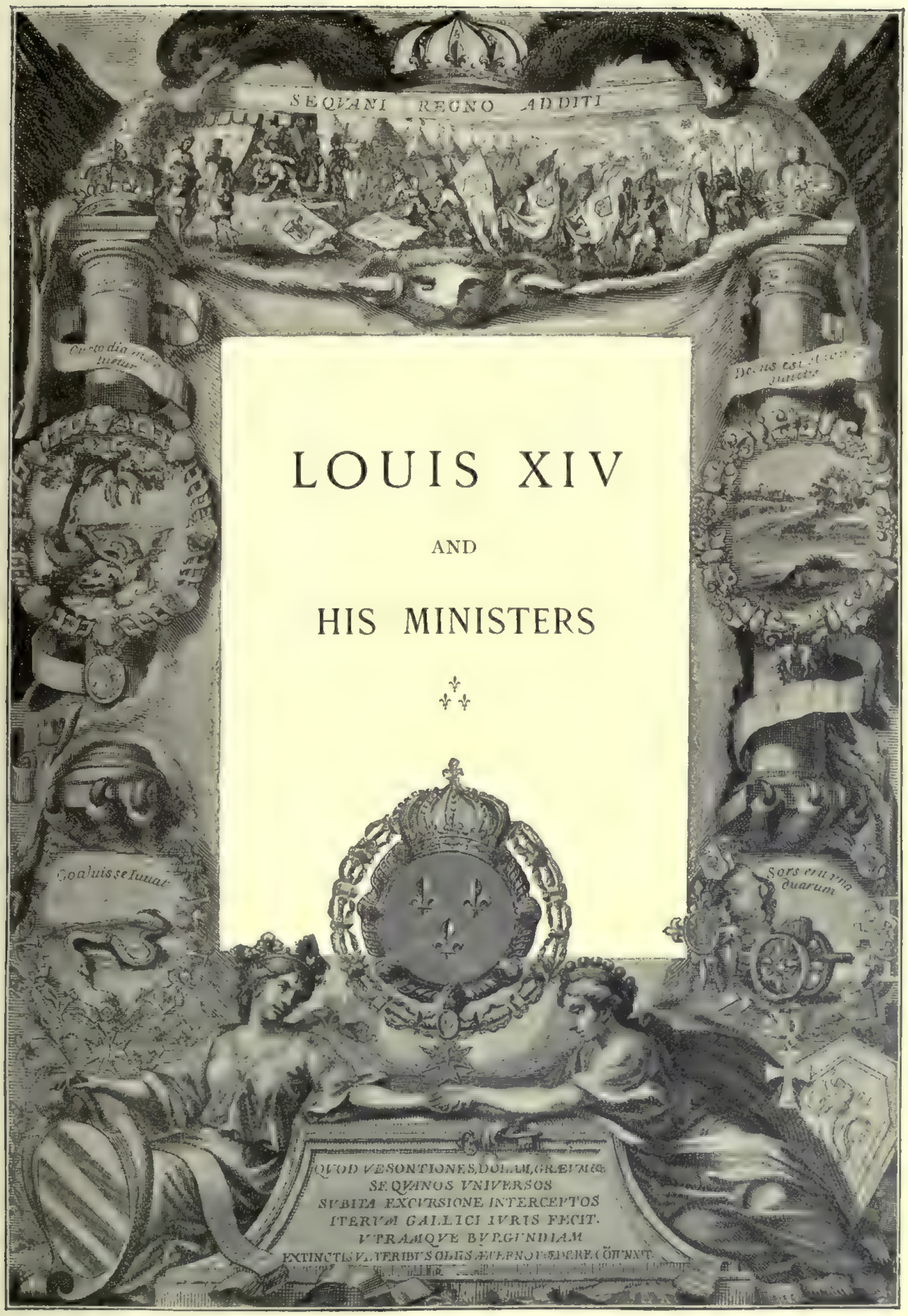
The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that Louis XIV. loved grandeur and glory in everything. A prince who, having done such great things, should also be simple and modest, would be the first among kings, and Louis XIV. the second.

He had two sons, younger than the Dauphin, born in wedlock, and three daughters; all these died in childhood. Two of his natural children also died in the cradle; eight lived and were legitimatised; five left descendants. He also had a daughter who was not acknowledged; she was married to a gentleman of Versailles named de La Queue. There was a nun in the Abbaye de Moret who was supposed to be his daughter. She was extremely swarthy, and otherwise resembled him. The King gave her a dowry of twenty thousand crowns on placing her in the convent. Her superiors complained of her pride on the score of her alleged royal birth, and Madame de Maintenon, during a sojourn of the Court at Fontainebleau, went to the convent and endeavoured to reduce the nun to more befitting humility by disabusing her of the idea which fed her pride. "Madame," said the person in question, "that a lady of your high position takes the trouble to come here expressly to tell me that I am not the King's daughter, convinces me that I am." The anecdote is still told at the convent of Moret.



THE COLONNADE OF THE LOUVRE DURING ITS CONSTRUCTION.
(From a print by Leclerc.)

A philosopher might treat all these details with disdain, but here we may repeat that curiosity, a weakness common to mankind, almost ceases to be a weakness when its objects are memorable times and men who attract the gaze of posterity.


SEQVANI REGNO ADDITI
Coaluisse Iuuat
Sors erit vna duarum
QVOD VESONTIONES, DOLAM, GRÆVMQ
SEQVANOS VNIVERSOS
SVBITA EXCVRSIONE INTERCEPTOS
ITERVM GALLICI IVRIS FECIT.
VTRAMQVE BVRGVNDIAM
EXTINCTIS VETERIBVS ODIIS ÆTERNO FŒDERE CŌIVNXIT.

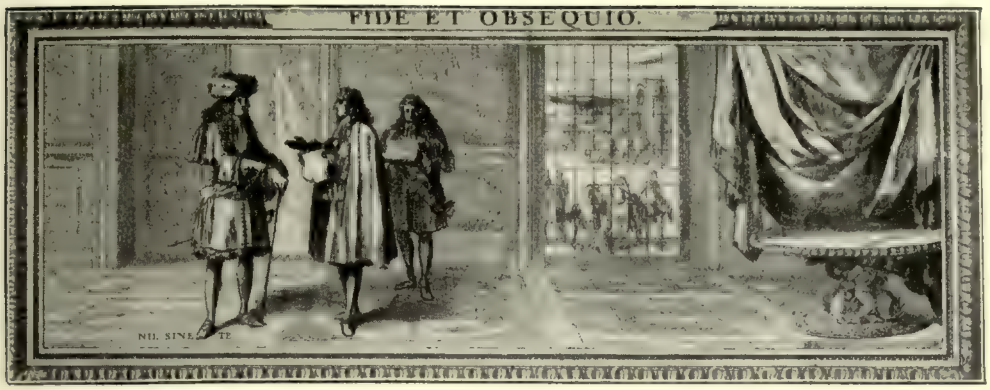
# LOUIS XIV

AND

# HIS MINISTERS

⁂

PRINT COMMEMORATIVE OF THE ANNEXATION OF FRANCHE-COMTÉ, 1679.



LOUIS XIV. GIVING ORDERS TO HIS MINISTERS IN HIS CABINET AT VERSAILLES.
(*Fide et obsequio.* Composition by Sebastien Leclerc.)

# I.

## THE INTERNAL GOVERNMENT OF FRANCE.—JUSTICE.—COMMERCE.—POLICE.—LAWS.—MILITARY DISCIPLINE.—THE NAVY, ETC.

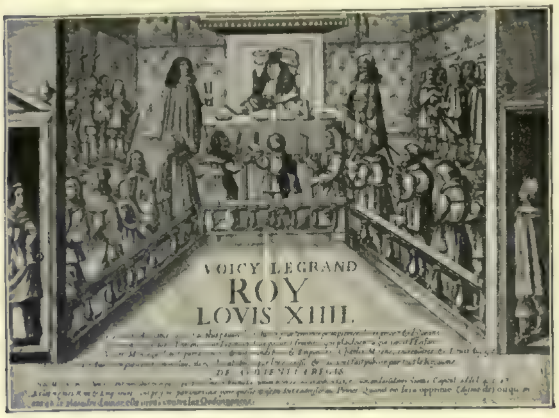
REVERSE OF A MEDAL OF 1680.
(Medal for *La Levée des Matelots*, engraved by Molart.)

IT is due to public men who have done good things for the age in which they lived that we should consider their starting-point; only thus can we get a clear view of the changes wrought by them in their country. Posterity owes them eternal gratitude for the example they have given, even when they have been surpassed. Their only reward is their well-earned fame. Louis XIV. certainly desired to win that fame when, in the beginning of his real reign, he set about reforming his kingdom, refining his Court, and perfecting the Arts.

Not only did he make it a rule to work regularly with each of his Ministers, but every man of known character might obtain a private audience of him, and every citizen was free to present petitions and projects. The petitions were received in the first instance by a Master of Requests, who returned them with marginal notes, to be sent on to the offices of the Ministers. The projects were examined in Council, when they were worth examining, and occasionally their authors were permitted to discuss them with the Ministers in the presence of the King.

Louis XIV. trained himself to the work of government, and the process must have been painful, for work was new to him, and he had to resist the lures of pleasure. He wrote the first despatches to his Ambassadors; the most important letters were frequently written by his hand, and every letter written in his name was read to him.

Colbert had no sooner restored order in the finances of the kingdom after the fall of Fouquet than the King remitted three millions of taxes and all imposts that still remained due between 1647 and 1656. Certain burdensome taxes, amounting to five hundred thousand crowns annually, were abolished.



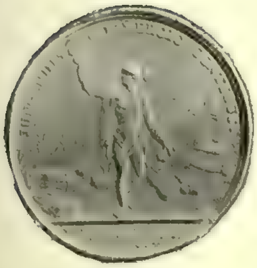
THE KING GIVING AUDIENCE TO HIS SUBJECTS.
(From a popular print of 1667.)

The general hospital had been established by the efforts of the first president, de Bellièvre, with the assistance of gifts from the Duchesse d'Aiguillon and several citizens. The King added to it, and caused hospitals to be built in all the principal cities of France.

The high roads, hitherto almost impassable, were no longer neglected, and by degrees became the admiration of foreigners, as they now are under Louis XV. The roads made by the ancient Romans were more durable, but not so spacious and fine.

Commerce, which was but little cultivated—indeed its great principles were not known—chiefly occupied the attention of Colbert. The English, and still more the Dutch merchant marine, did almost all the carrying trade of France. The Dutch loaded our wares in our ports and distributed them in Europe. The King began from 1662 to exempt his subjects from an impost called "the freight dues," which foreign vessels paid, and he gave every facility to the French for carrying their own merchandise at less cost. Then the merchant marine came into being. The Council of Commerce, which still exists, was instituted, and the King presided at it every fortnight.

The ports of Dunkirk and Marseilles were declared free, and that

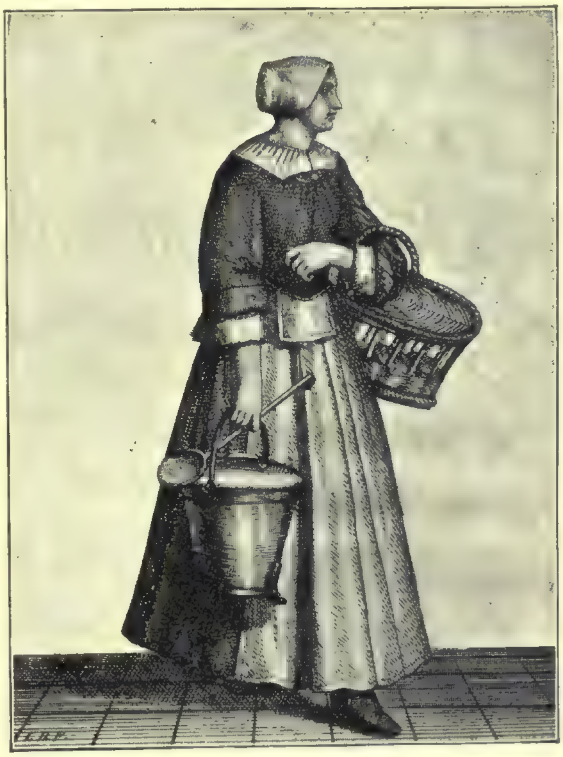


SOCIÉTÉ DES MARCHANDS.
(Coin engraved by Mauger (1664) to commemorate the foundation of Compagnie des Indes.)

advantage speedily attracted the trade of the East to Marseilles and that of the North to Dunkirk.

The Compagnie des Indes Occidentales was formed in 1664, and the Compagnie des Grandes Indes within the same year. France had previously depended on Dutch industry for its luxury. Timid, ignorant and prejudiced adherents to the old economy protested against trade in which there was a continuous exchange of imperishable money for perishable goods. They did not reflect that Indian merchandise, having become necessary, would have to be bought abroad at greater cost. The King gave more than six millions of our present currency to the company, and invited wealthy persons to join it. The queens, the princes, and all the Court furnished two millions in the coin of that period. The Superior Courts gave twelve hundred thousand crowns, the incorporated trades six hundred and fifty thousand livres. The whole nation seconded its ruler.

Trade with the East Indies languished for a time after the Dutch took Pondicherry in 1694, but it revived with fresh vigour under the regency of the Duc d'Orléans. Pondicherry then became the rival of Batavia; and that Compagnie des Grandes Indes, which Colbert took such extreme pains to found, revived in our day by the agency of strange events, was for some years one of the chief resources of the kingdom. In 1669 the King formed the Compagnie du Nord, and in it also he invested money.

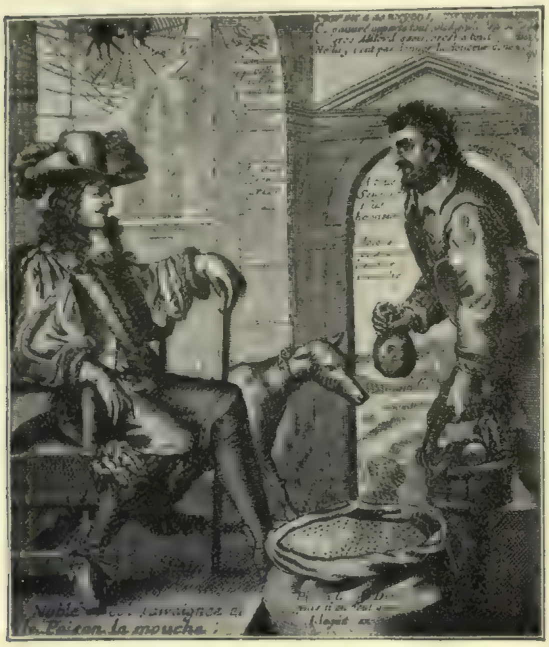


SISTER OF CHARITY CARRYING SUCCOUR TO THE WOUNDED.
(From a print by Bonnart.)

The Compagnie des Indes Occidentales received equal encouragement; the King supplied a tenth of the funds.

That the Abbé de Choisy

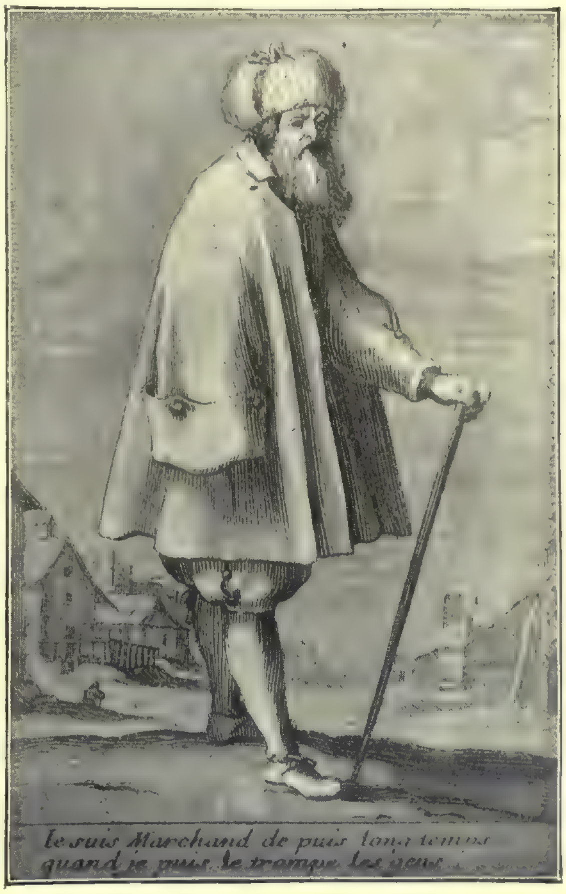
should have censured the formation of these companies in his Memoirs—which are not to be trusted—is not very surprising. We now feel all that Colbert did for the welfare of the kingdom; but it was not felt then; he gave his toil to the ungrateful. There were more *bourgeois* than citizens in Paris; the advantage of the public was but little regarded. We know how private interest fascinates the eye and narrows the mind, not only the interest of a trader, but of a company or of a city. The rude answer made to him by a merchant named Hazon, whom he had consulted: "You found the cart overturned on one side, and you have overturned it on the other," was still quoted with approbation in my youth, and the anecdote is recorded by Moréri. It required the philosophic spirit so lately introduced into France to procure justice for the memory of that great man. He had all the exactitude of the Duc de Sully and much broader views. After the peace of Vervins Sully had nothing to do but maintain strict and severe economy; but Colbert had to find prompt and vast resources for the war of 1667 and for that of 1672. Henri IV. seconded Sully in his economy. The magnificence of Louis XIV. constantly traversed the plans of Colbert. The reduction of interest on public or private loans to five per cent. in 1665 gave ample proof of an abundant circulation. He desired to enrich and to people France. Marriages in the rural districts were encouraged by exemption from taxes for five years, and every father of a family who had ten children was exempt for life, because he gave more to the State by the labour of his children than he could have given by paying the taxes. This rule ought to have remained in force in perpetuity.



THE SPIDER AND THE FLY.

(Satirical print by Lagniet on the idleness of the nobles.)

From 1663 until 1672 each year of Colbert's ministry was marked by the establishment of some manufacture. The fine cloths which formerly came from England and Holland were made at Abbeville. The King advanced two thousand livres for each loom to the manufacturer, besides considerable gratuities. In 1669, forty-four thousand two hundred woollen cloth-looms were at work throughout the kingdom. The perfected silk manufactures produced a trade of more than fifty millions of that time, and not only was the profit far above the expense of the necessary silks, but the culture of mulberry trees enabled the makers to dispense with foreign silks for the raw silk of the stuffs.


Ie suis Marchand de puis long temps
quand je puis Je trompe les gens

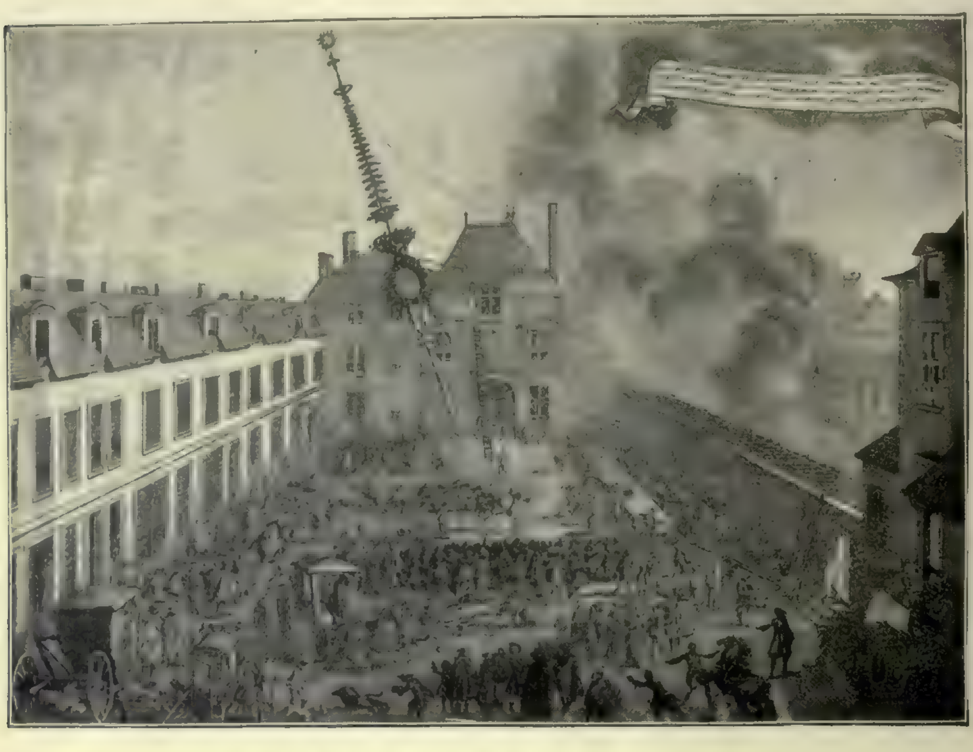
THE FRENCH TRADER.
(From Leclerc: *Conditions de la vie humaine.*)

In 1666 Paris began to make mirrors as fine as those of Venice, with which all Europe had hitherto been supplied, and before long was making mirrors such as never have been imitated anywhere. Persian and Turkish carpets were surpassed at the Savonnerie, Flemish tapestries yielded to those of the Gobelins. Within the vast enclosure more than eight hundred workmen were employed, three hundred being lodged on the premises: eminent painters directed the work, which was either from their designs or those of the old Italian masters. Within the precinct of the Gobelins inlaid work also was produced—an admirable sort of mosaic—and the art of marquetry was brought to its highest perfection.

A second manufactory of tapestry was established at Beauvais. The first manufacturer had six hundred workmen in that town, and the King made him a present of sixty thousand livres.

Sixteen hundred girls were employed in lace-making; thirty chief workers were brought into France from Venice, and two hundred from Flanders, and they were given thirty-six thousand livres to encourage them.

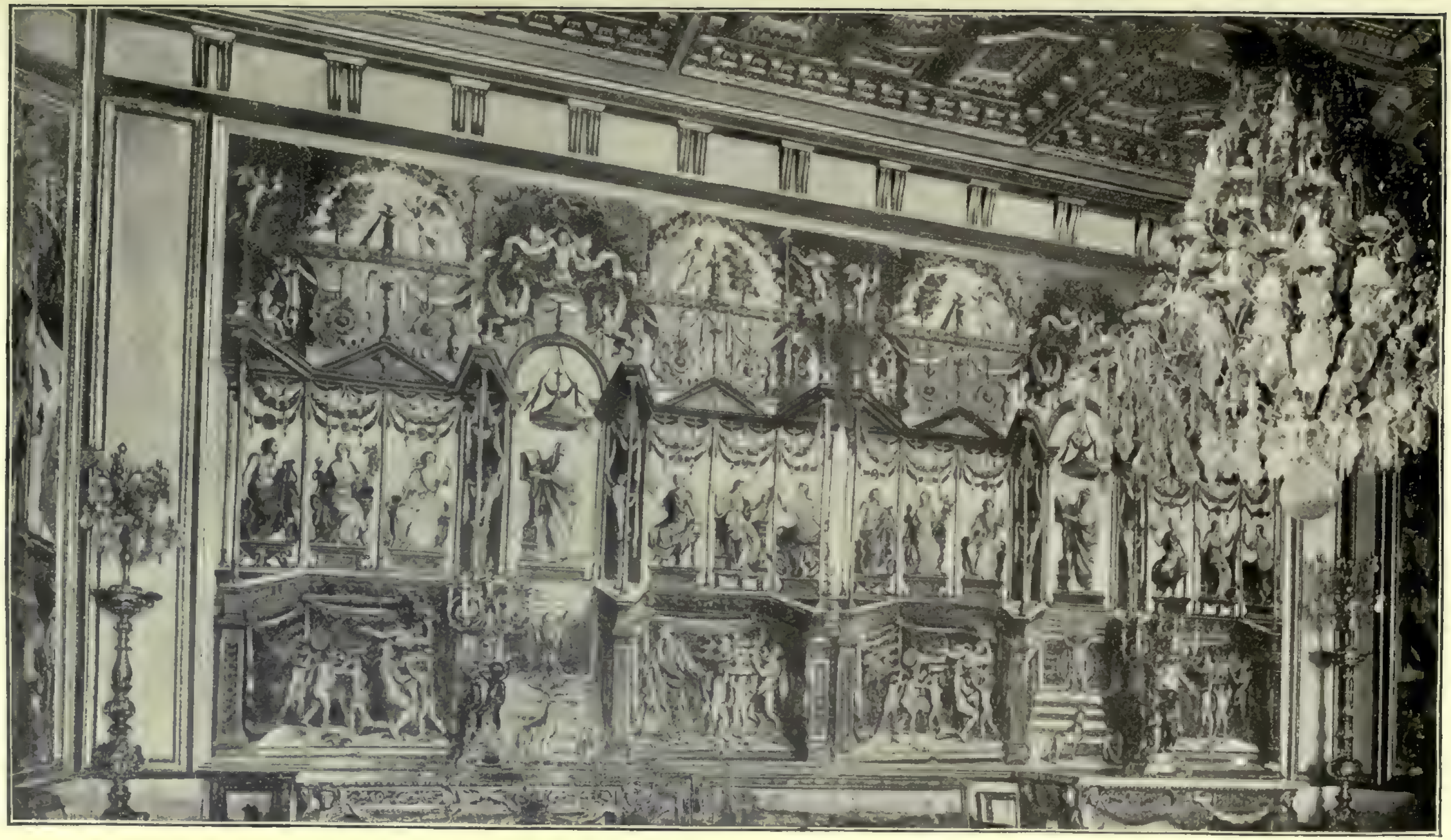
The manufacture of cloth at Sedan, and carpets at Aubusson, which had fallen away in all respects, was revived. Rich stuffs, in which silk was mixed with gold and silver, were made at Lyons and Tours by new methods. We know that the Ministry bought the secret of the ingenious machine for making stockings ten times more quickly than by the needle, [knitting] in England. Tin, steel, fine pottery, and morocco-dressed leather —work which had always been brought from abroad—was now done in France. But certain Calvinists, who had the secret of tin and steel, took it away with them in 1686, and enabled foreign nations to share that advantage, as well as many others.



A FÊTE AT THE GOBELINS IN HONOUR OF LEBRUN.
(From a print by S. Leclerc, which represents the manufactory in 1676.)

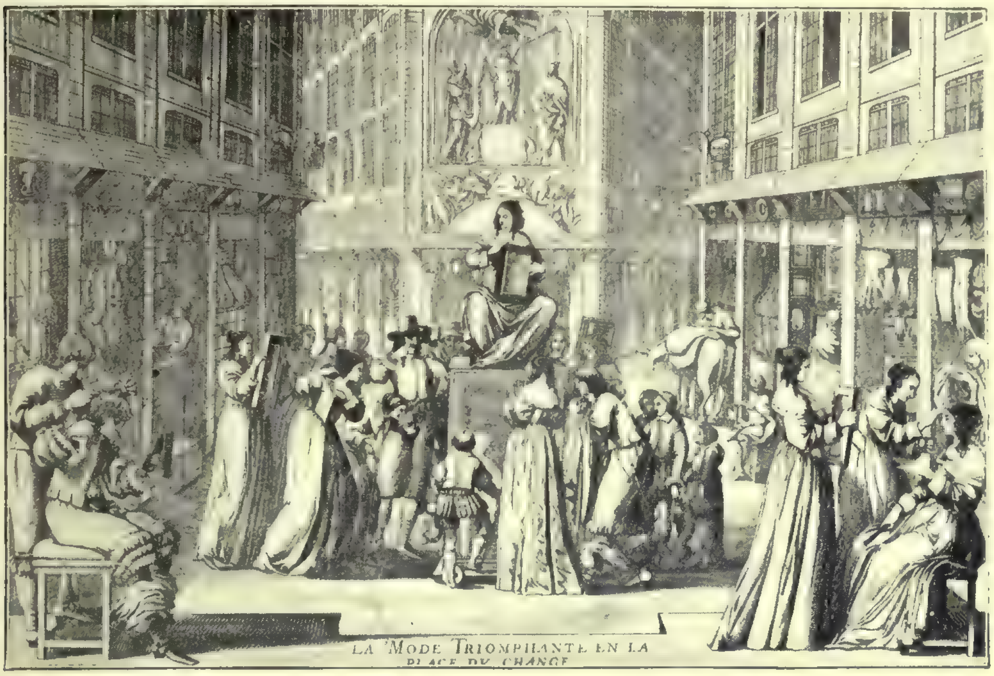
Every year the King made purchases of fancy articles of every kind manufactured in his kingdom, to the value of eight hundred thousand livres, and made presents of them.

The city of Paris was very far from being then what it is now. It



GOBELINS TAPESTRY, EXECUTED FROM THE DESIGNS OF J. ROMAIN, IN THE POPE'S APARTMENTS, CHÂTEAU DE FONTAINEBLEAU.

was unlighted, insecure, and uncleansed. It was necessary to provide for the continual cleaning of the streets that we have now, for the five thousand lanterns which give us light at night, to pave the whole city, to construct two new quays and reconstruct the old ones, and to institute a regular watch day and night, both mounted and on foot, for the security of the citizens. The King undertook all this, appropriating certain funds to the necessary expenses. In 1667 he appointed a Magistrate of Police. Most of the great cities of Europe did not even imitate these examples until long afterwards, and not one has equalled them. There is no city paved like Paris, and even Rome is not lighted.


LA MODE TRIOMPHANTE EN LA
PLACE DU CHANGE

COSTUMES OF MEN AND WOMEN OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(From a print of the period: Fashion triumphant in the Place du Change.)

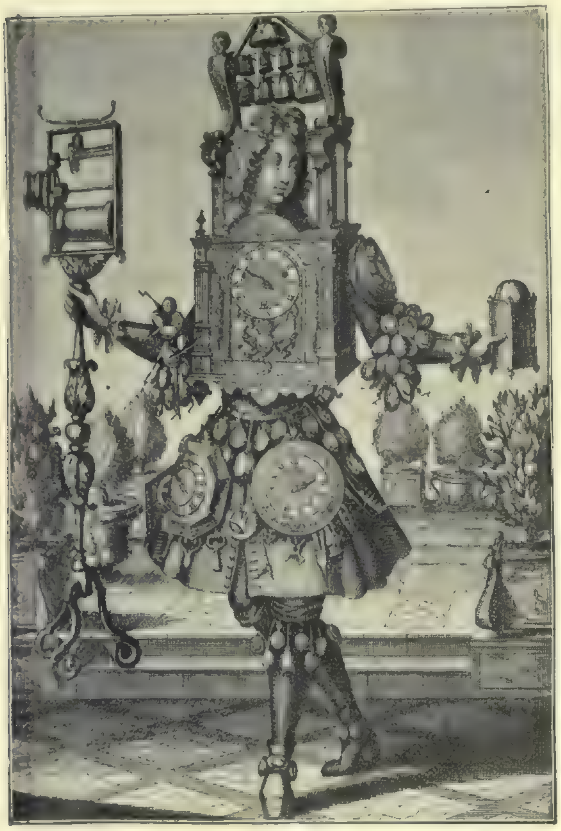
So much did everything tend to perfection that the second person who held the office of Lieutenant of Police in Paris is numbered among those who have done honour to this century, M. d'Argenson was an able man in every way. He was afterwards in the Ministry, and would have made a good general. The post of Lieutenant of Police was far beneath his birth and his deserts, and yet he made a much greater name in it than by his brief and troublesome tenure of ministerial office in the last years of his life.

The King had been building without cessation since 1661, at the

Louvre, at Saint-Germain, and at Versailles. Private individuals followed his example, and a great number of handsome and commodious houses were soon erected in Paris.

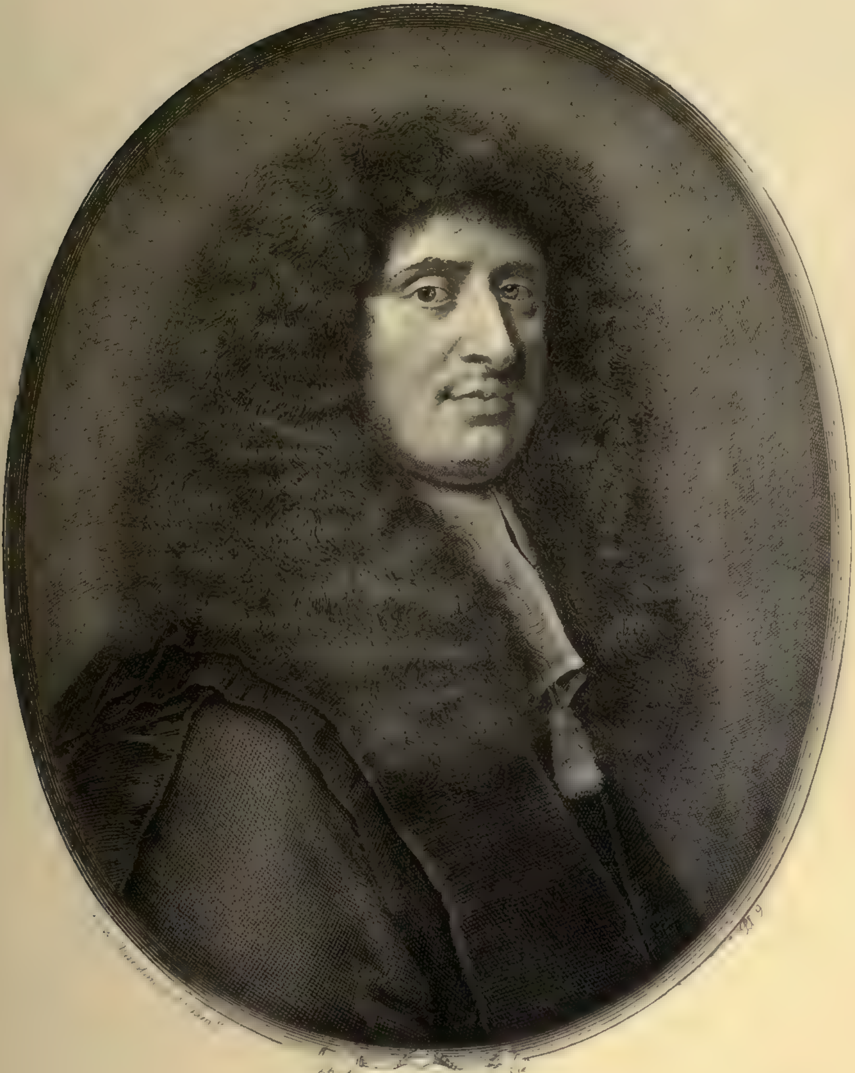
COIN ENGRAVED BY MOLART IN HONOUR OF THE AGGRANDISEMENT OF PARIS—1670.

After some time there were two new towns, in the neighbourhood of the Palais Royal and Saint-Sulpice respectively, which were very superior to the former Paris. At this period that magnificent convenience, coaches with glass windows and hung upon wheels, was invented, so that a citizen might move about in the great city with more ease and luxury than the first Roman conquerors when they went in triumph to the Capitol. This custom, which originated in Paris, was soon adopted throughout Europe, and becoming common, ceased to be a luxury.



THE CLOCK-MAKER.
(Print by Bonnart: Clockwork articles of the Seventeenth Century.)

The taste of Louis XIV. in architecture, gardens and sculpture, was for everything on a grand and noble scale. So soon as Colbert, then Comptroller-General, got the Department of Public Buildings—which properly belongs to the Ministry of Arts—into his hands, he applied himself to fulfilling his sovereign's wishes. The completion of the Louvre was the most pressing matter, and François Mansard, one of the greatest architects France has ever produced, was chosen to construct the vast edifices that were projected. He would not accept the responsibility unless he were free to do over again anything that might be defective in the execution; but as



Gabriel Nicolas de la Reynie
d'après P. Mignard

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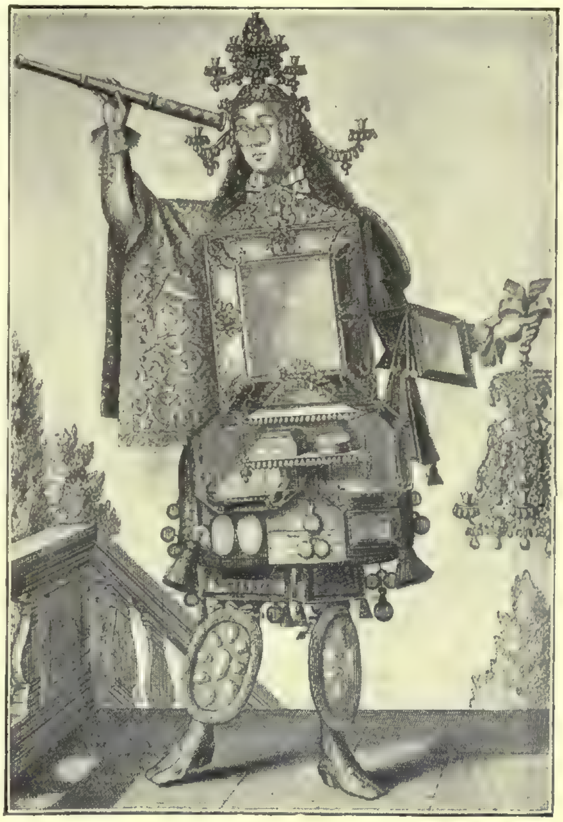
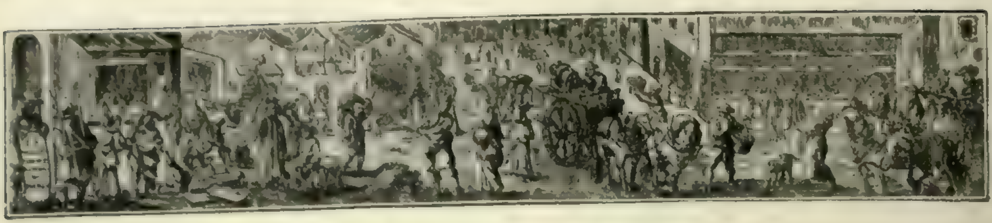
this want of self-confidence might have involved too great a cost, he was not employed. The Cavaliere Bernini, the celebrated creator of the colonnade of Saint-Peter's, the statue of Constantine, and the fountain of Navone at Rome, was summoned from the Holy City. Equipages were sent for his use, and he was received as one whose visit was an honour to France. In addition to the fee of five louis a day which he received during the eight months of his stay, he was presented with fifty thousand crowns, a pension of two thousand crowns for himself and one of five hundred crowns for his son. The generosity of Louis XIV. to Bernini was even greater than that of François I. to Raphael. Bernini testified his gratitude by the equestrian statue of the King which is to be seen at Versailles. On his arrival at Paris, as the only man worthy to work for Louis XIV., he was surprised on beholding the design for the façade of the Louvre, on the Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois side. This work when completed took rank among the world's august examples of architecture. Claude Perrault designed, and Louis Levau and Dorbay built this façade; Perrault also invented machines for the transport of the stones, fifty-two feet long, which form the pediment. No palace in Rome has an entrance to be compared to that of the Louvre—which Boileau has ventured to ridicule. Bernini received magnificent rewards, and did not deserve them; he only furnished designs which were not executed.



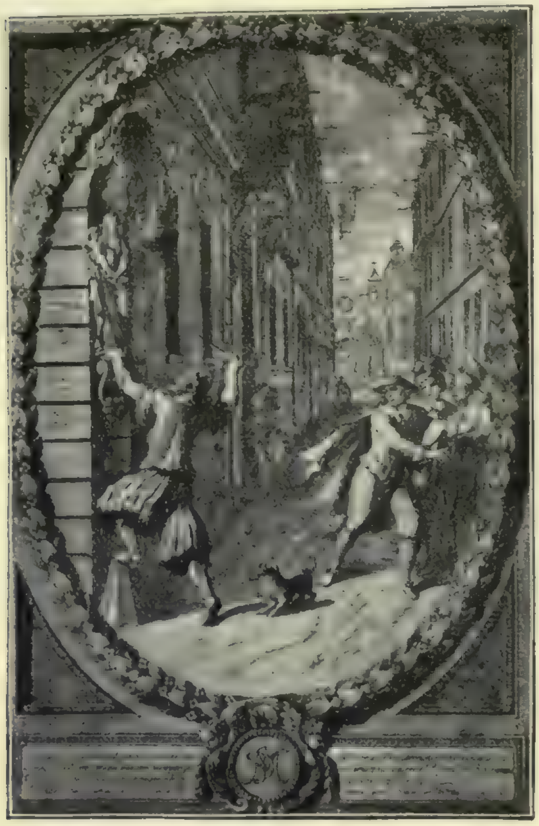
THE MIRROR-MAKER.

(Print by Bonnart. The costume is made of glasses, lustres, etc.)

While the building of the Louvre was in progress—its completion is much to be desired—a town at Versailles was springing up, in close

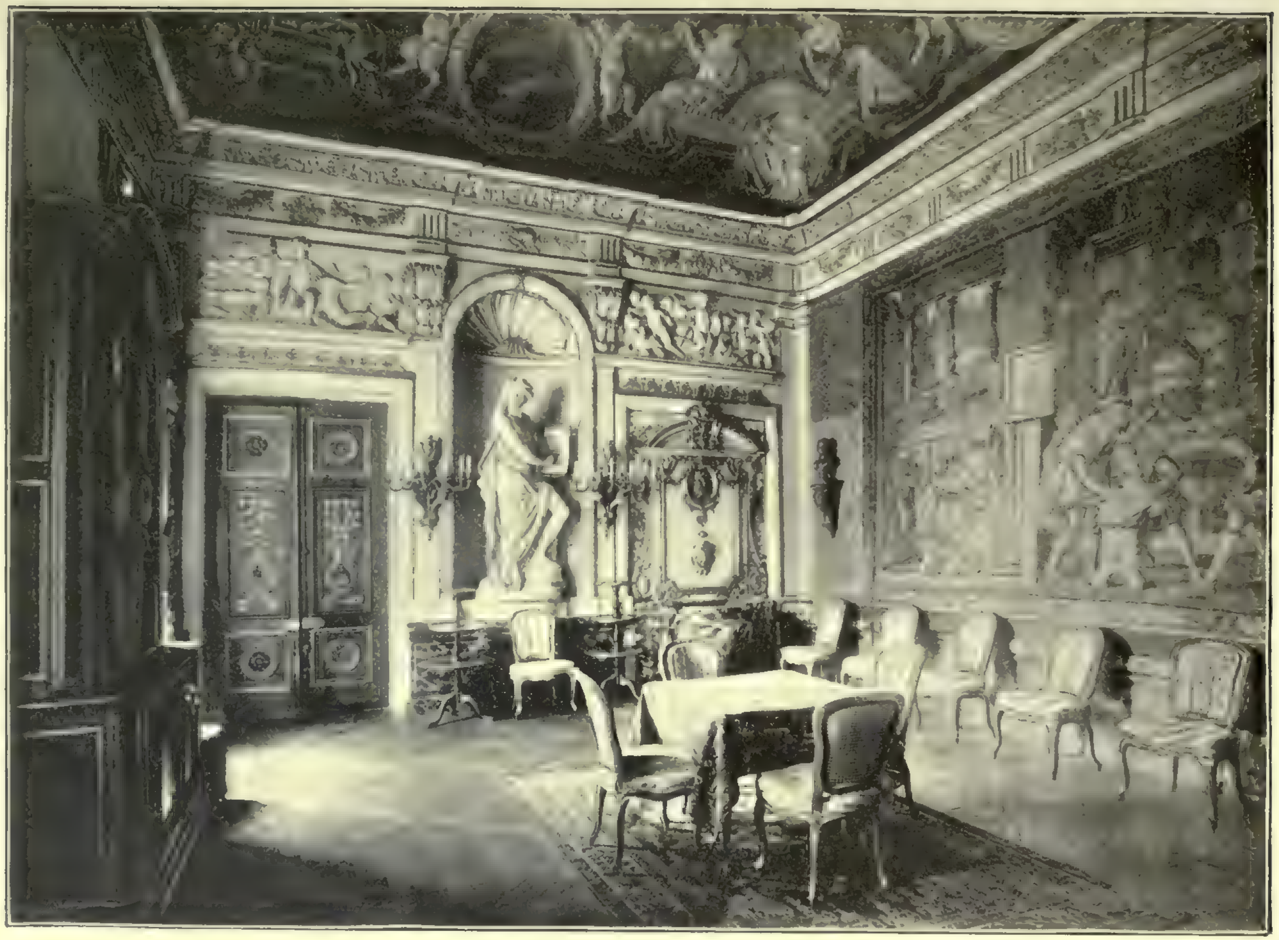


THE NEW POLICE ESTABLISHED IN PARIS BY LA REYNIE.
(From an anonymous print of the period.)



AN OLD STREET IN PARIS: LA RUE AUX OURS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(From an engraving by Lepautre, 1661.)

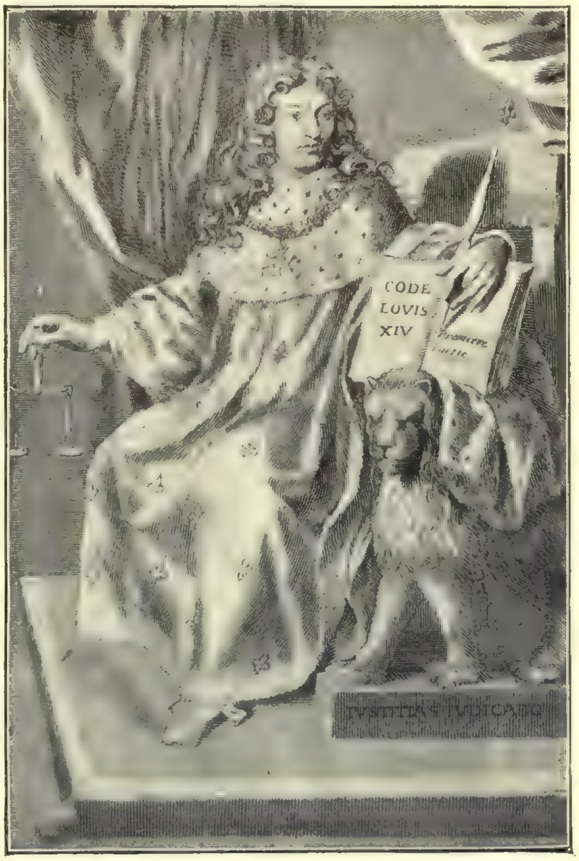
proximity to that palace which had cost so many millions; Trianon and Marly were built, and many other edifices were embellished: the King also had the Observatory erected. The building was begun in 1666, when the King established the Academy of Sciences. But the Canal of Languedoc, by which two seas are united, and which falls into the harbour of Cette, constructed to receive its waters, surpasses the other works in utility, greatness, and difficulty of achievement. Begun in 1664, this work was carried on without interruption until 1681. The superb Hôtel des Invalides, with its chapel (the finest of its kind in Paris), and the establishment of Saint-Cyr—the last of so many works of his—would alone suffice to render the memory of this monarch "blessed." Four thousand soldiers and a great number of officers who find relief for their wounds and their needs, and consolation for their old age in one of these noble asylums; the two hundred and fifty girls of quality who receive an education worthy of them in the other, are so many harmonious voices lifted up in praise of Louis XIV. The establishment of Saint-Cyr will be surpassed in extent by the institution which Louis XV. has just founded for the education



INTERIOR OF A PARISIAN HOTEL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(From a photograph by Paul Robert.)

of five hundred young gentlemen, yet far from eclipsing Saint-Cyr, it will only serve to make us remember it: it affords evidence that the art of doing good is being brought to perfection.

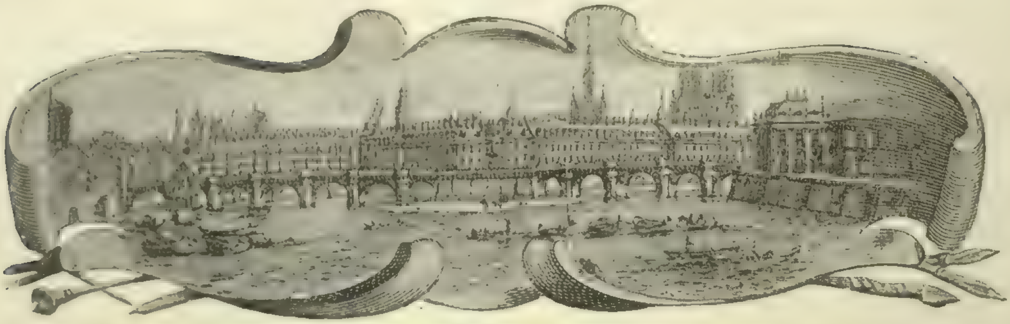
At the same time Louis XIV. desired to do things greater and more generally useful, but more difficult of execution; he wished to reform the laws. In this task he enlisted the Chancellor, Séguier, Lamoignon, Talon and Bignon, and especially Pussort, the Councillor of State, and occasionally attended their conferences. The year 1667 was the epoch at once of his victories and of his first laws. The civil law appeared first, afterwards the code of rivers and forests; then statutes for all manufactures. Criminal and maritime laws succeeded each other almost from year to year. There was even a new jurisprudence in favour of slaves in the Colonies—beings who hitherto had not enjoyed the rights of humanity.



ALLEGORICAL PRINT BY MELLAN IN HONOUR OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE CODE OF LOUIS XIV.

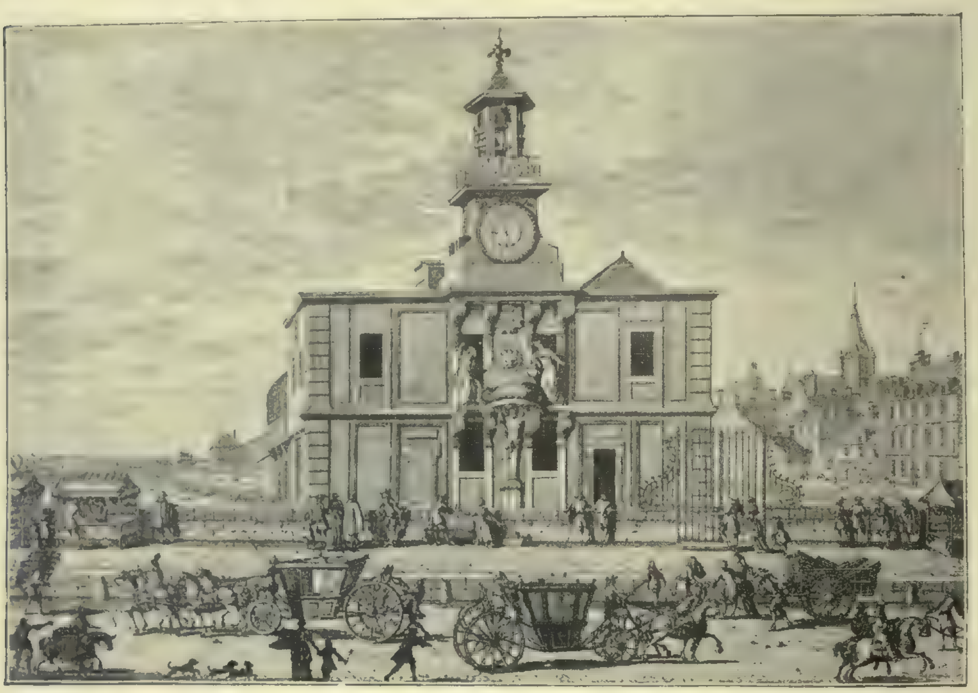
A profound acquaintance with jurisprudence is not expected from a sovereign; but the King was well instructed in the chief laws, he understood their spirit, and knew where to sustain or mitigate them fittingly. He frequently judged the causes of his subjects in person, not only in the Council of the Secretaries of State, but in that which is known as the Council of Parties. In two celebrated instances he decided against himself.

The first was a suit in 1680, between him and some private individuals in Paris, who built upon his ground. He decided that the houses should remain to them with the ground belonging to him, and which he gave up to them.



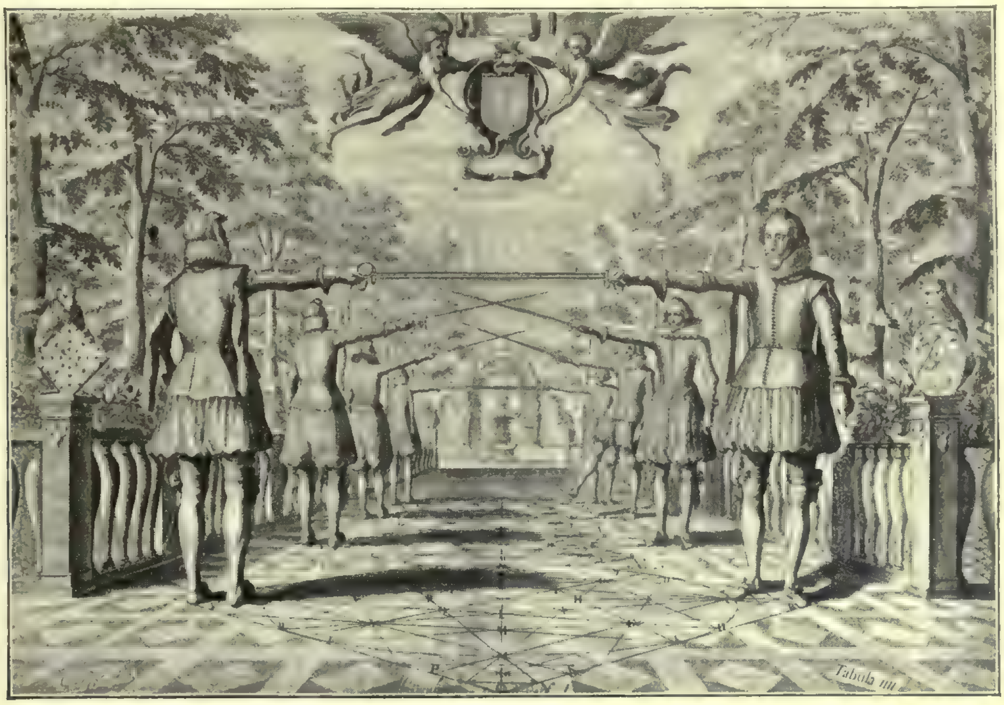
PARIS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(View of the Pont Neuf, by Israel Silvestre.)

The other case, in 1687, concerned a Persian named Roupli, whose merchandise had been seized by a clerk in the administration of farmers-general. The King decided that all the property must be restored to him, and added a present of three thousand crowns. Roupli returned to his country full of admiration and gratitude. When we afterwards saw Mehemet Rizabeg, the Persian Ambassador, we found that he had long since been acquainted with this fact by the voice of fame.



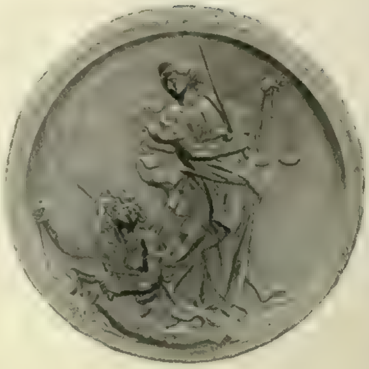
LA SAMARITAINE.
(Paris at the end of the reign of Louis XIV., paved streets, coaches in circulation. From a print of 1712.)

The abolition of duelling was one of the greatest services which he rendered to the country. In former times duelling had been authorised by sovereigns, by the parliaments, and even by the Church, and although it had been forbidden by the law since the time of Henri IV., duels had become more frequent than ever. The notorious encounter of La Frette, of four against four, in 1663, determined Louis XIV. no longer to pardon the practice. His beneficent severity by degrees corrected our nation, and even influenced the neighbouring nations, so that they too conformed to our wise, after following our evil, customs. At the present time there are a hundred times fewer duels fought than in the days of Louis XIII.



FENCING.
(From a print of the time.)

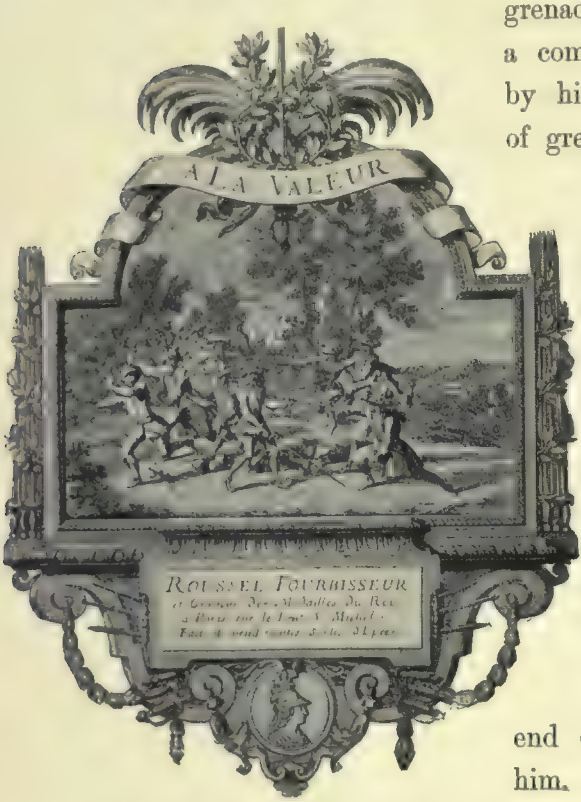
The legislator for his people was likewise the legislator for his army. It is strange that before his time uniform dress for the troops was unknown. In the first year of his administration he gave orders that every regiment should be distinguished by the colour of its clothing, or by different marks—a regulation promptly adopted by all the nations. He instituted brigadiers, placed the corps which form His Majesty's military household on their present footing, and formed a company of musketeers of the Guards of Cardinal Mazarin. He fixed the number of the two companies at five hundred men, and prescribed the uniform which they still wear.



DUELS ABOLISHED.

(Medallion by Desjardins.—Musée du Louvre.)

Under him, there were no more constables, and after the death of the Duc d'Épernon there were no more colonel-generals of infantry; the latter were too much of the master, and that he wished and meant to be. The Maréchal de Grammont, who was merely commander of the French Guards under Colonel-General the Duc d'Épernon, taking his orders from him, now took them directly from the King, and was the first to be called Colonel of the Guards. The King himself installed these colonels at the head of the regiment, giving them with his own hand a gilded gorget with a pike, and afterwards, when the use of pikes was abolished, a spontoon. He instituted the grenadiers, at first to the number of four to a company, in the King's regiment, created by him; afterwards he formed a company of grenadiers in each regiment of infantry; he gave two to the French Guards; there is now one company to each battalion of infantry. He largely augmented the corps of dragoons and gave them a colonel-general. The establishment of breeding-studs, in 1667, should not be forgotten. These had been absolutely given up, but now proved to be a most useful resource for remounting the cavalry. This resource has been too much neglected since.

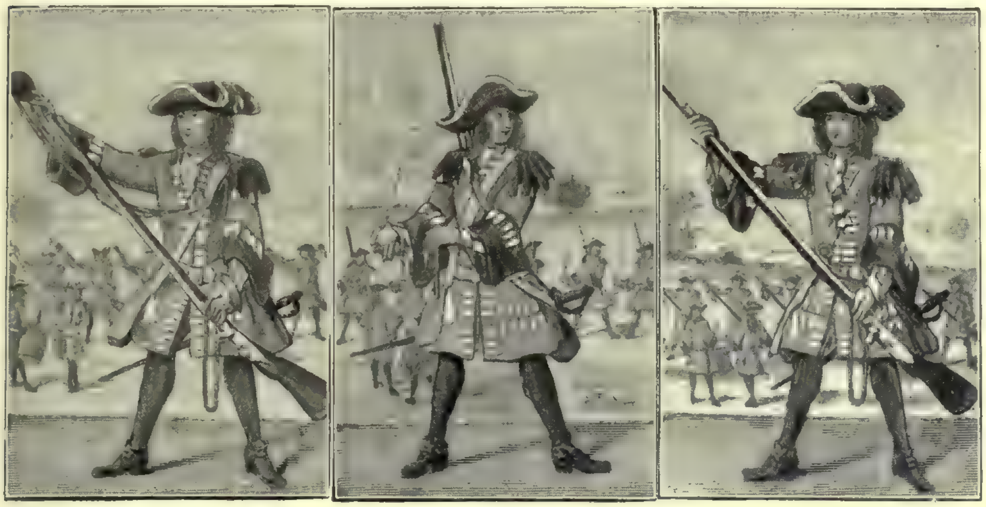


A DUEL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(Armourer's trade mark. Design by Simpol and Lepautre.)

The use of the bayonet at the end of the gun was likewise instituted by him. Previously the bayonet had indeed been occasionally employed, but only by a few companies. There was no uniform custom, and no drill, everything having been left to the discretion of the General. Pikes were held to be the most formidable of weapons. The first regiment which had been provided with bayonets and instructed in the use of them was the regiment of Fusileers, formed in 1671.

The system by which the artillery is still served is also due to him. He established schools, first at Douai, and subsequently at Metz and Strasbourg, and the regiment of artillery at last possessed officers almost all of whom were capable of conducting a siege. All the magazines in the kingdom were stocked, and eight hundred thousandweights of powder were distributed annually. He formed a regiment of bombardiers and one of hussars: previously hussars were unknown, except among the enemy's forces.



MUSKETEER USING HIS POWDER-FLASK.

GRENADIER THROWING GRENADE.

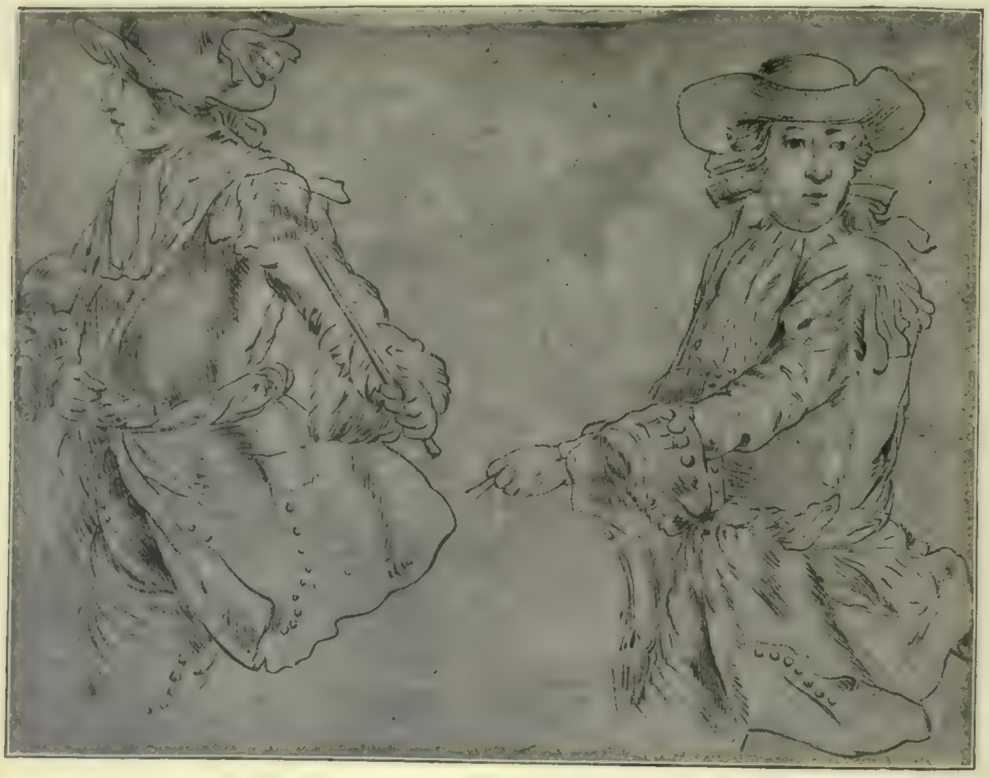
MUSKETEER FIXING BAYONET.

(From the "Military Theory," in colour, by Manesson, published in 1715 and preserved in the Versailles Library.)

In 1688 the King established thirty regiments of militia, provided and equipped by the communities. This militia learned the art of war without relinquishing the culture of the soil.

Companies of cadets were maintained at most of the frontier forts, where they were taught mathematics, drawing and drill, and practised the functions of soldiers. That institution however lasted ten years only; but the corps of engineers which the King formed still exists, and still follows the rules laid down by him. Under him the art of fortification was perfected by Vauban and his pupils, who surpassed the Comte de Pagan. He built or repaired one hundred and fifty fortified places.

For the maintenance of military discipline the King created inspectors-general and afterwards directors, who rendered an account of the state of the troops; and it was seen by their report whether the commissaries had done their duty.



STUDIES OF HORSEMEN.

(From a design by Van der Meulen, preserved at the Gobelins.)

He instituted the Order of Saint-Louis, an award of honour often more highly prized than a fortune. The foundation by the King of the Hôtel des Invalides was the best proof among a great number that he deserved to be well served.

From the year 1672 he had one hundred and eighty thousand regular troops, and as he increased his forces in proportion to the increase of his enemies in number and strength, he ultimately had four hundred and fifty thousand men under arms, including the troops serving at sea (marines) in the navy.

No such armies had previously existed. His enemies opposed him in almost equal strength, but their forces were united. He showed what France could do unaided, and always with either great success or great resources.

He was the first who, in time of peace, presented pictures of war and provided lessons in the art. In 1698 he collected seventy thousand men at Compiègne. All the operations of a campaign were performed. This was done for the instruction of his three grandsons. The military schooling was combined with a sumptuous fête.

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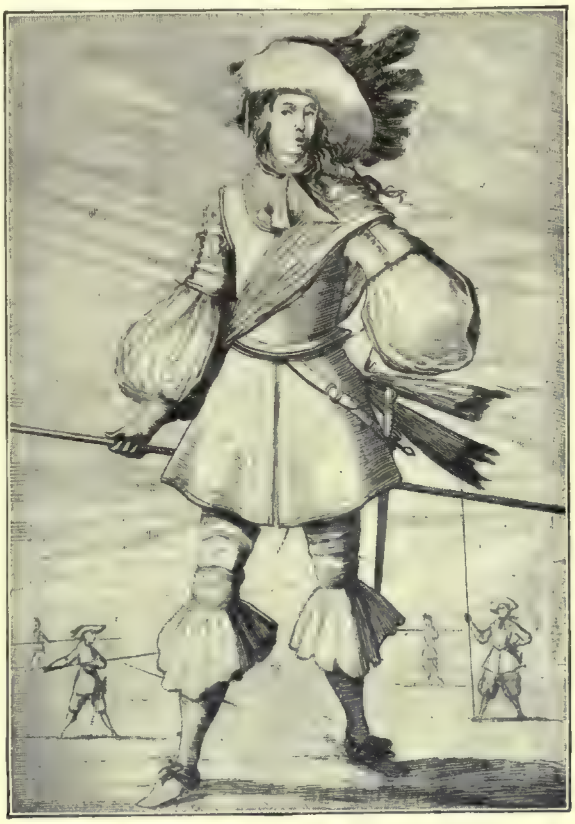
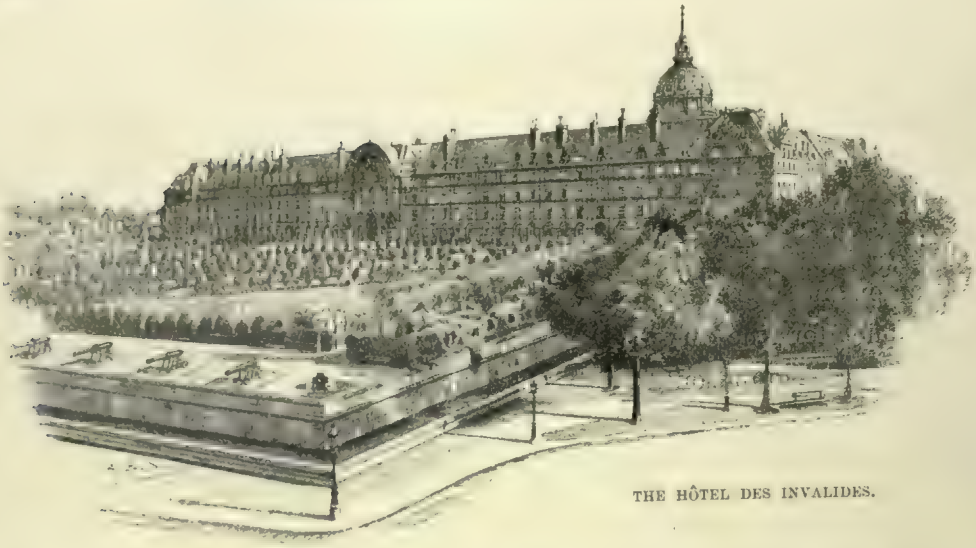


PIKEMAN AT DRILL.

(From a print by S. Leclerc in *Les conditions de la vie humaine.*)

This eulogium by Voltaire on the military organisation created by Louis XIV. and Louvois, is confirmed by testimony which is beyond suspicion. Spanheim, the Prussian Envoy, who was interested in the condition of the forces of France in 1690—the moment when the two powers were about to enter into conflict—attributes their superiority in the first place to "the number and quality of good officers and of good generals in France, which is the result of the training in arms received by the nobles and other French youth so soon as they are capable of it. To this also has contributed the great care that has been taken throughout the present reign of several establishments and regulations which are expressly intended for apprenticeship in times of peace to the exercise of the military art, the maintenance of discipline, and the almost continual employment of the troops, whereby idleness, debauchery, and remissness in duty are averted. It is not necessary to give details here of those regulations introduced for the



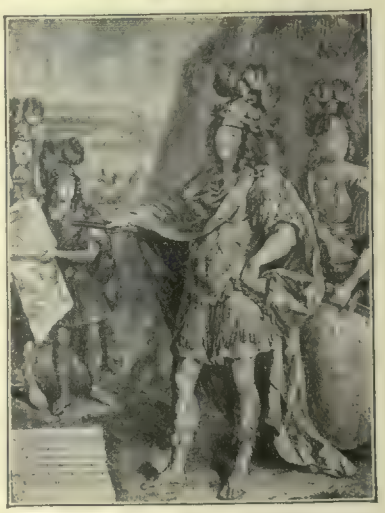
THE HÔTEL DES INVALIDES.

training or exercise of the officers and men which have been made public, and are, besides, known abroad, and which their neighbours or others have tried to imitate and to introduce in their armies."

Spanheim continues: "Suffice it to say that there is no garrison in France in which the school of military art is not conducted with great care and exactitude, or where there are not officers specially charged with it. With this view, ten or twelve years ago the companies of cadets were established. The cadets are young gentlemen educated at the institution, and brought up to all the military exercises, so that it forms a sort of nursery-garden for young officers.

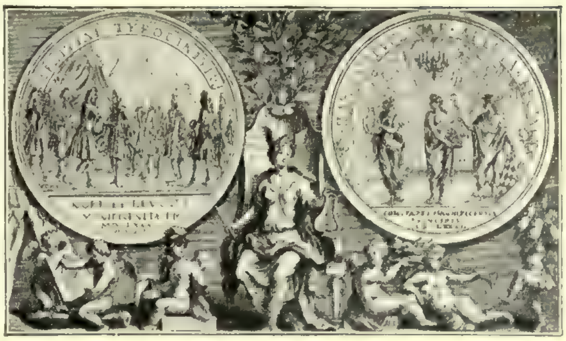
"To this we may add frequent reviews, sometimes private, when limited to the troops of the King's household, at other times more general, as on the occasion of the King's journey in 1683, when he reviewed twelve thousand cavalry in the district of the Saône, a few miles from Dijon, and another near the Saar, when there were twenty-two thousand men. I saw both reviews, having been ordered to accompany the King."

To this favourable report of the strength and discipline of the French army Spanheim



THE KING GIVING ORDERS FOR THE FORTIFICATION OF THE FRONTIERS.

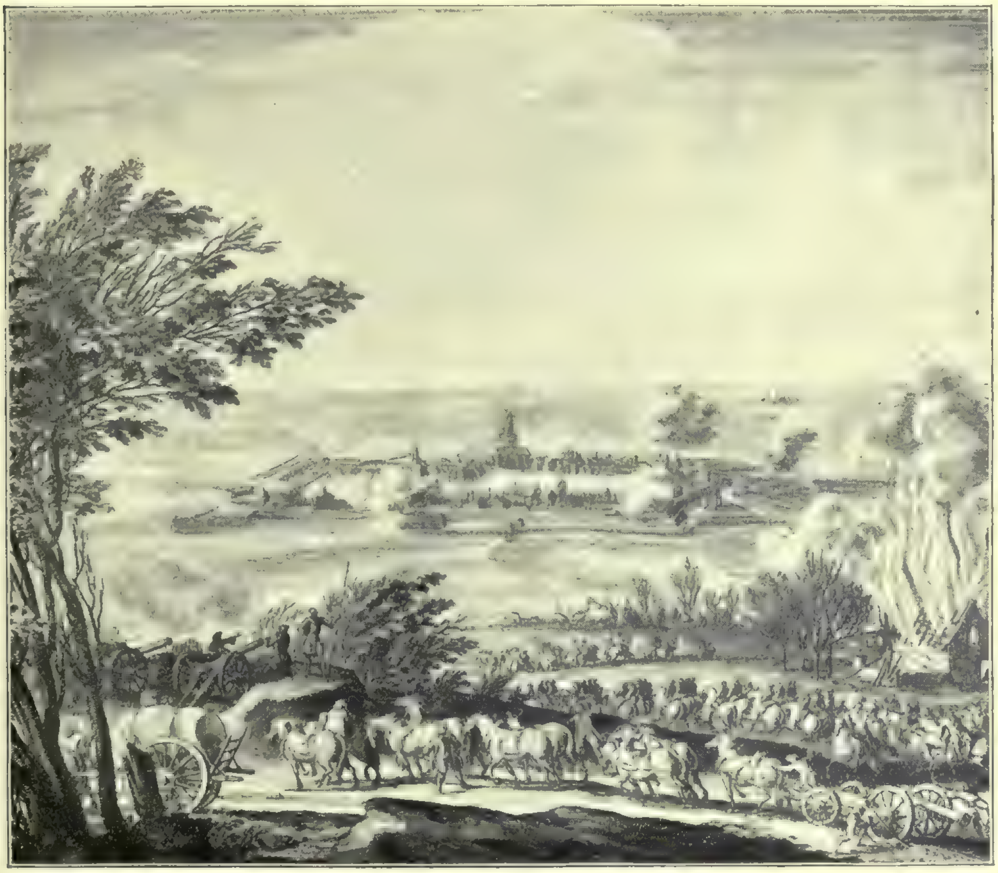
(From a print of 1680.)



MEDALLION: ESTABLISHMENT OF CADET COMPANIES.
(Design by Bérain.—June 22, 1682.)

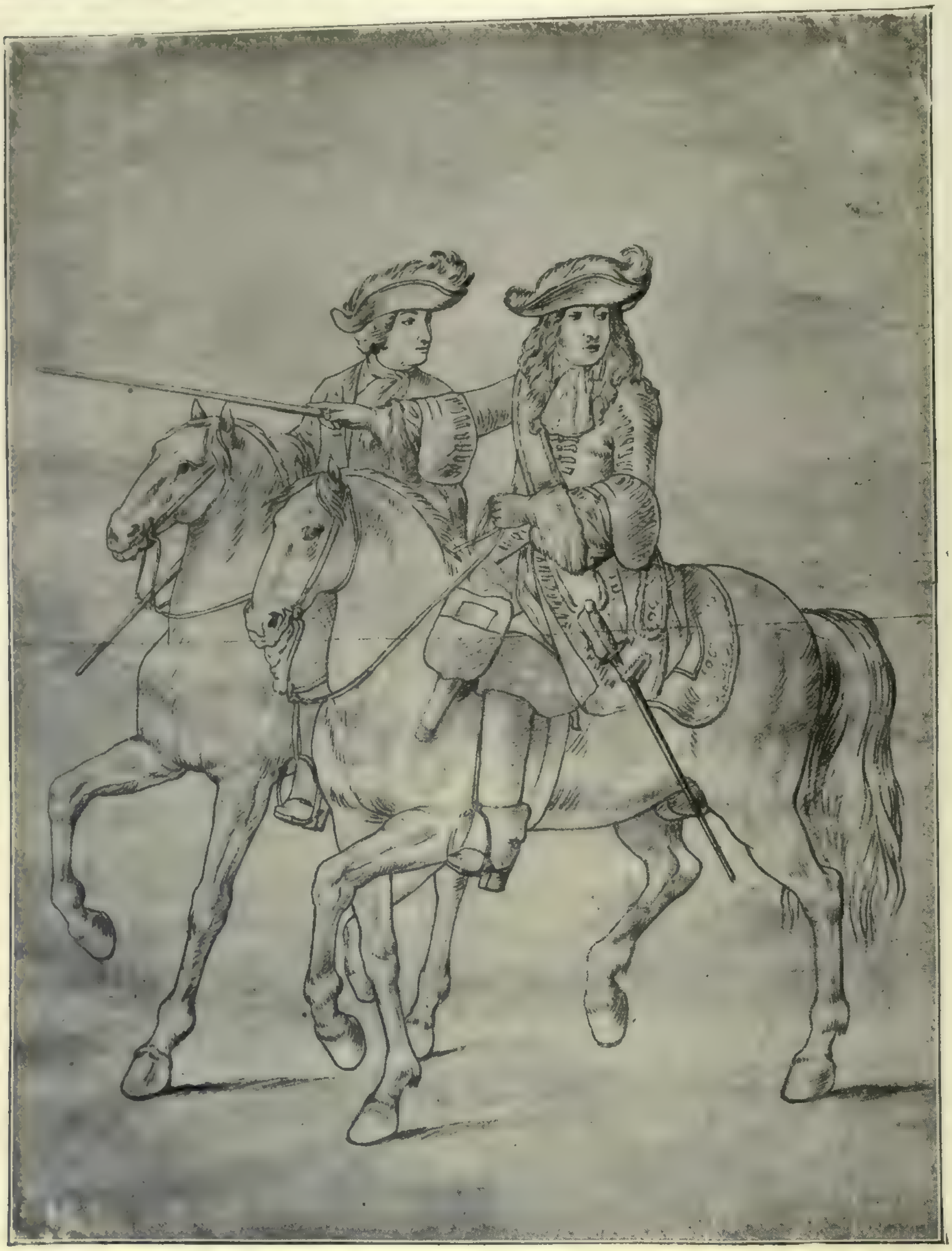
adds still better-deserved compliments on the administrative services organised by Louvois.

"The good and great forces of France are explained by the order that is taken in France for the maintenance and subsistence of the troops; by the regularity of all payments, although these are small enough; by the building of magazines; by the supply of victuals and ammunition-bread; also that of provisions for the sick and wounded; and finally by the distribution of forage. All these services are specially discharged by various officers, army intendants, commissaries, treasurers,



FRENCH ARTILLERY IN ACTION.
(From a print by S. Leclerc: *Les Guerres de Louis XIV.*—February 28, 1674.)

collectors and paymasters, who are responsible to the Minister of War, M. de Louvois, a man not likely to overlook shortcomings. It should be added that similar care is taken in the transport of the artillery, with all its requirements."



STUDIES OF HORSEMEN.

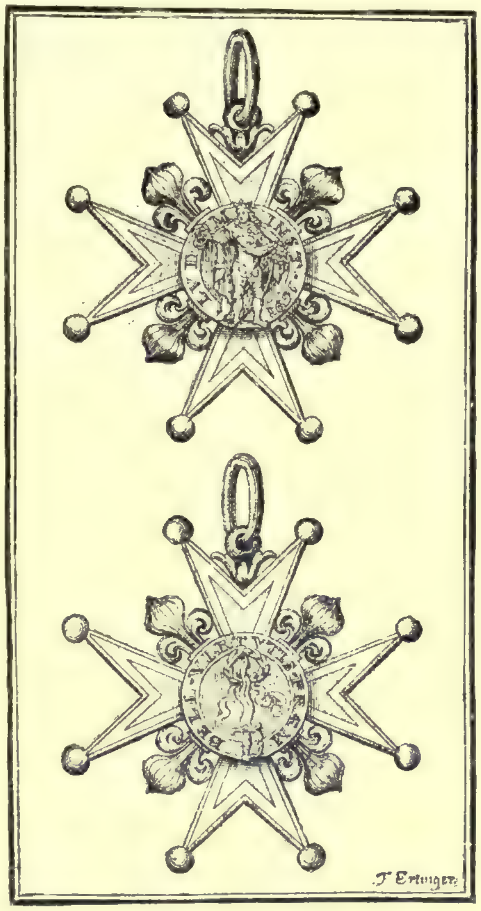
(From a drawing by Van de Meulen, preserved at the Gobelins.)

It is well to recall this eulogium, which justifies the opinion of Voltaire, so that we may not admit the very different conclusions reached by Saint-Simon in his indictment of Louvois and the military administration of Louis XIV. A few of the charges may be appropriately quoted here:—

"Louvois succeeded in making all our nobility and aristocracy plebeian, the necessity of the military service affording him the means for this. On the pretext that knowledge must come before command, an apprenticeship was introduced into the Guards under the name of cadetship. But instruction was only the pretext, the reality was the confusing of persons born to command, with those who were born to obey them, and very often born to serve them.

"The highest nobles found themselves confounded with soldiers of fortune, and, what was still worse, with persons of little or no standing, who, by alliances with Ministers or other causes of favour, were made colonels immediately; and nevertheless they had to serve, or to fall into disgrace and persecution which extended to all—even the entire family. Such was the complaint of the nobility. . . .

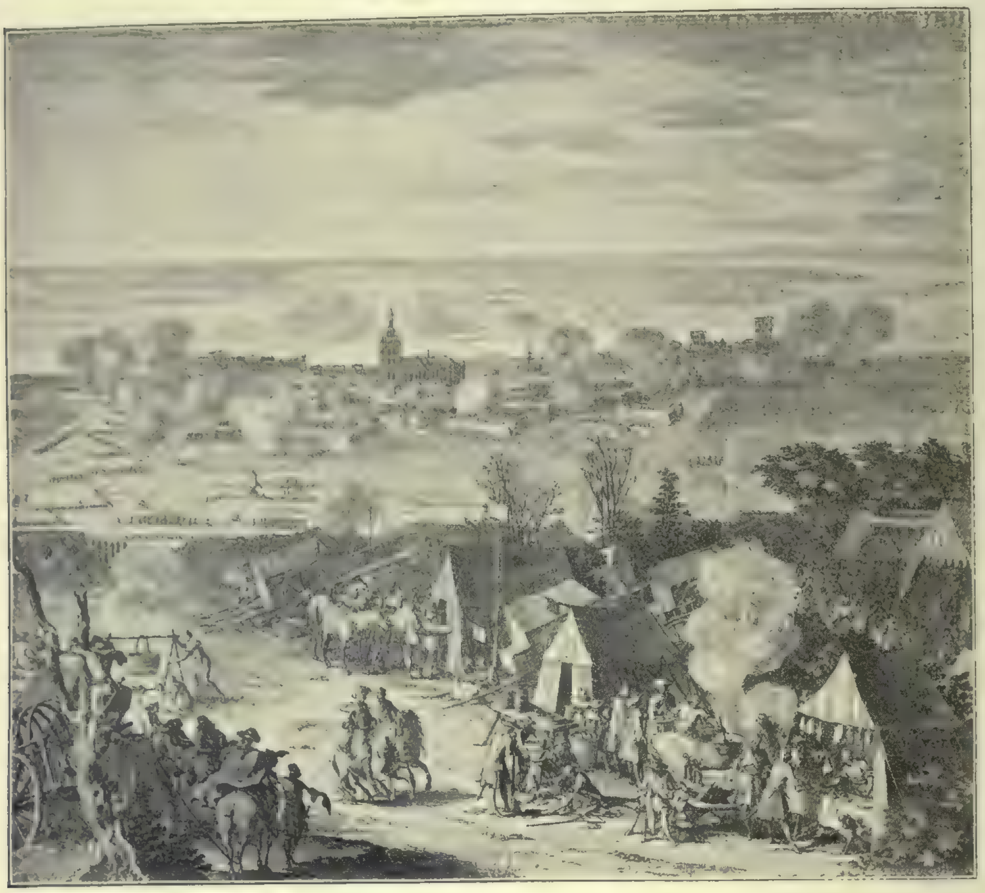
"Louvois represented to the King that distinctions disheartened persons inferior in condition but much superior in military capacity; that perfect equality was a necessary condition for warfare, and proposed what was known thenceforth as 'L'Ordre du Tableau,' that is to say, that advancement should be regulated otherwise than by promotion only in very singular and rare cases. This proposition, which completed the confusion that the King had proposed to himself, charmed him, and at the same time destroyed emulation, application, and desire for instruction; these were thenceforth regarded as a foolish taking of useless trouble. So much was this the case that the officers merely went



THE CROSS OF SAINT-LOUIS.

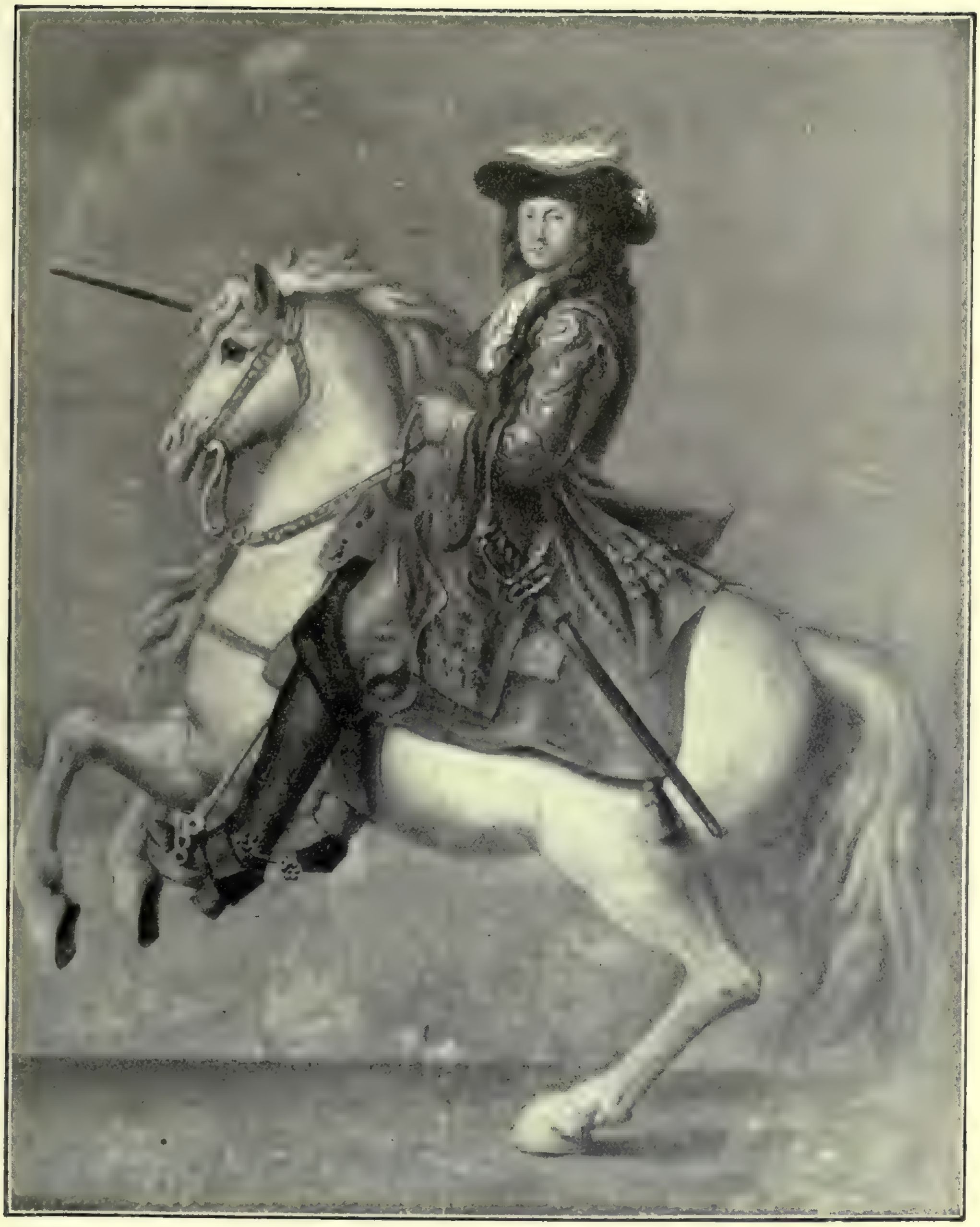
through their exact service, and spent the rest of their time in idleness and pleasure.

"The more troops there were the more regiments and colonels. The colonels commanded their own regiments, regulated all details, and it was on their report that the officers of the regiments were chosen and promoted. Each answered for his own regiment, and it was to their honour that those regiments were well-composed and of good appearance. That authority could no longer be allowed by Louvois. He appointed inspectors to whom he gave all the authority that had belonged to the colonels, who became nothing in their regiments, and were by a necessary consequence little regarded and respected. It was necessary that the King should have an intimate and detailed knowledge of his troops. Inspectors of this kind, who saw the regiments only once or twice in the year, and each of whom



A PICTURE OF MILITARY LIFE.

(French Camp in the Seventeenth Century, by S. Leclerc: *Les Guerres de Louis XIV.*—1672.)

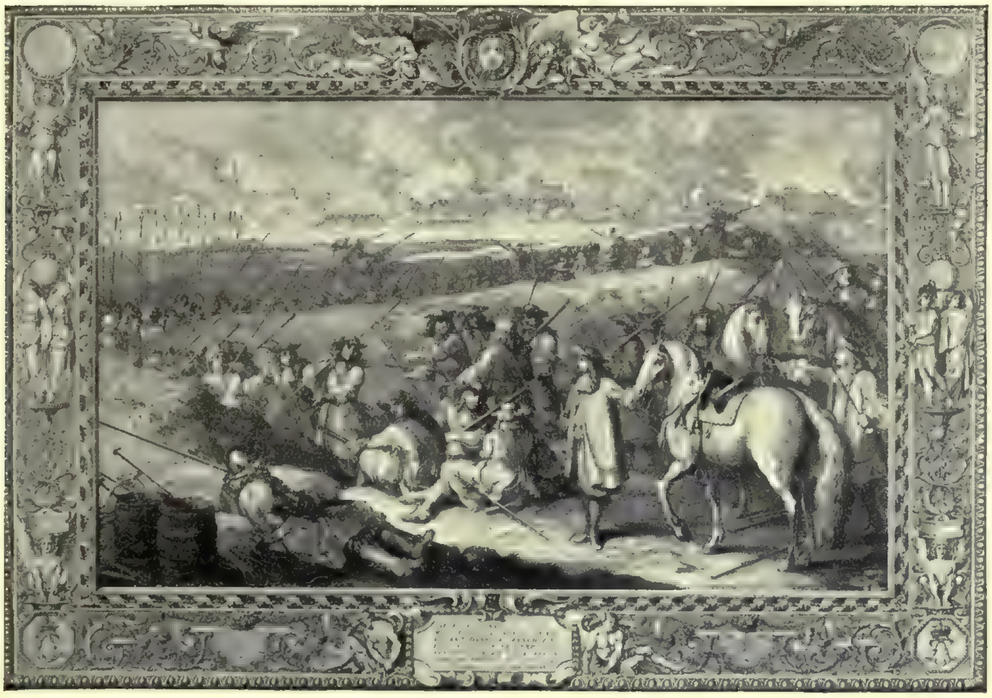


LOUIS XIV., PAINTED BY CHARLES LEBRUN.

(In the Queen's Antechamber.—Musée de Versailles.)

saw several regiments, hardly ever the same for two years, because of the change of quarters and garrisons, could not know them as the colonels did. They were always new to the different corps, and each successor almost always undid what his predecessor had prescribed. Thus the troops no longer knew how they stood."

Saint-Simon is not more indulgent to the reviews organised for Louis XIV. by his Minister of War. He says: "And that superb magnificence of the camp at Compiègne, so ruinous to the numerous troops who composed it, and had to display an opulence hardly credible at the end of a general and costly war of ten years' duration, was a vain demonstration which served only to redouble the jealousy of Europe, and to furnish plausible reasons to those who are envious against France and the King personally."



FRENCH PIKEMEN ATTACKING A FORTRESS.
(From a print by S. Leclerc: *Les Guerres de Louis XIV.*—Siege of Tournay.)

The reason for such evident prejudice against everything that was done by Louvois, and approved by Louis XIV. is easily to be found in the enmity of the duke and peer who interprets the resentment of the nobility towards the "bourgeois" minister by whom they were forced into obedience, regularity, and submission to control. Voltaire had quite opposite motives for applauding this collaboration of the "bourgeoisie" with royalty which was so fertile in results, as we must acknowledge with him. The organisation of the navy also received his approval.

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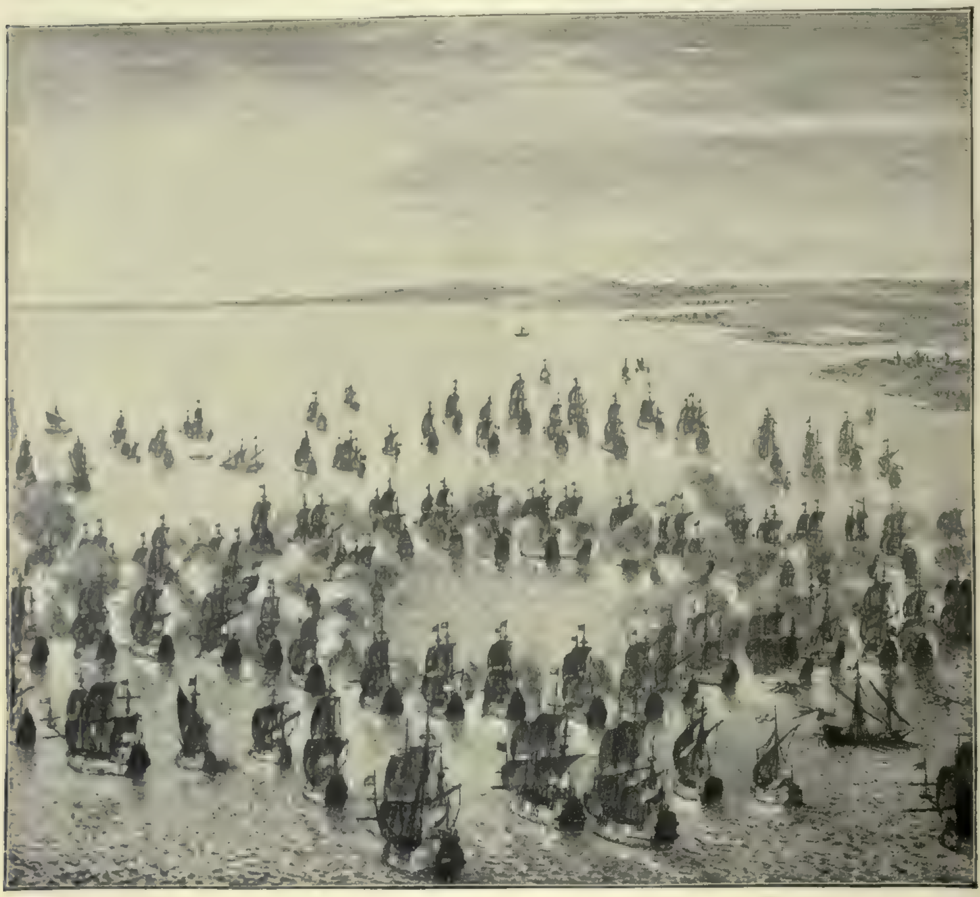


FRENCH FLEET IN BATTLE ARRAY.

(From a print by S. Leclerc: *Les Guerres de Louis XIV.*—Battle of Agouste, 1676.)

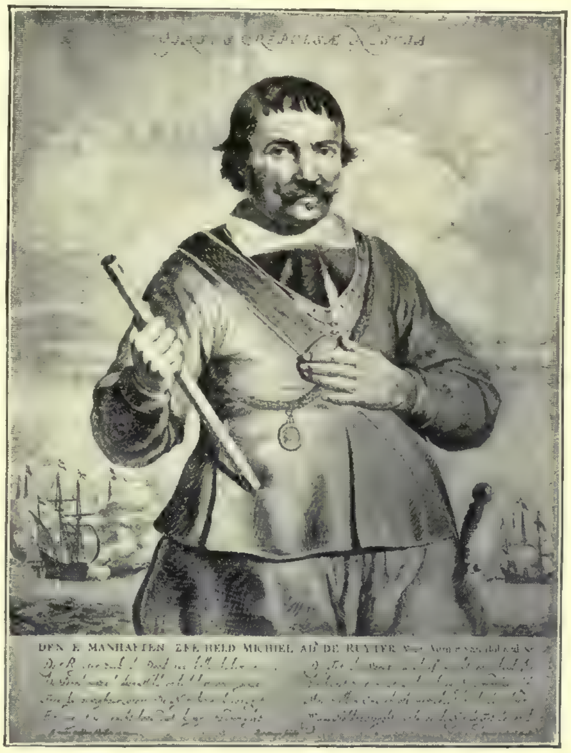
Louis XIV. had given the same attention to the formation of numerous and well-disciplined land-forces, even before he went to war, that he had devoted to acquiring the sovereignty of the sea.

In the first place the few vessels that Cardinal Mazarin had left to rot in the ports were put into repair, and ships were purchased in Holland and Sweden. In the third year of his own government the King sent his naval forces to Gigeri, on the coast of Africa, to try their strength.

From 1665 the Duc de Beaufort had been chasing pirates off the seas, and two years later France had sixty warships in her ports.

This was only a beginning; but while making new regulations and efforts the King was fully conscious of his strength. He would not consent that his ships should lower their flag before that of England. In vain did the council of Charles II. insist upon this right which strength, industry (the carrying trade) and time had given to the English nation. Louis XIV. wrote to the Comte d'Estrades, his ambassador: "The King of England and his Chancellor may see what my strength is, but they do not see my heart. To me, all is nothing compared with honour."

He said only what he was resolved to maintain, and in fact the usurpation of the English gave way to the firmness and natural right of Louis XIV. All was equal between the two nations upon the sea. But while he desired equality with England he would have his superiority with Spain maintained. The flag of the Spanish admirals had always to be lowered before his own in virtue of the precedence settled in 1662.

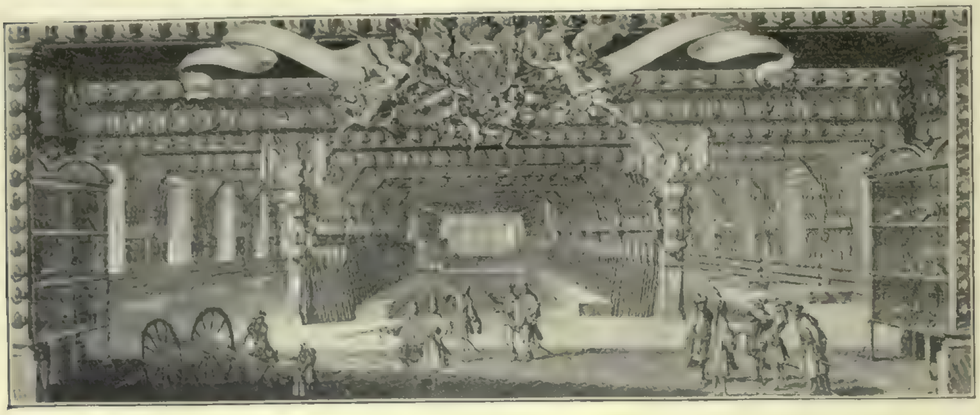

DEN E. MANHAFTEN ZEE HELD MICHIEL AD DE RUYTER

PORTRAIT OF ADMIRAL DE RUYTER.

(By Michel Mousyn, from engraving in National Library.)

Meanwhile the formation of a fleet that should justify these haughty claims was proceeding rapidly. The town and port of Rochefort were built at the mouth of the Charente; sailors were enlisted and engaged to serve both on merchant vessels and in the royal fleet. Within a short period there were nearly sixty thousand registered seamen.

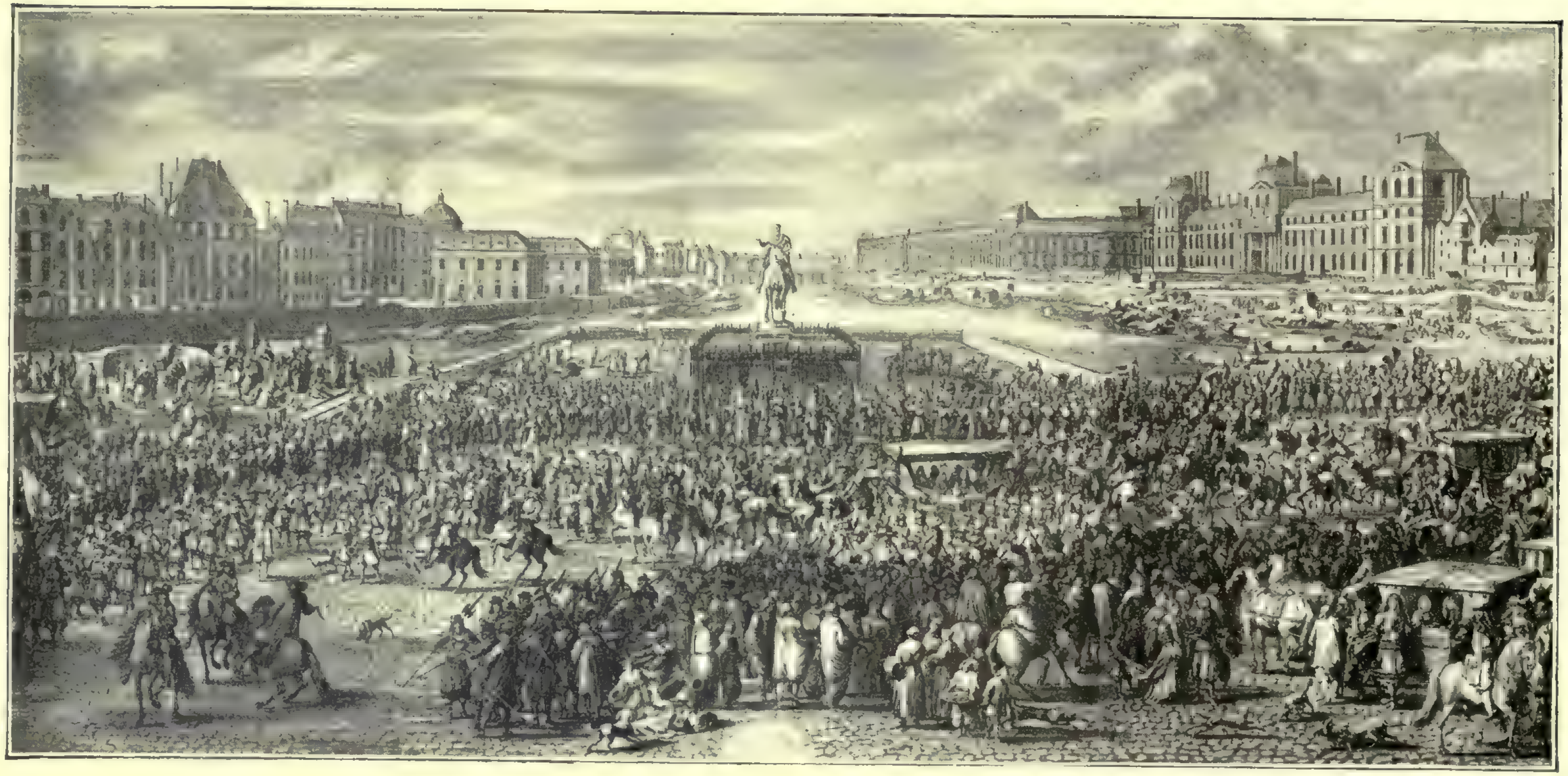
"Councils of construction" were established in the ports to give the new ships the best form. Five naval arsenals were built at Brest, Rochefort, Toulon, Dunkirk, and Havre de Grâce. In the year 1672 the fleet numbered sixty ships of the line and forty frigates. In 1681 there were one hundred and ninety-eight warships, including lighters, and in the harbour of Toulon thirty galleys, either armed or ready for their arms. Eleven thousand regular troops served on the vessels, and three thousand in the galleys. One hundred and sixty-six thousand men were registered for all the various naval services. In succeeding years one thousand gentlemen, or youths of good family, served as soldiers on board the ships, and received instruction at the various ports in navigation and seamanship; these were the midshipmen or naval cadets, corresponding to the cadets on shore. This corps, which had been instituted on a limited scale in 1672, became a school which turned out the best naval officers.



THE PARIS ARSENAL IN 1684.
(From a print by P. P. Sevin.)

There had been as yet no Marshals of France in the navy: the fact is a proof of how much this essential part of the forces of France had been neglected. Jean d'Estrées was the first Marshal in 1681. One of the chief objects of Louis XIV. was to arouse the spirit of emulation without which everything is dull and lifeless.

In all their naval battles the French fleets had been victorious until that of La Hogue, in 1692. On that day the Comte de Tourville, under orders from the Court, attacked a fleet of ninety Dutch and English vessels with forty-four. He was forced to yield to numbers, with a loss of forty first-class ships, which ran aground and were burnt to prevent them from falling into the enemy's hands. In spite of this disaster the naval forces were well kept up, but they declined during the War of Succession, and Cardinal de Fleury neglected them when peace afforded a propitious opportunity for their restoration.



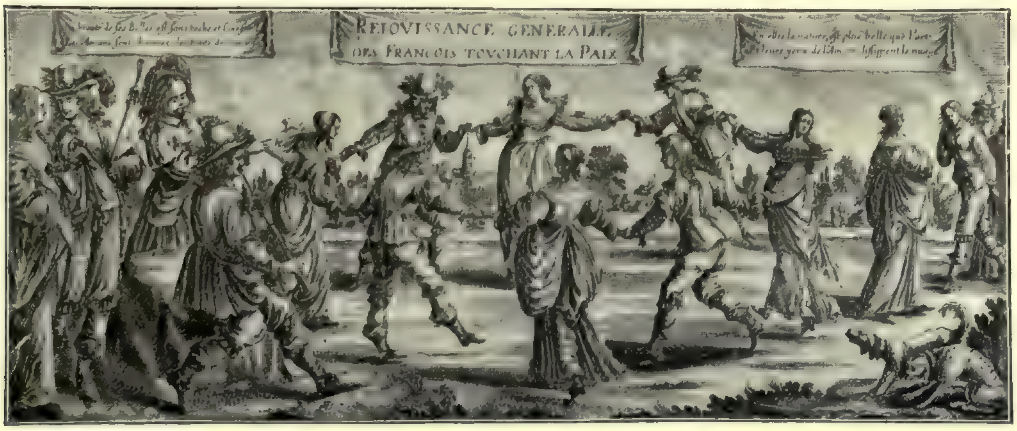
THE KING'S PROCESSION ON THE PONT NEUF: LOUIS XIV. IN THE MIDST OF HIS SUBJECTS IN 1670.

(Print by Hachtenburgh, from Van der Meulen.)

These naval forces protected commerce efficiently. Martinique, Saint-Domingo and Canada, which had been declining, became prosperous to an unhoped-for extent; for those colonies had been a charge upon the kingdom from 1635 to 1665.

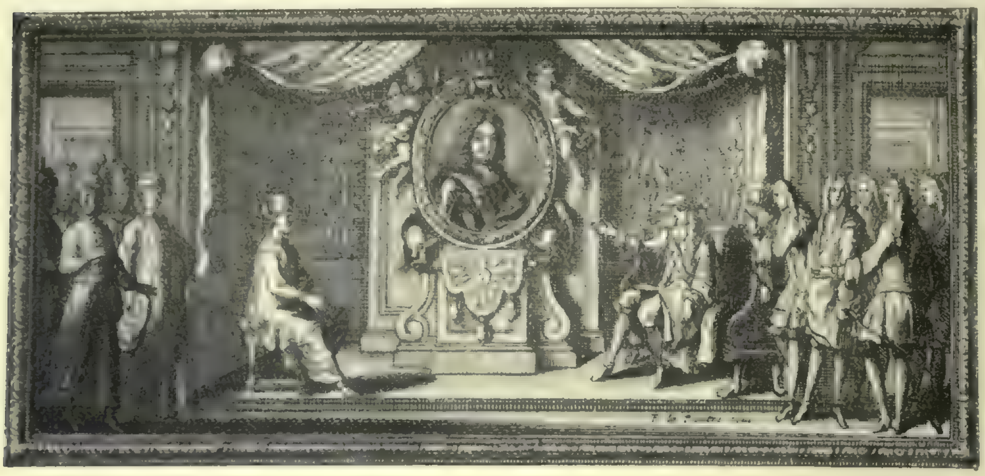
In 1664, the King sent a colony to Cayenne, and shortly afterwards another to Madagascar. He tried every means of repairing the unfortunate error of France in her neglect of the sea, while her neighbours had been forming empires at the ends of the earth.

This brief retrospect will serve to indicate the changes which Louis XIV. effected in the State; useful changes, for they are abiding. His ministers seconded him ably. No doubt all the detail, all the execution was their doing, but the general arrangement was the King's own. We may be sure the magistrates would not have reformed laws, order would not have been restored to finance, discipline would not have been introduced into the army, or police established throughout the kingdom; there would have been no fleets, the arts would not have been encouraged, and all in concert and simultaneously, had not a master been there who entertained these great purposes with a firm resolution to realise them.


REIOVISSANCE GENERALLE
DES FRANCOIS TOVCHANT LA PAIX

FRANCE REJOICING AT THE RESTORATION OF PEACE.
(From a contemporary Almanac.)

Louis XIV. did not separate his own glory from the interests of France, or regard his kingdom as a seigneur regards his land, with a view to getting all he can out of it, so that he may live for pleasure only. Every king who loves glory loves also the public welfare. Colbert and Louvois were no longer with him when, about 1698, he directed that each intendant should furnish a detailed description of his province for the instruction of the Duc de Bourgogne. By this means an exact account of the kingdom and a true estimate of the population were to be obtained. The measure was very useful, although all the intendants had not the capacity and exactitude of M. de Lamoignon, of Bâville. Had the king's instructions been carried out in every province as they were by that magistrate at his census-taking in Languedoc, the collected records would have been one of the finest monuments of the century. Some of the documents were ably drawn up, but the intendants did not work on a uniform plan. It would have been well had the reports been made in columns, stating the number of inhabitants at each place of record—nobles, citizens, farmers, artizans, labourers and women-servants, also giving a list of all the clergy, regular and secular, with their revenues, and those of the towns and communities. To these details an enumeration of cattle of all kinds, and of good and inferior lands, should have been added.

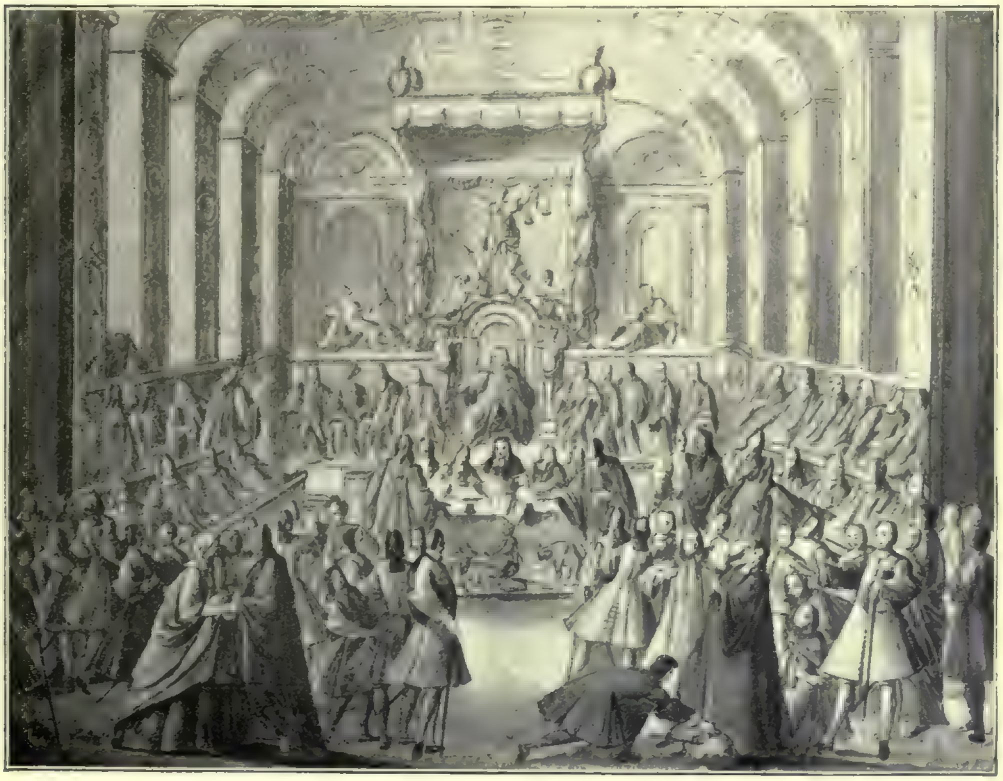


"MY MASTER SEES EVERYTHING."

(Words addressed by Lionne to a foreign ambassador, 1669. Engraving by Lepautre.)

These details are jumbled together in most of the Reports, treated slightly and without exactness; information is to be got at only by a troublesome search, instead of being ready to the Minister's hand, so that at a glance he might learn the condition of everything within his department. The project was excellent, and a uniform execution would have secured its utility.

This is then the sum of what Louis XIV. did, and attempted, to make his country more prosperous. It seems to me that we cannot contemplate all these deeds and all these efforts without some gratitude, and without sharing that care for the commonweal which inspired them. Let us picture to ourselves what the kingdom was in the time of the Fronde, and what that kingdom is now. Louis XIV. did more good to his country than twenty of his predecessors put together; and he was far from doing what he might have done. The war that was ended by the peace of Ryswick began the ruin of the great commerce that had been established by Colbert, and the War of Succession completed it.



LAW: FROM A SATIRICAL PRINT.
(Cabinet of Prints.—Bibliothèque Nationale.)

If he had expended on the adornment of Paris, on the completion of the Louvre, the immense sums that were lavished on the Maintenon aqueducts and works—works that were interrupted and are now useless to convey water to Versailles—if he had allotted to Paris itself a fifth part of the sum it cost to force nature at Versailles, Paris would have been as beautiful through all its extent as it is around the Tuileries and the Pont Royal, and would have become the most magnificent city in the world.

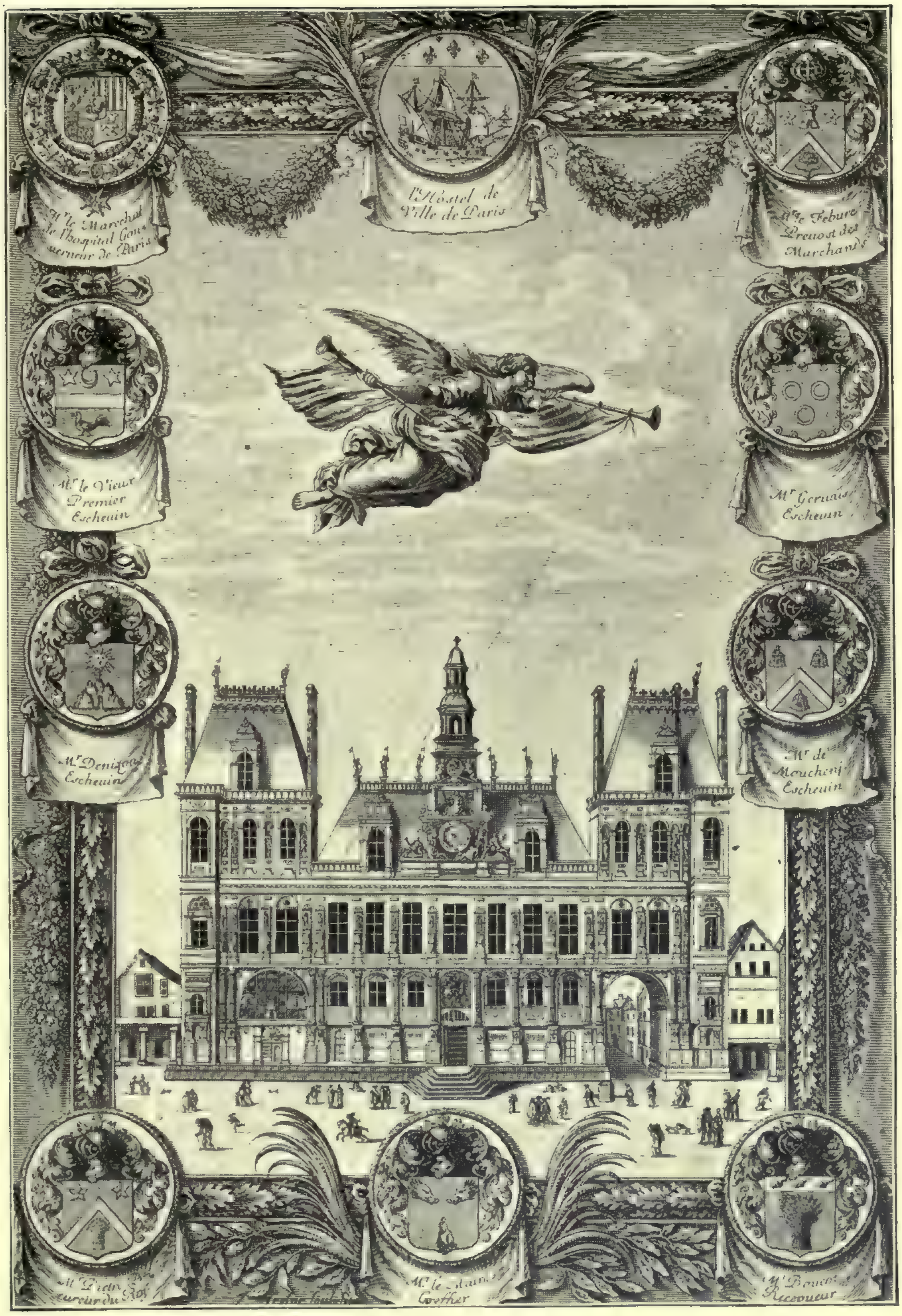
It is a great thing to have reformed the laws, but justice has been unable to put down roguery. It was sought to make jurisprudence uniform, and so it is in criminal and commercial matters, and in procedure; it might be so in the laws that rule the fortunes of citizens. It is a disadvantage that the same tribunal should have to pass judgment on more than a hundred different customs. Land taxes, either doubtful, onerous or injurious to society, still subsist as remnants of the feudal system which no longer exists; these taxes are the rubbish of a Gothic ruin.

Not that the different orders of the State ought to be subject to the same law. It is understood that the customs of the nobility, the clergy, the magistrates and the husbandmen must be different; but it is unquestionably desirable that the law for each order should be uniform throughout the kingdom; so that justice and equity in Champagne shall not be unjust and inequitable in Normandy. Uniformity in every branch of the administration is a virtue, but the difficulties of that great work have produced discouragement.

The expedient of revenue-farming, which the anticipation of his resources induced the king to adopt, will be more appropriately treated in the chapter on Finance.

If he had not believed that an act of his will was sufficient to make a million of men change their religion, France would not have lost so many citizens. Yet notwithstanding its troubles and losses, France is still one of the most flourishing countries in the world, because all the good that Louis XIV. accomplished remains, and the evil, which it was difficult not to do in stormy times, has been repaired. Posterity, which judges kings, who ought to have its judgment always before their eyes, will acknowledge, in taking account of the virtues and the weaknesses of Louis XIV., that, although he was over-praised during his life, he really deserved to be praised for ever, and that he was worthy of the statue erected to his memory at Montpellier, with a Latin inscription to the effect that it was raised to "Louis the Great, after his death." Don Ustariz, a statesman who wrote upon the trade and finances of Spain, calls him "a prodigious man."

All these changes in the government and in the separate orders of the State necessarily produced a very great change in morals and manners. The spirit of faction, wrath and rebellion that had possessed the citizens since the time of François II. turned to emulation in the service of their Prince. The possessors of great estates being no longer shut up in them,

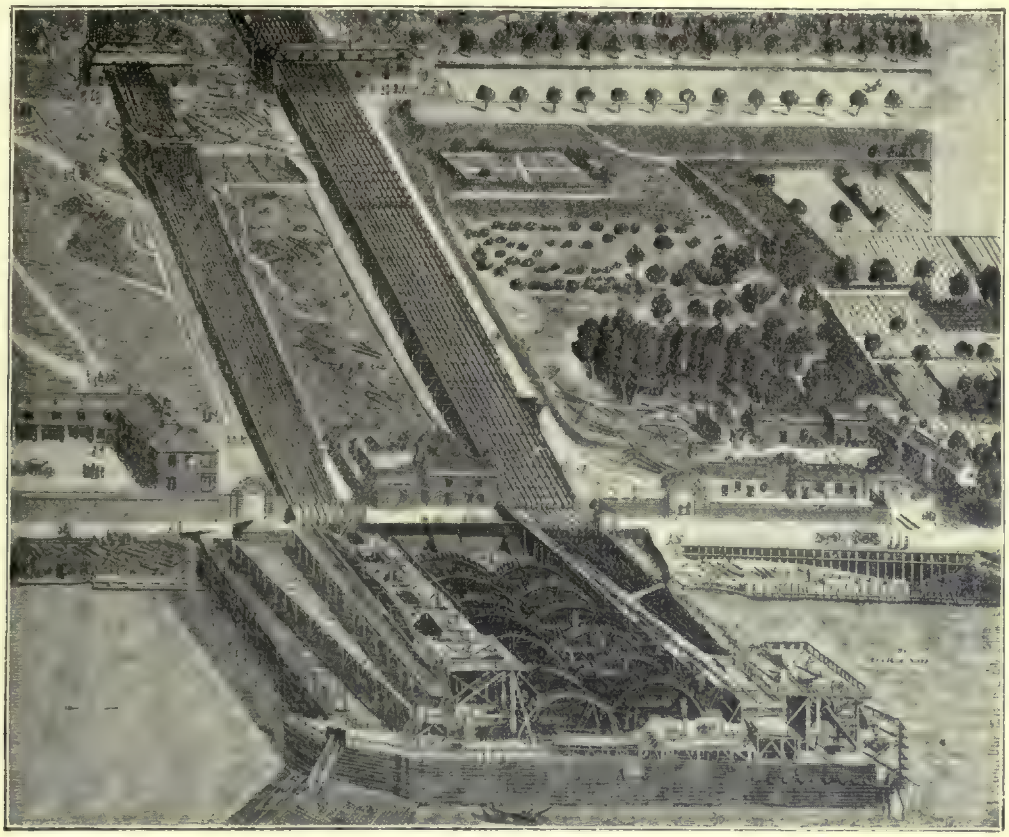

M. le Marechal de l'hospital Gouuerneur de Paris
l'Hostel de Ville de Paris
M. le Febure Preuost des Marchands
M. le Vieux Premier Escheuin
M. Geruais Escheuin
M. Denizon Escheuin
M. de Mouchenj Escheuin
M. le ... Greffier
M. Boucot Receueur

THE HÔTEL DE VILLE, PARIS, IN 1687.

(Engraving executed by Frosne, as a commission from the City Corps, to perpetuate the remembrance of the visit of Louis XIV. to the capital after his illness.)

and the governors of provinces no longer having important posts to give away, the only favour to be sought was that of the sovereign, and the State became a complete whole, with every line converging to the one centre.

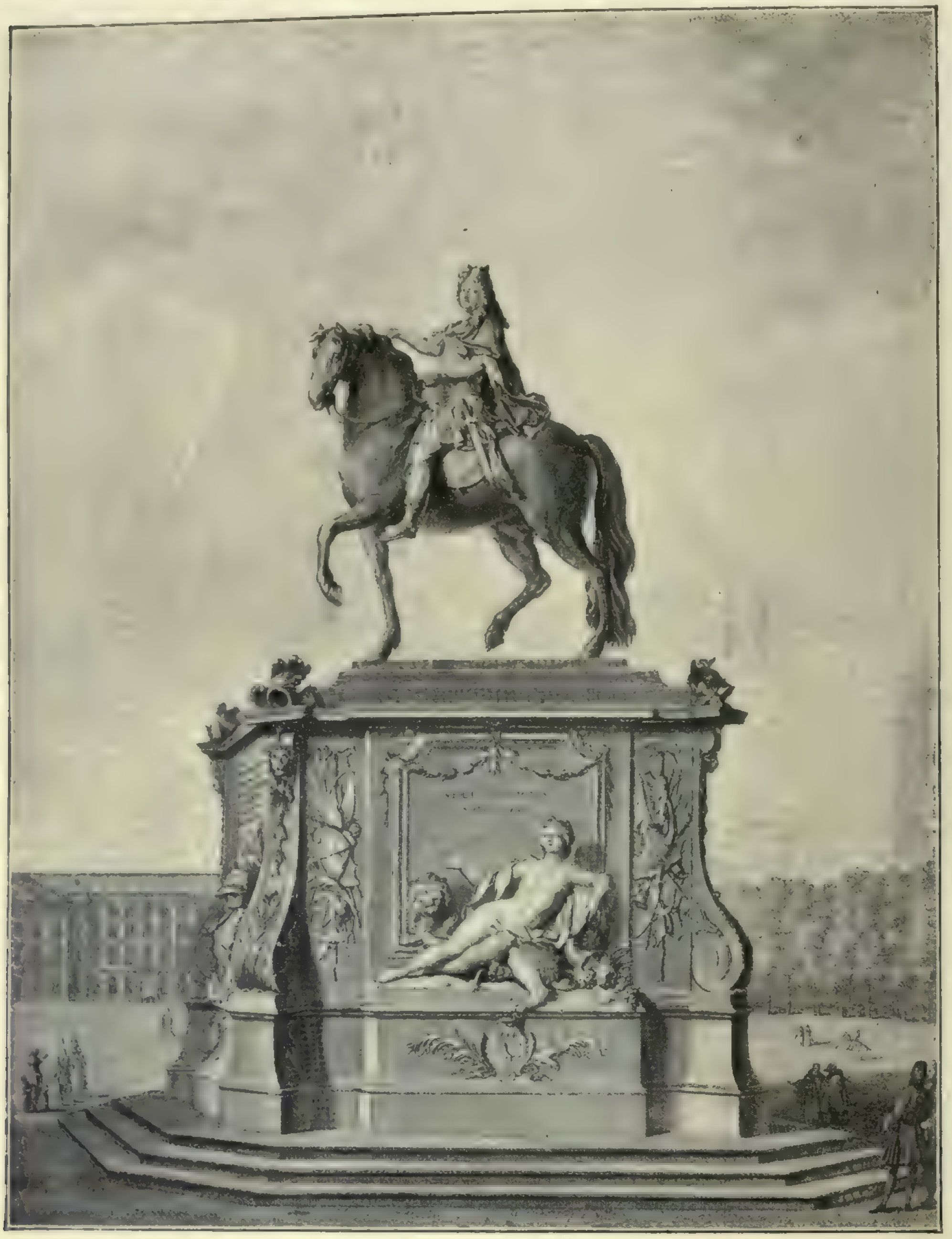
Thus was the Court delivered from those factions and conspiracies which had distracted the State for so many years. Under the administration of Louis XIV. there was but one plot, a conspiracy planned in 1674 by M. de La Truaumont, a Norman gentleman, who had been ruined by debt and debauchery, aided by the Chevalier de Rohan, Grand Veneur of France, a person of much courage but little prudence. The haughtiness and severity of the Marquis de Louvois had so irritated the Chevalier de Rohan that on coming from an interview with him to the house of M. de Caumartin, he threw himself on a couch and exclaimed excitedly: "Either this — Louvois dies or I!" Caumartin took this



BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF MARLY.

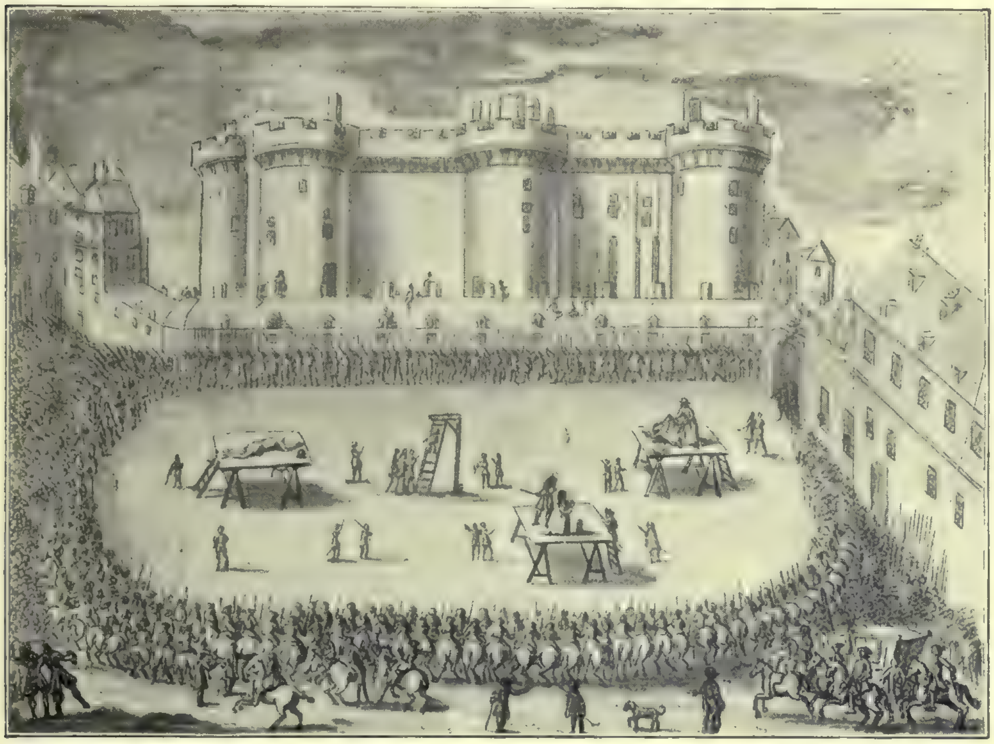
(From an engraving of the time, published by Baillieul.)

merely for a passing expression of anger, but the young man having asked him on the following day whether he believed the people of Normandy to be attached to the Government, Caumartin at once suspected dangerous designs. "The time of the Fronde is past," he said. "Believe



STATUE OF LOUIS XIV. AT LYONS, BY DESJARDINS.
(Bas-reliefs of the Rhône and the Saône, by Coustou. The statue was by Desjardins. Restoration from a print by Audran.)

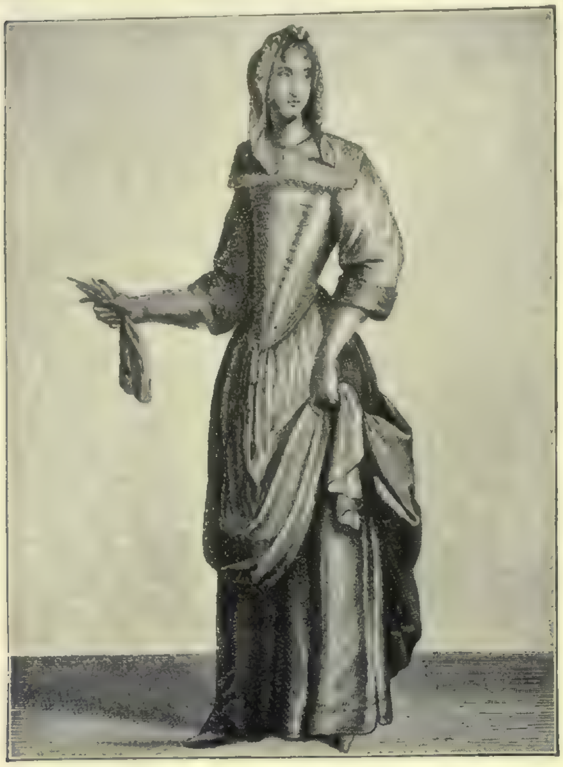
me, you are going to destruction, and no one will regret you." The Chevalier de Rohan, however, did not believe him, but entered into the conspiracy with La Truaumont. The only other person in the plot was the Chevalier de Préaux, a nephew of La Truaumont, who was persuaded by his uncle, and in his turn persuaded his mistress, the Marquise de Villiers. Their aim and hope did not and could not reach to making themselves a party in the State; they intended only to sell and surrender Quillebuf to the Dutch, and so to introduce the foe into Normandy. This was rather a cowardly and clumsily-contrived act of treason than a conspiracy. The execution of all the guilty persons was the sole result of this mad and useless crime which is hardly remembered now.



THE EXECUTION OF THE CHEVALIER DE ROHAN.
(From a drawing in the Cabinet of Prints.)

A few attempts at sedition in the provinces were made, but they were trifling popular tumults, easily suppressed. Even the Huguenots kept themselves quiet, until the time when their places of worship were destroyed. In fact the King succeeded in turning a previously turbulent nation into a peaceable people, dangerous to their enemies only, after having been for more than a century dangerous to themselves. Their manners (*mœurs*) were "gentled" without injury to their courage.

The houses which all the "seigneurs" built or bought in Paris, and wherein they lived staidly with their wives, provided a school of politeness for the young men of the time, and by degrees weaned them from the tavern life still customary, and which led to nothing but debauchery. Manners and customs are so much influenced by small things, that the habit of going to Paris on horseback kept up a disposition to constant quarrels: these ceased when the custom was abolished. Propriety of demeanour and conversation, chiefly due to the women who brought "society" together at their houses, rendered general intercourse more agreeable, and reading brightened and solidified men's minds in process of time. The treachery and crime on a large scale which are not accounted dishonour in times of faction and disorder were thenceforth hardly known. The horrors of the Brinvilliers and the Voisins were but passing storms in a serene sky; and it would be as unreasonable to condemn a nation for the flagrant crimes of certain individuals as to canonise it for the reform of La Trappe.



A PROVINCIAL LADY'S COSTUME IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(Young lady's portrait by Rethel. From a print by Saint-Jean.)

All the different states of life were formerly to be recognised by their characteristic faults. Soldiers, and young men destined to the profession of arms, were impulsive and hot-headed; the profession of the law carried grim gravity with it, aided not a little by the lawyer's gown being always worn, even at Court. It was the same with the Universities and in the medical profession. Merchants still wore the short gown at their meetings, and wore their short-cut clothes when they went to the

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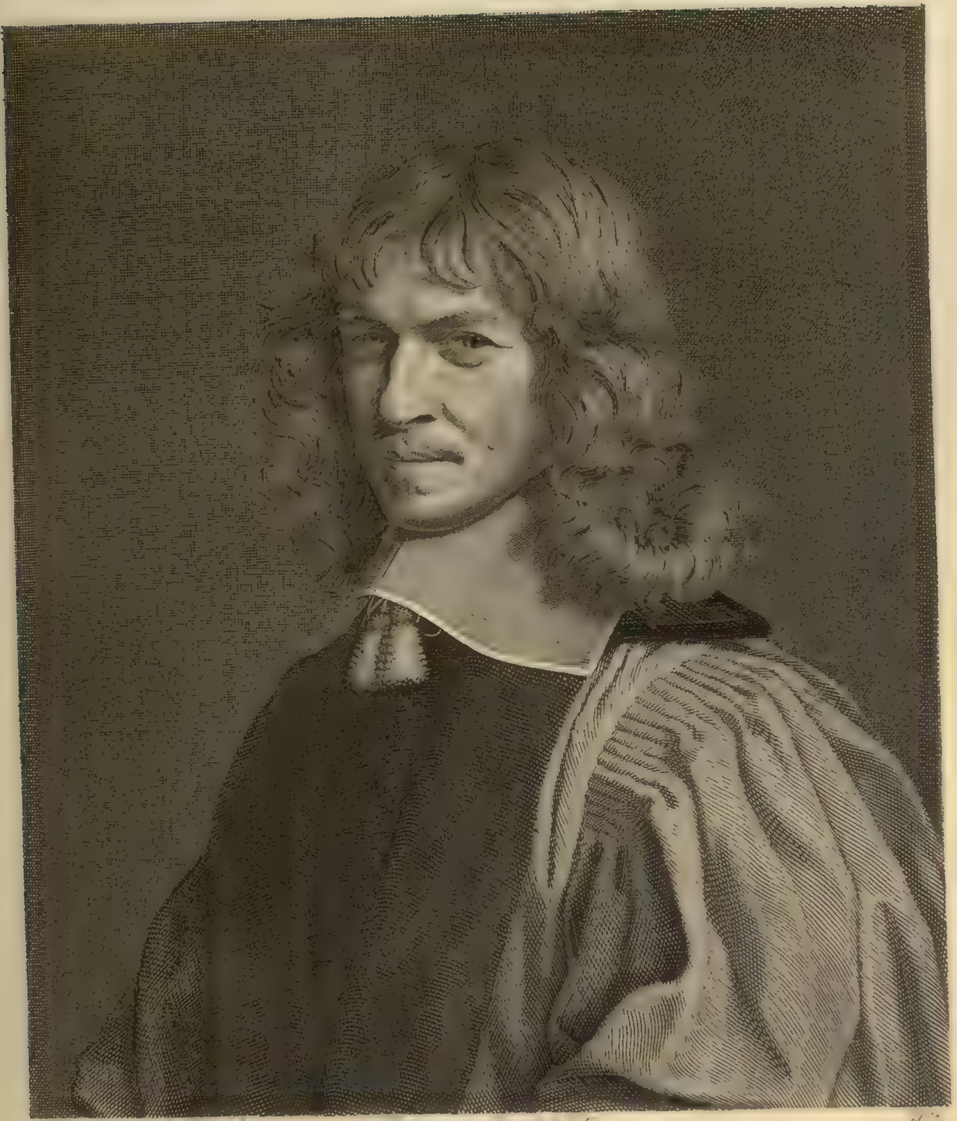
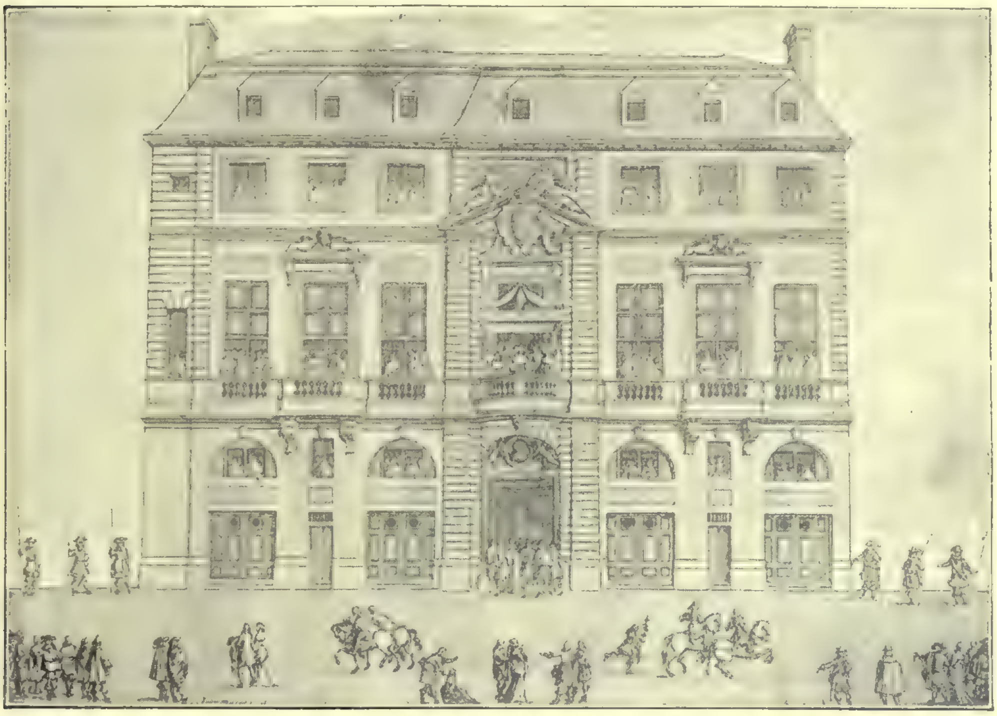


Denis Talon, Président à Mortier
d'après Nanteuil

Ministers on commercial affairs, and even the leading merchants were very plain men; but the houses, the theatres, the promenades, which brought people together to enjoy a more refined life gradually assimilated the general appearance of the people. Now, even in the shopkeeper class we see politeness prevail. The provinces were affected in time by these changes.

Good taste and convenience are now considered rather than show.

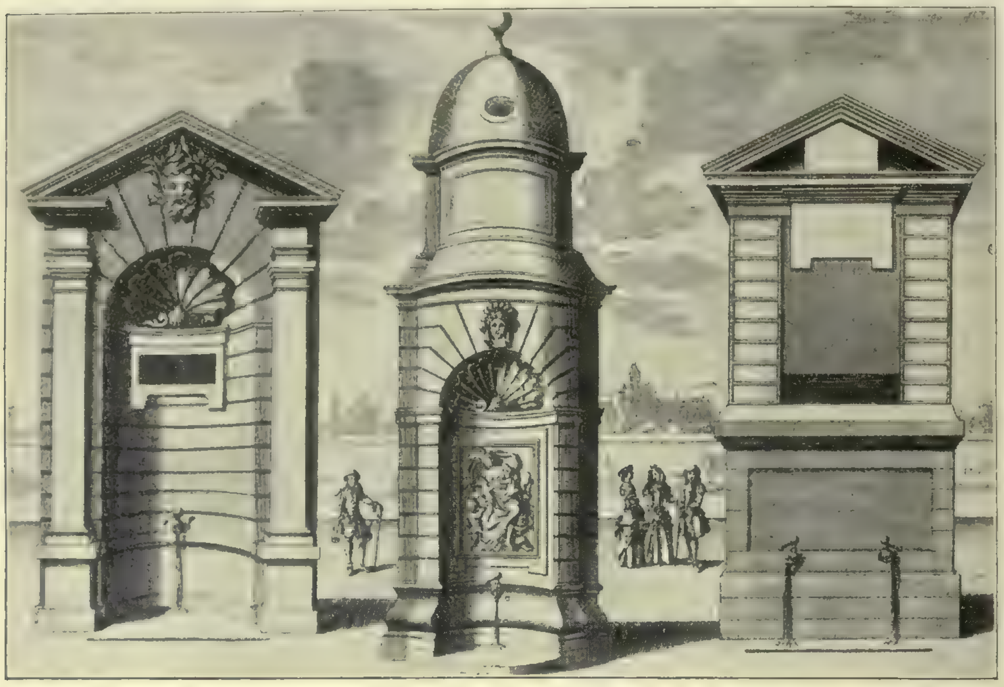


THE HÔTEL OF MADAME DE BEAUVAIS, RUE SAINT-ANTOINE, PARIS.
(From a print by Marot.)

The crowd of pages and liveried servants has disappeared, to be replaced by greater comfort. Pomp and vain display are left to the nations who still exist for public show only, and know not the art of living.

The extreme facility introduced into social intercourse, its simplicity, affability and intellectual culture, have made Paris a city that probably excels either Rome or Athens in the time of their splendour in pleasantness of living.

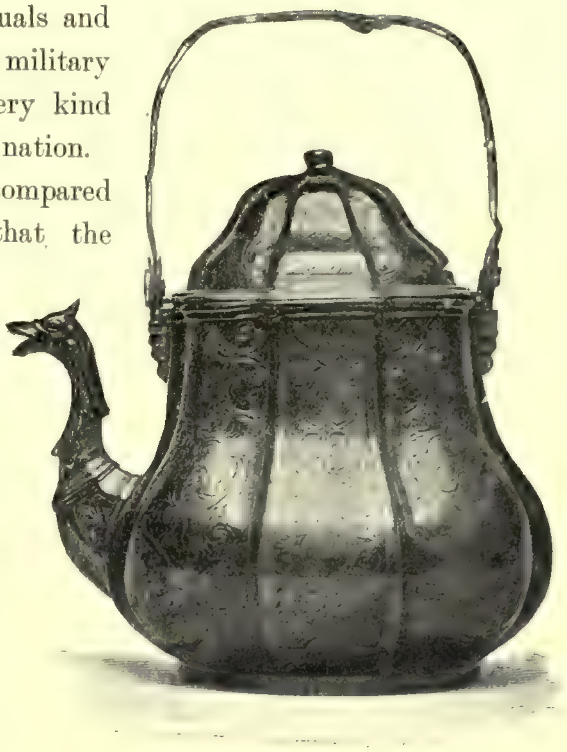
The ready support and encouragement afforded to all the arts and sciences; the opportunities for the gratification of every taste and requirement; utility combined with all that is pleasing, and added to these the kindliness of the Parisians, attract numbers of foreigners, not only to visit, but to make their abode in that native land of society. Those Parisians who leave Paris are persons called elsewhere by their talents, and who do honour abroad to their country, or, on the other hand, they are worthless individuals who want to profit by the consideration in which other countries hold France, or else they are emigrants who prefer their faith to their fatherland, and seek fortune or poverty on alien soil, after the example of their fathers, who were driven out of France by that flagrant affront to the memory of our great monarch Henri IV., the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Lastly, they are persons discontented with the ministry, or accused persons who have escaped from the awards of justice not invariably well-administered: the latter is the case in every country in the world.



THE FOUNTAINS OF THE PORTE SAINT-DENIS, DE LA CHARITÉ, AND DES SAINT-PÈRES IN PARIS.
(Print by Mariette, 1672.)

There are now no small tyrants at Court, as in the time of the Fronde, and under Louis XIII., and in the preceding centuries, but that numerous aristocracy, which was degraded for so long by serving subjects who were too powerful, is now really great. Gentlemen and citizens who would formerly have thought themselves honoured by being servants to those "seigneurs," become their equals and very often their superiors, in the military service; and the more service of every kind prevails over titles the better for the nation.

The age of Louis XIV. has been compared with the age of Augustus. Not that the power and the personal importance of the former are to be compared with those of the latter, for Rome and Augustus were of ten times more account in the world than Paris and Louis XIV.; but Athens led the Roman Empire in everything else. We must also remember that although there is nothing now like ancient Rome and Augustus, yet as a whole, Europe is far superior to the entire Roman Empire. In the time of Augustus there was only one nation; now there are several nations, all civilised, policed, warlike, enlightened, and possessed of arts unknown to the Greeks and the Romans; but not one of them has achieved higher distinction of every kind than the nation formed, so to speak, by Louis XIV.



TEAPOT OF RED COPPER.
(From the Collection of M. Edmond Guérin.)

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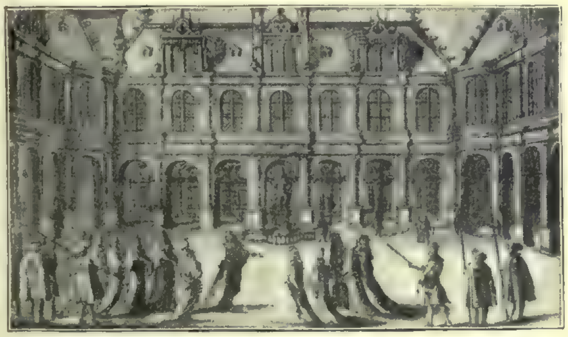
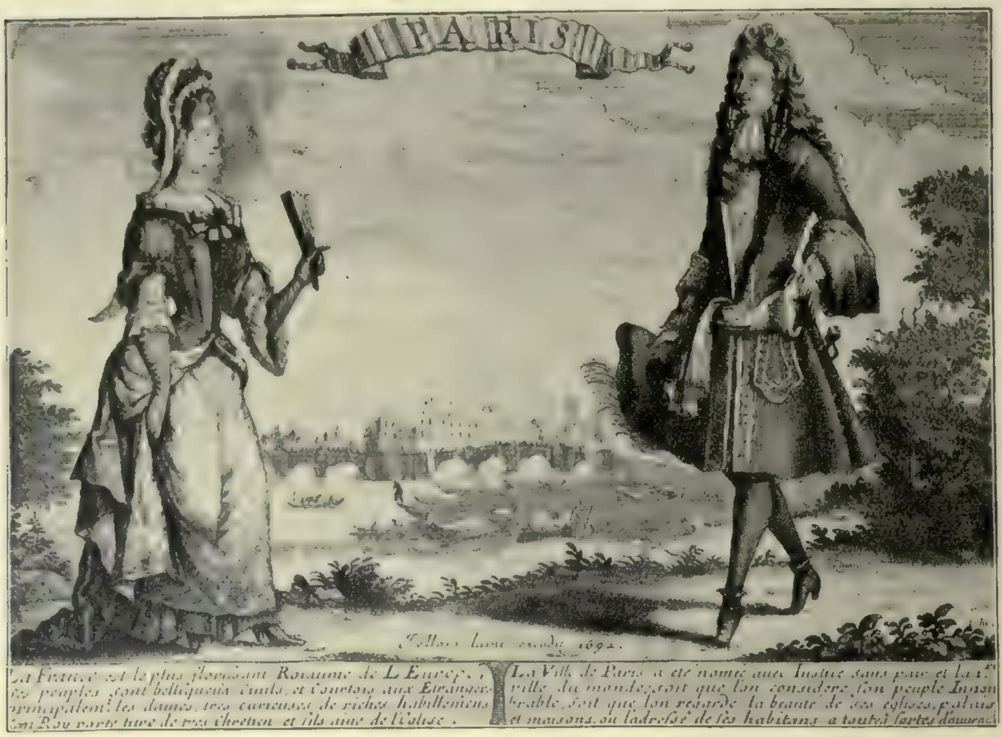
This glowing picture of Paris and the Parisian bourgeoisie, which is the most faithful portrayal of the manners of the seventeenth century, recalls the satire of La Bruyère. He writes :—



THE INNER COURT OF THE HÔTEL DE VILLE OF PARIS, WITH THE STATUE OF LOUIS XIV. WHICH WAS ERECTED THERE IN 1687.

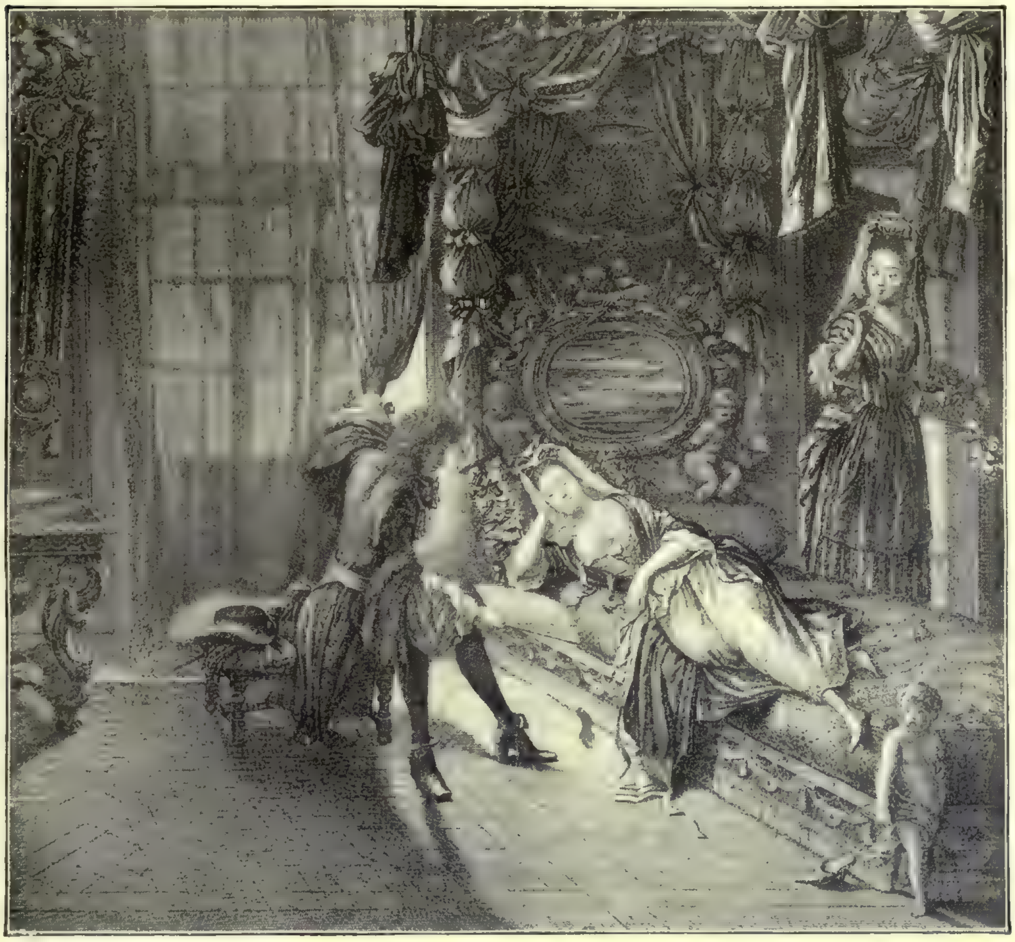
"The Roman Emperors never 'triumphed' in Rome as the citizens of Paris do when they are carried about from place to place in the town in defiance of wind, rain, dust, and the sun. How different from their forefathers' journeys on mules! They did not deprive themselves of the necessary to obtain the superfluous, or prefer show to utility. They did not only half light their houses and warm themselves by a handful of fire. Wax was for the altar and for the palace. They did not rise from a bad dinner to get into a fine carriage; they held that men had legs to walk with, and they walked. They kept themselves clean enough when it was dry, and when it was wet they soiled their shoes in the streets and the crossings with as little concern as a sportsman would cross a ploughed field, or a soldier get wet in a trench.


PARIS
Jollain excudit 1692.
La France est le plus florissant Royaume de L Europe,
ses peuples sont belliqueux civils, et Courtois aux Estrangers
principalement les dames, tres curieuses de riches habillemens
Son Roy porte tiltre de tres Chretien et fils aine de l'Eglise.
La Ville de Paris a ete nomme auec Iustice sans pair et la 1.re
ville du monde; soit que l'on considere son peuple Innom
brable, soit que l'on regarde la beaute de ses eglises, palais
et maisons, ou l'adresse de ses habitans a toutes sortes d'ouvrages

THE GLORY OF PARIS AND THE SPLENDOUR OF ITS BOURGEOIS IN THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

(Print by Jollain, 1692.)

"The harnessing of two men to a litter had not been invented, and ordinary magistrates went on foot to their Courts as readily and simply as Augustus went on foot to the Capitol. In those days pewter shone upon the tables and the side-boards; iron and copper furnished the household utensils; silver and gold were kept in the coffers. Women were waited upon by women, and the latter were even employed in the kitchen. The fine names of 'governor' and 'governess' were not unknown to our forefathers: they knew that the children of kings and princes were confided to such persons, but they helped the servants who attended upon their children, whose education they superintended. They reckoned with themselves in all things; their expenses were regulated by their receipts; the number of their servants, their equipages, their furniture, their table, their town and country houses were all on the scale of their fortune and condition: yet certain distinctions were observed which prevented the wife of a lawyer in a small way from being taken for the wife of a magistrate, and a plebeian or valet for a gentleman. Not caring either to swell or to squander their patrimony, they left it entire to their heirs, and so closed a life of moderation in peace. They did not say: 'The times are hard; poverty is great; money is scarce.' They had less money than we have, but they had enough, for there is more wealth

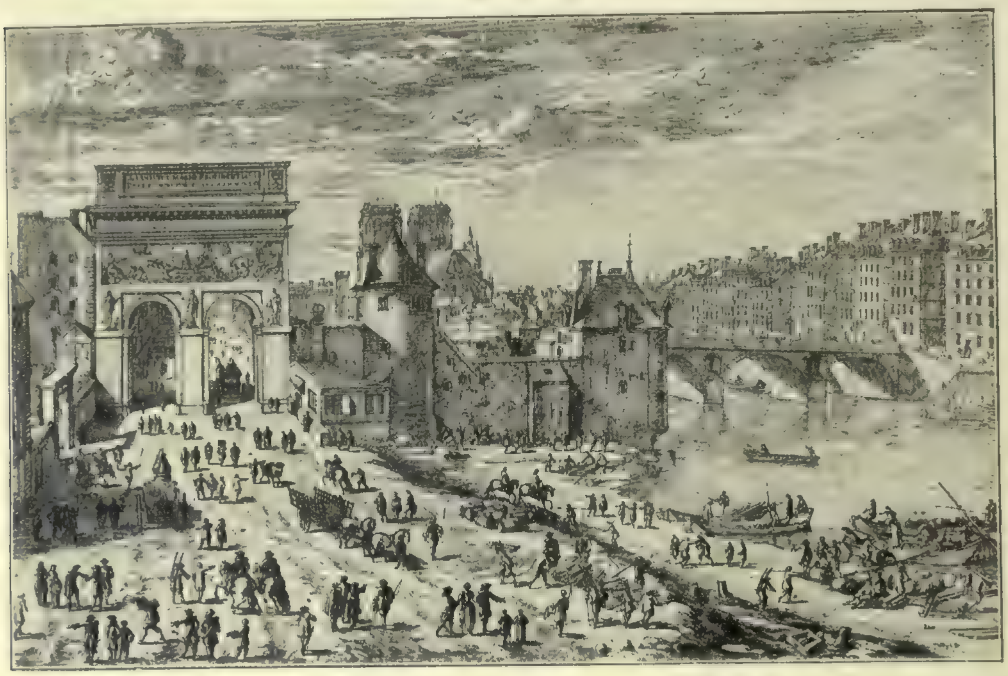


LUXURIOUS LIFE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(A lady reclining on a tent-bedstead. From a print by Saint-Jean.)

in moderation and economy than in gold and lands. In short, the maxim that splendour, luxury and magnificence is waste and folly in the case of private individuals, was in those days held to be a great truth."

La Bruyère criticises the occupations and the lavish living of the Parisians of both sexes impartially. He does not, like Voltaire, unreservedly admire their fashionable promenades and their conversation. The reservations of such an observer are valuable, and the instances he offers in support of his satire are precious items in a history of the manners of the century.



THE PORTE SAINT-BERNARD, OPPOSITE THE ÎLE DE SAINT-LOUIS.
(From a print by V. Pérelle.)

*Of the Town*: "In Paris every evening people give each other rendezvous, without an interchange of speech, at Court or at the Tuileries, for the purpose of mutual inspection and disapproval.

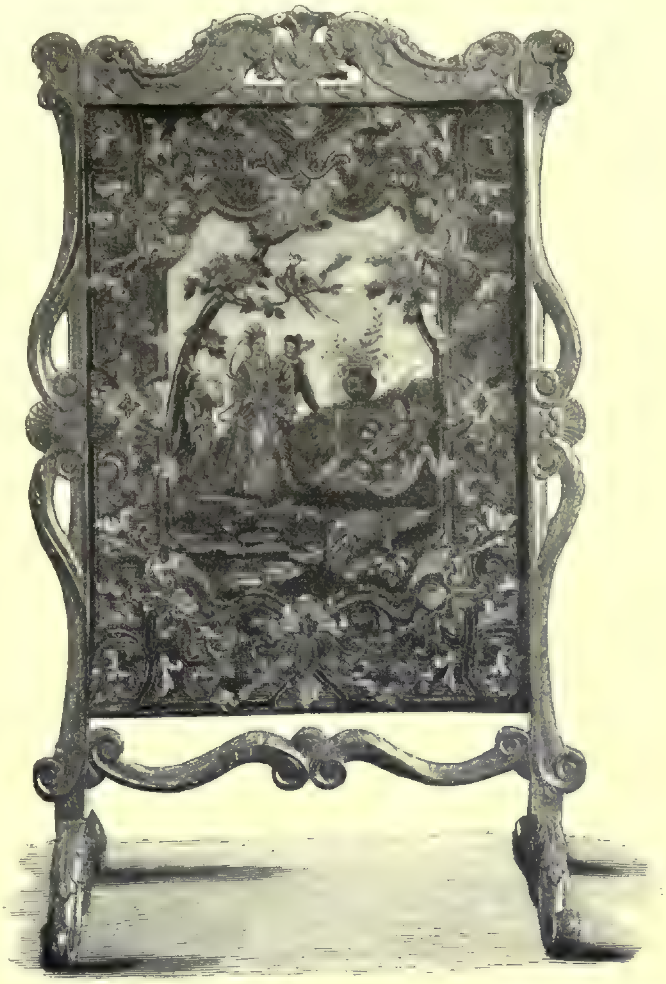
"The Parisians cannot do without the same 'set,' whom they do not like, and whom they ridicule.

"Everybody waits for everybody else on the public promenades, and each passes in review before the other. Nothing escapes; carriages, horses, liveries, coats-of-arms are observed; the occupants are generally respected or disdained with curiosity or with malignity, as the case may be, and in proportion to the grandeur or the modesty of their equipage.

"In these places of general resort where women assemble to show their fine clothes, and excite reciprocal envy, one does not walk about with a companion for the sake of enjoying conversation, or to talk about the play; the object is to show off to the public, and to harden oneself to criticism. In fact, at these places each talks to himself, and says nothing; the talk is all for the passers-by; it is to produce an effect on them that one raises one's voice, jokes, gesticulates, and negligently hangs one's head.

In his portrait of the idler, La Bruyère describes a whole series of sights and diversions in Paris:

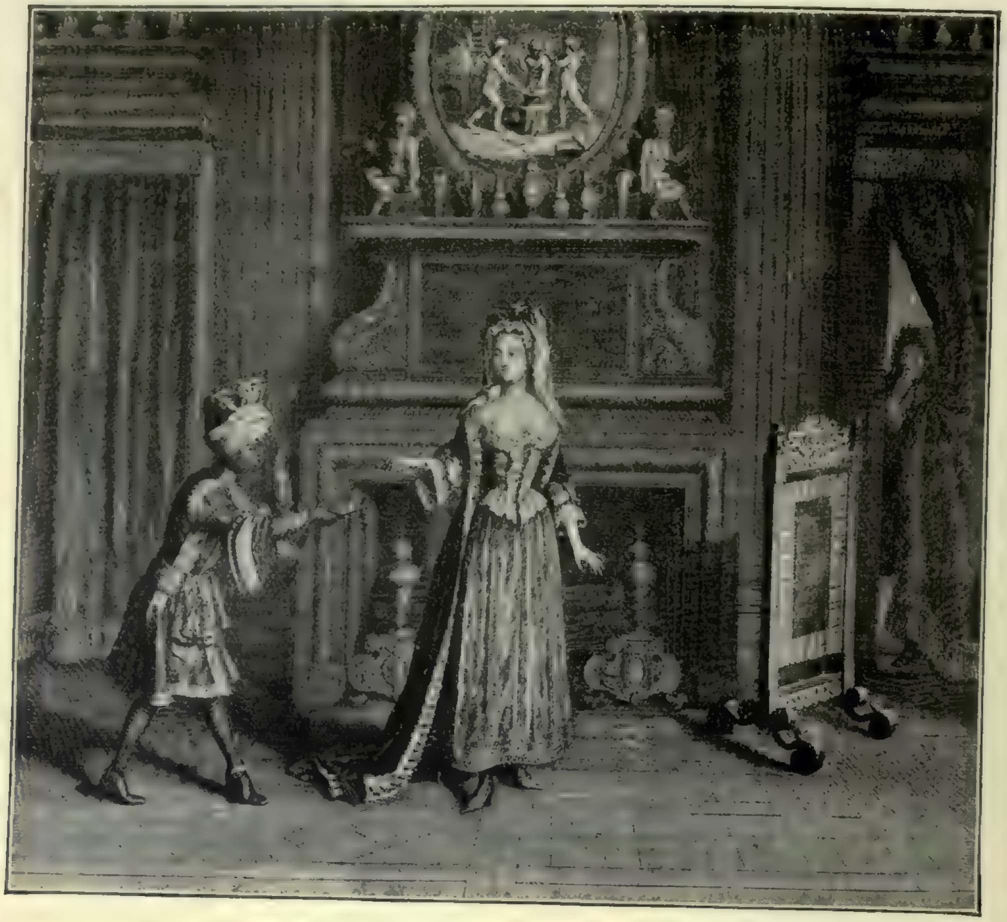
"Here, you say, is a man that I have seen somewhere; I cannot remember where, but his face is quite familiar to me. It is familiar to many others, and I am going, if I can, to assist your memory. Was it on the boulevard? or was it in the Avenue of the Tuileries? or perhaps it was in the balcony at the play? Was it at a sermon, at a ball, at Rambouillet? Where may you not have seen him? Where is he not to be seen? If an execution or a display of fireworks is about to take place in the great square (Place de la Grève), he appears at a window of the Hôtel de Ville; if there is a state entry, he will have a place on a stand; if it is a tilting match, he is in the amphitheatre. If the King receives the ambassadors, he witnesses their arrival; he is present at the audience; he is in the front of the line on their return. It is his face that we see in the almanacs representing the people. There is a public hunt, and there is he on horseback; there



TAPESTRY SCREEN—SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(Mobilier National.—Fontainebleau.)

is talk of a camp or a review; he is at Ouilles or Achères. He looks on: he has grown old in sight-seeing; he is a looker-on by profession. He does nothing that a man ought to do; he knows nothing that he ought to know, but he has seen, he says, all that can be seen, and he will die without regret. What a loss then for the whole city! Now he is gone who will there be to say: 'The cours is closed, no one is driving there to-day; the bog at Vincennes is dried up, no one will be upset there now.' Who will give us notice of a concert, or a fine Salut (Benediction service), or a conjurer's show at the fair? Who will inform you that Beaumavielle died yesterday? that Rochois has a cold and will be unable to sing for a week? Who else will know a bourgeois by his livery and his arms? Will there be anyone to say, 'Scapin wears fleurs de lys,' or anyone to care? Who will pronounce the name of a fair



LUXURY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: A LADY OF QUALITY IN DÉSHABILLÉ.
(From a print by Saint-Jean.)

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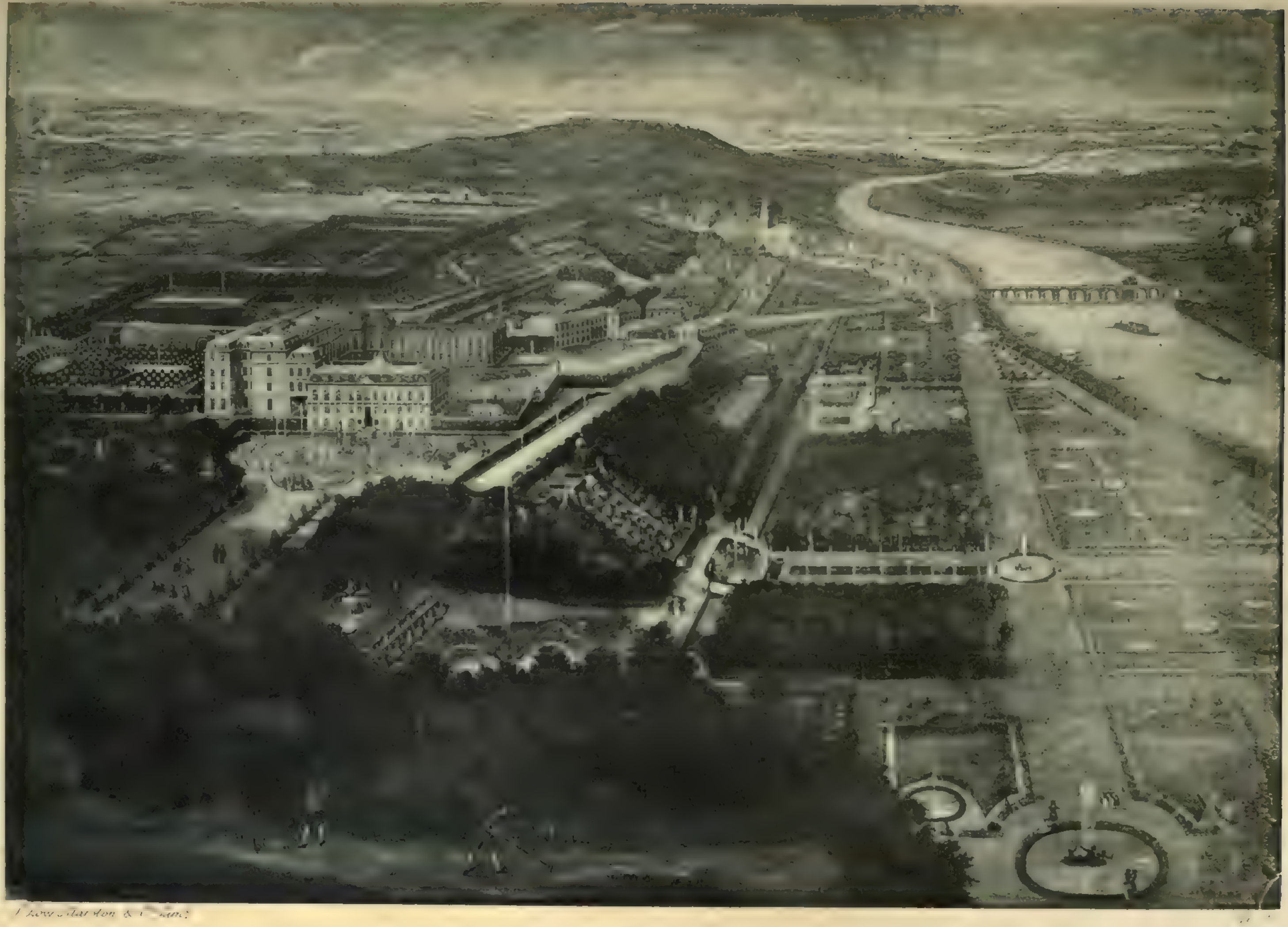

[illegible] & Cie Paris

Vue de St. Cloud vers 1700.

d'après Etienne Allegrain (Musée de Versailles)

Printed in France

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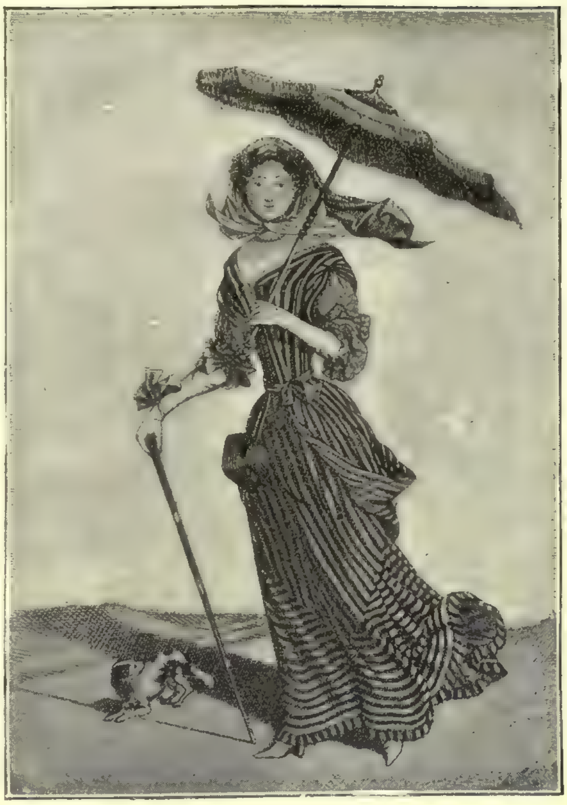
bourgeoise with such conceited emphasis? Who will possess so many vaudevilles? Who will lend the ladies the *Annales Galantes*, or the *Journal Amoureux?* Who will sing a whole dialogue out of an opera at table? In short, who will supply his place to the foolish, lazy, and unemployed people to be found in the city as well as elsewhere?"

La Bruyère, like Voltaire, compares Paris with Athens and Rome. He says: "There will be talk of a capital of a great kingdom wherein were neither public squares, nor fountains, nor amphitheatre, nor gallery; but which was a marvellous city nevertheless."



A LADY OF THE BOURGEOISIE IN WALKING DRESS.
(From a fashion-plate.)

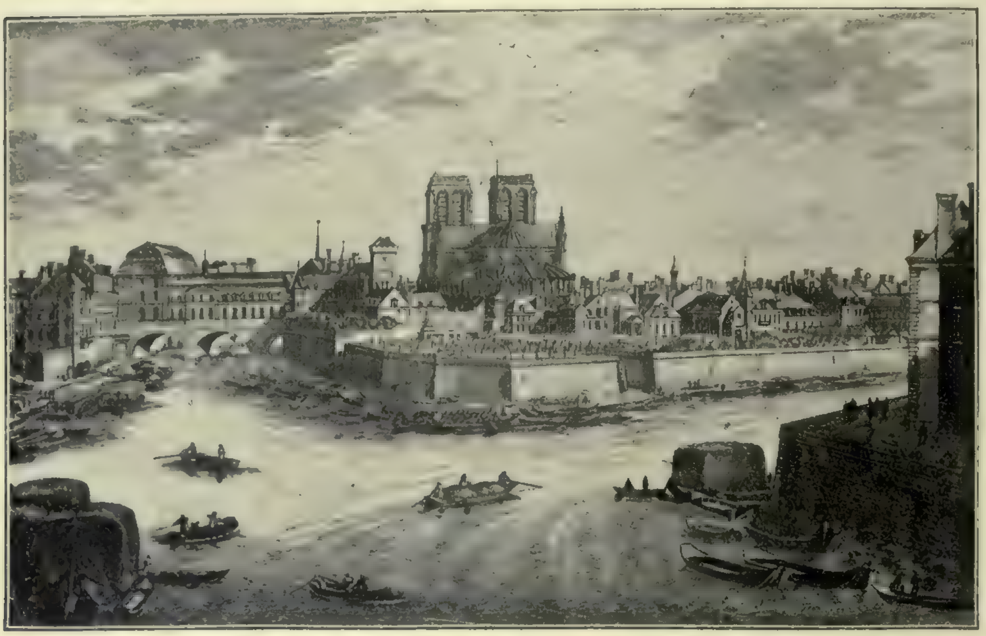
Saint-Simon dwells upon the beautification of Paris even while he refuses to attribute the credit of it to Louis XIV. The town built the Pont Royal to replace the old Pont Rouge, which was of wood. Les Invalides, a superb monument, was due to Louvois. The magnificence of that structure which is so great an adornment to Paris strikes everybody. The Place Vendôme is likewise the creation of Louvois, who made it square so that the King's Library, the Weigh-House, the Royal Printing-House, the Academies, and the Great Council, which is still held in a hired house, might be placed there. This formed a very useful as well as a handsome monument. Yet, immediately on the death

BLUE SATIN BAG EMBROIDERED IN GOLD.
(From the Collection of M. Charles Rossigneux.)

of Louvois the King sent orders to have the plan changed as we see it now.

"With respect to the manufactory so well known in Paris and elsewhere under the name of the Gobelins, and at the end of the Cours under the name of the Savonnerie, both these establishments as well as the Observatoire, were entirely due to Colbert, so that the truth respecting these public works is that the King paid for them, but all the honour belongs to others."

This tribute, which Saint-Simon renders to Louvois and to Colbert, notwithstanding his dislike, is a reflection of the blame that he, like Voltaire, so often cast upon Louis XIV. for his neglect of Paris in favour of Versailles, Trianon and Marly. This was regretted and complained of by all the Parisians of the seventeenth century. None have expressed those regrets more forcibly than he:



VIEW OF PARIS FROM THE PONT DE LA TOURNELLE: THE SEINE, NOTRE DAME, AND THE GARDENS OF L'ÎLE DU PALAIS.

(From a print by Pérelle and Mariette.)

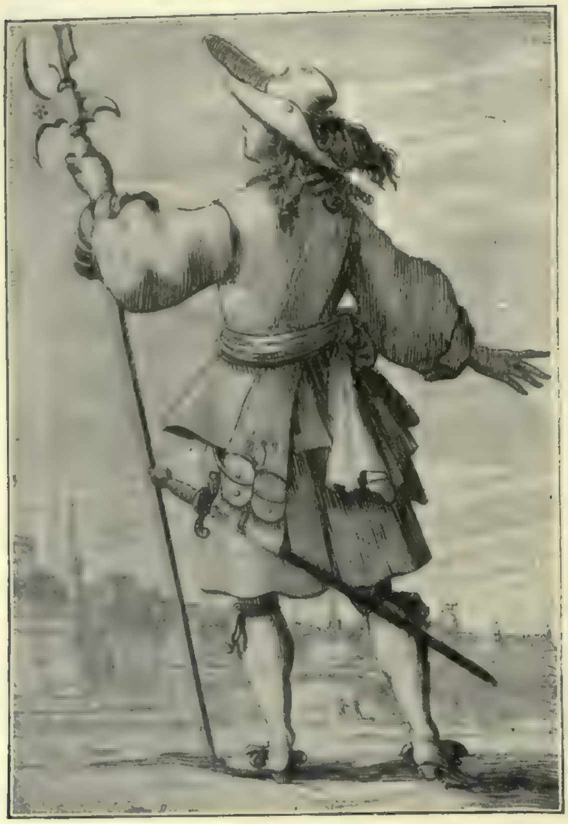
"The King abandoned Saint-Germain, a unique place in its variety of prospect, its expanse of adjacent forest, the beauty of its trees, and its situation, for Versailles, the most dull and dreary of places, without prospect, without wood, without water, without even soil, for everything there is either shifting sand or marsh. He never set up an ornamental or useful work in Paris except the Pont Royal.

"We might dwell at length upon the monstrous defects of a palace so huge and so costly, with all its extravagant appendages: its orangery, kitchen-gardens, dog-kennels, stables, and enormous out-buildings; in short a town, where there was formerly only a miserable tavern and a trumpery card-castle that Louis XIII. had erected so that he might not have to sleep upon straw.

"Then Trianon, Clagny, built for Madame de Montespan, a superb château with gardens, fountains and park; lastly, Marly. Thus was wealth squandered upon what had been the haunt of snakes, frogs, and toads. Such was the King's bad taste in all things."

MEDALLION IN HONOUR OF LOUIS XIV.

(Tail-piece by Poilly.)



THE SERGEANT.
(After a print by S. Leclerc in the *Conditions de la Vie humaine.*)

PEDIMENT OF THE NEW CUSTOM-HOUSE AT ROUEN.
(Allegorical bas-relief by Coustou: Commerce and Navigation.)

# II

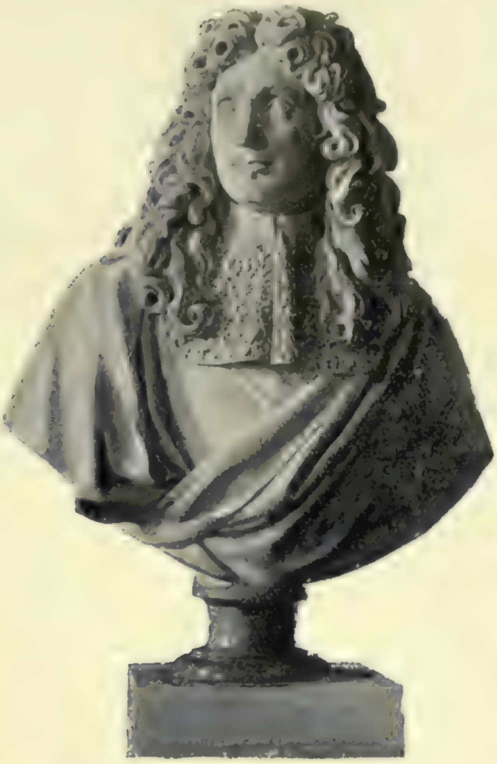
## FINANCE

ORNAMENTED LETTER.
(By François Chauveau.)

IF the administration of Colbert be compared with all the preceding administrations, posterity will cherish the man whose body the insensate people would have torn in pieces after his death. The French undoubtedly owe to him their industry, their commerce, and consequently, that wealth whose sources sometimes diminish in war-times, but are re-opened with the advent of peace. Nevertheless, there were those who had the ingratitude to blame Colbert in 1702 for the languor which began to be felt in the nerves of the state. A certain Bois-Guillebert, lieutenant-general of the bailiwick of Rouen, published two small volumes under the title of "Le Détail de la France," in which he asserted that everything since 1660 had been declining. Precisely the contrary was the case. France had never been so flourishing since the death of Cardinal Mazarin until the war of 1689; and even in that war, the body of the State, beginning to fall sick, was sustained by the vigour that Colbert had infused into all its members. The author of this work asserted that the value of the lands of the kingdom had diminished by fifteen hundred million livres. Nothing could be more false or less probable. Nevertheless his captious arguments persuaded those who wished to be persuaded. It is the same in England where, in the most prosperous times, we find a hundred public prints demonstrating that the country is ruined.

In France it was easier than elsewhere to discredit a finance minister in the estimation of the people. That ministry is especially arduous, because taxation is always so hateful, and ignorance and prejudice reign in matters of finance as they reign in philosophy.

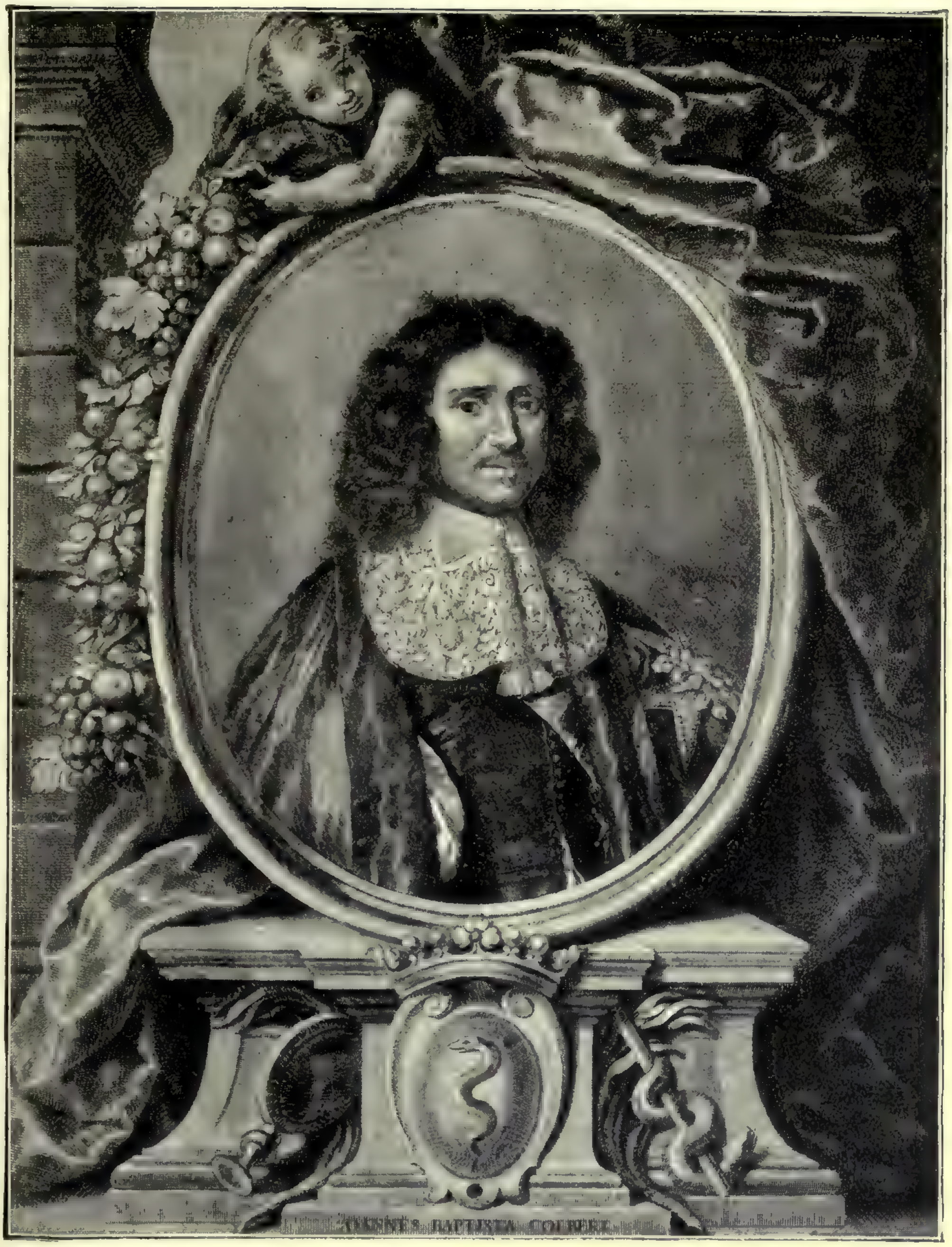
So late is wisdom learned, that in 1718 the parliament of Paris in a body told the Duc d'Orléans that "the intrinsic value of the silver mark is twenty-five livres," as though there were another intrinsic value than that of the weight and the standard. The Duc d'Orléans, intelligent as he was, failed to detect this blunder of the parliament.



EDOUARD DE COLBERT, MARQUIS DE VILLACERF.
(Bust by Desjardins in the Louvre.)

Colbert brought both genius and knowledge to the handling of the finances. Like the Duc de Sully, he began by checking abuses and pillage, which were enormous. The collection of revenue was simplified as much as possible, and by an economy little short of marvellous, he increased the treasury while he reduced the taxes. The memorable edict of 1664 shows that a million of the money of that time was annually allotted to the encouragement of manufactures and the maritime trade. Nor did he neglect the provinces, which had previously been abandoned to the rapacity of the tax-farmers. In 1667, certain English merchants having applied to his brother, M. Colbert de Croissy, then Ambassador to London, for permission to supply France with Irish cattle and salt provisions for the Colonies, the Comptroller-General replied that for the last four years France had been selling to foreigners.

But a court of justice and great reforms had been required for this admirable administration. These innovations, and some important transactions in *rentes*, required edicts. Since the reign of François I. parliament had the right of ratifying these. It was proposed that the

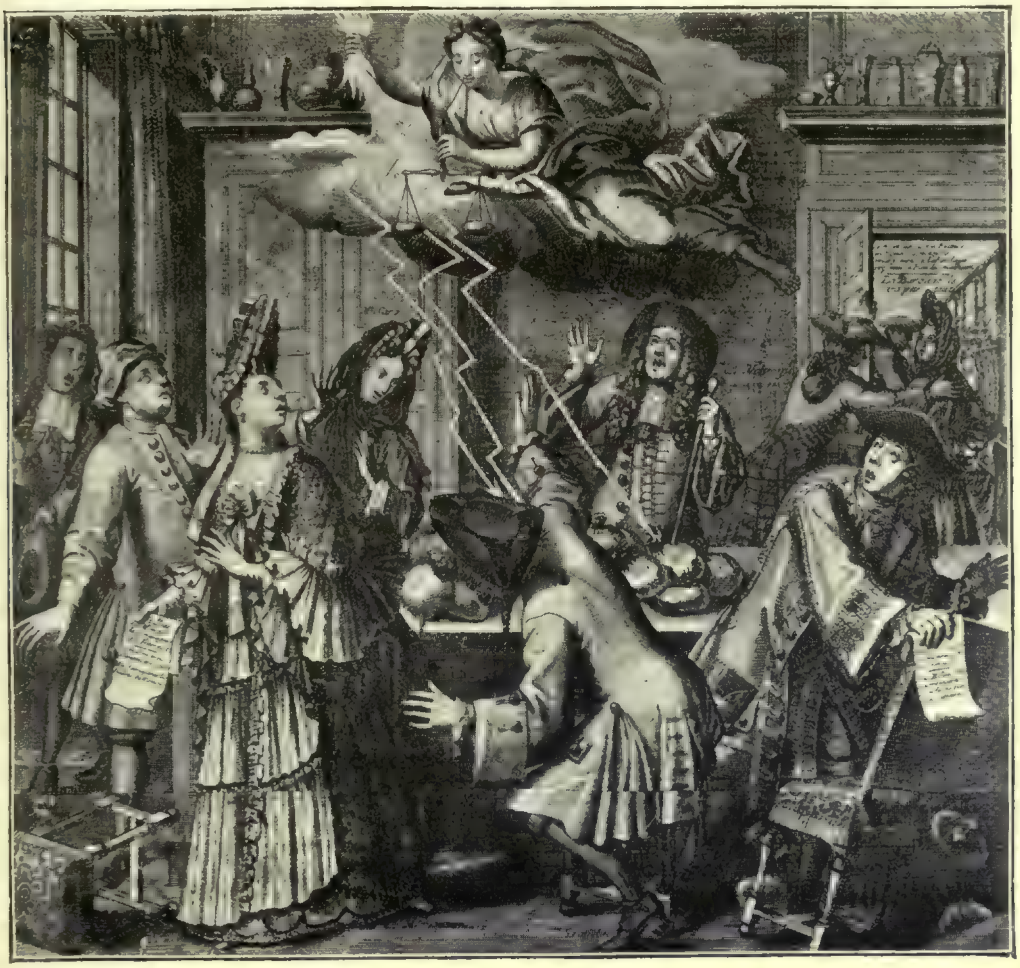

JOANNES BAPTISTA COLBERT

PORTRAIT OF JEAN-BAPTIST OLBERT, WITH HIS ARMS—THE SNAKE.

(Engraving, by Andrau, from the portrai by Lefebvre.)

edicts should be simply registered at the Court of Accounts, but the former usage prevailed. The King went himself to the parliament to have the edicts verified in 1664.

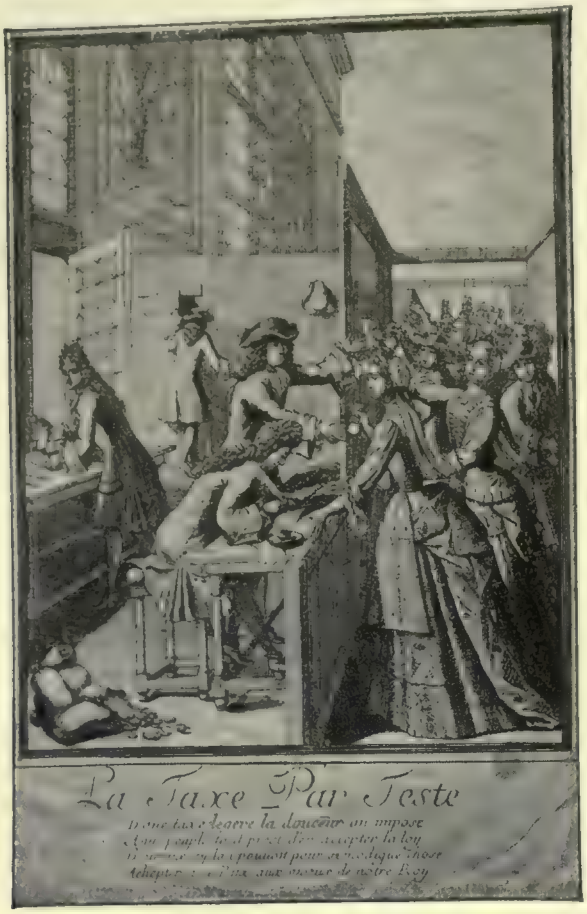
He never forgot the Fronde and that a decree of proscription against his first Minister was issued, and other decrees by which the royal revenues were seized, and the goods and money of citizens attached to the Crown were pillaged. All these excesses having begun by remonstrances on edicts concerning the revenues of the State, he ordained in 1667 that parliament should make no representation later than within the week after having registered "with obedience." This edict was renewed in 1673. Thus he never received a remonstrance from any court of judicature except in the fatal year 1709, when the parliament of Paris ineffectually



STOCKJOBBERS AND REVENUE FARMERS STRUCK BY THE LIGHTNING OF THE ROYAL JUSTICE.
(Satirical print of 1711.)

represented the wrong that the minister of finance was doing the State by the variation of the price of gold and silver.

Nearly all the citizens were persuaded that, if the parliament had always confined itself to informing the King of the grievances and wants of the people, the danger of the taxation, and the still more dangerous sale of the taxes to jobbers who deceived the King and oppressed the people, the custom of remonstrances would have been a safeguard to the State, a check upon the greed of the financiers, and a continual lesson to Ministers. But the strange abuse of so salutary a remedy had angered Louis XIV. so greatly that he saw only the abuses, and proscribed the remedy. The indignation he cherished in his heart was carried so far that on the 13th of August, 1669, he again went to the parliament himself, there to revoke the privileges of nobility which he had granted in 1644 during his minority to all the superior courts.

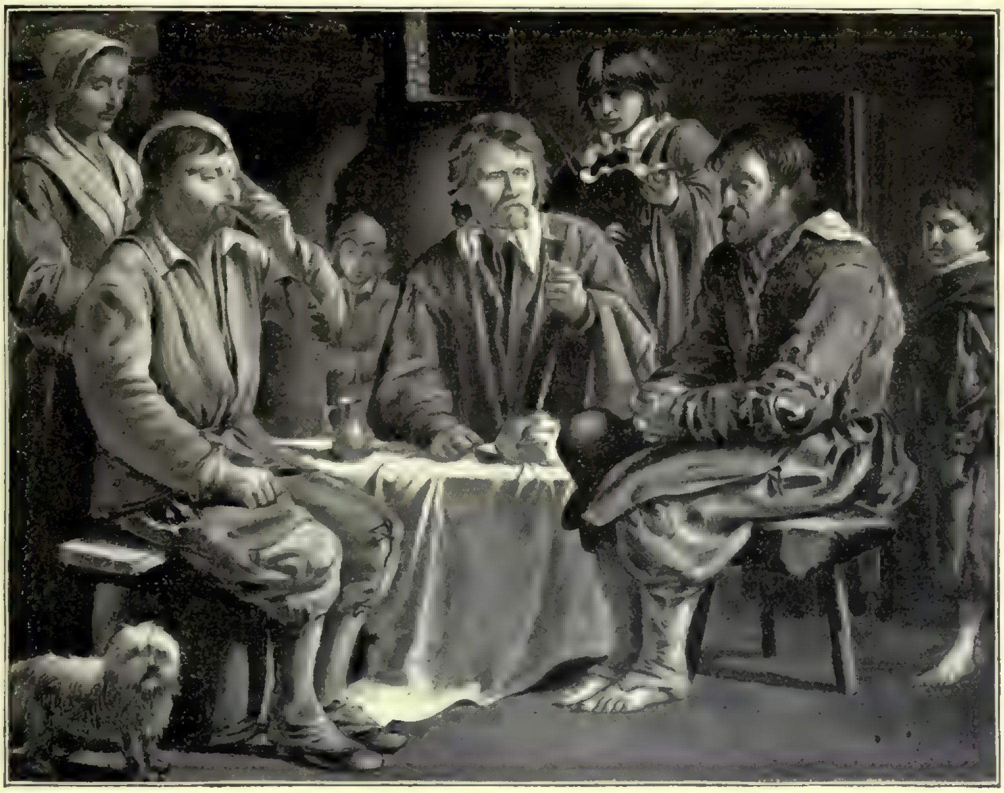


TAX-COLLECTOR'S OFFICE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
PAYMENT OF POLL-TAX.
(From a popular print of 1709.)

But notwithstanding this edict, registered in the presence of the King, the custom of allowing right of nobility to all whose fathers had exercised judicial functions for twenty years in a superior court, or had died while in office, survived.

The King, while inflicting a slight on the magistracy desired to encourage the nobility who defend the realm, and the agriculturalists who till the soil. He had assigned already a pension of two thousand livres (nearly four thousand of our money), by his edict of 1666, to every gentleman who was the father of twelve children, and one thousand livres to fathers of ten. Half of this bounty was granted to all the inhabitants of the towns exempt from taxes, and every man amongst those liable who was the father of ten children, living or dead, was exempted from all taxation.

Colbert did not accomplish all that he might have done, still less all that he desired to do. Men were not then sufficiently enlightened, and in a great kingdom there are always great abuses. Arbitrary taxation, the multiplicity of duties, the customs due from province to province, making one part of France foreign and even hostile to the other, the inequality of measures in use in the various towns—these and a score of other ills of the body politic could not be cured.

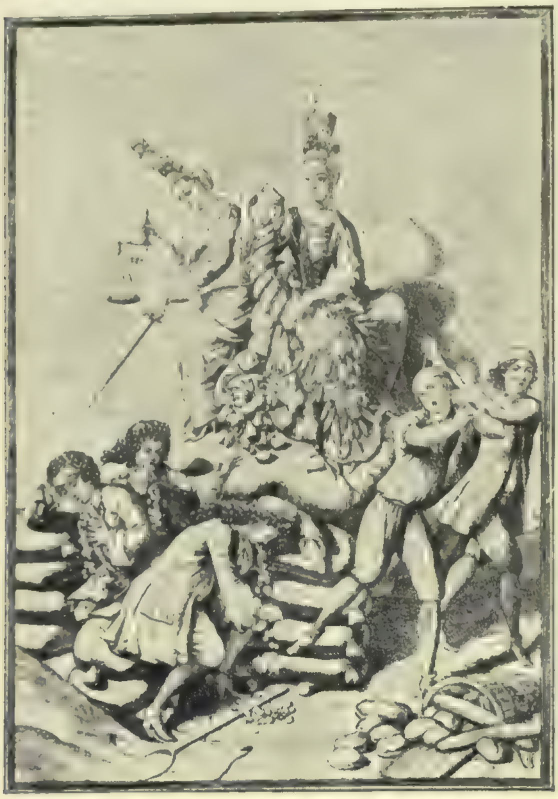


PEASANTS AT TABLE.

(After a painting by the brothers Le Nain in the Louvre.)

The greatest error that has been laid to this Minister's charge is that he did not venture to encourage the exportation of corn. It was long since any had been sent abroad. Agriculture had been neglected during the stormy administration of Richelieu, and in the civil wars of the

Fronde it had been neglected still more. A famine in 1661 completed the ruin of the rural districts; ruin, however, which nature, seconded by labour, is always ready to repair. In that unfortunate year the parliament of Paris made a decree which appeared just in its principle, but had consequences almost as harmful as all the decrees made by that body during the civil war. Corn merchants were prohibited, under heavy penalties, from forming any companies for that trade, and individuals were forbidden to accumulate corn. A measure which was useful at a period of scarcity, became at length pernicious, and discouraged the agriculturalists.



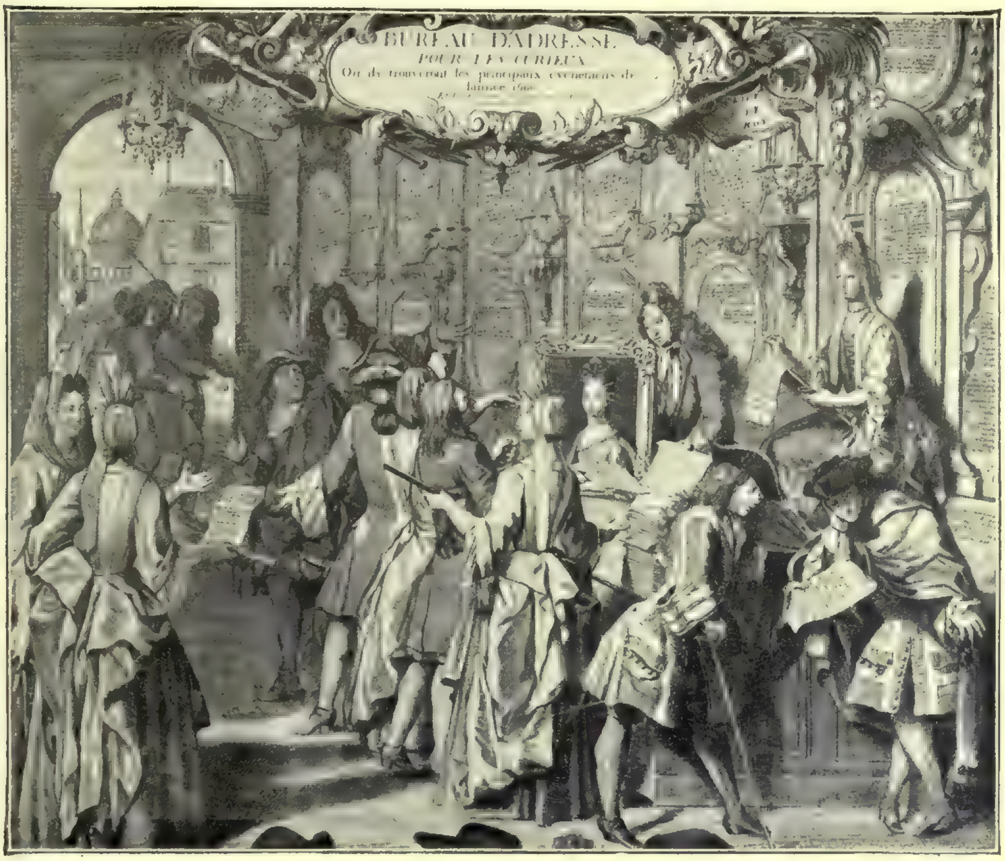
MONOPOLISTS COMPELLED BY JUSTICE TO DISGORGE THEIR CORN, AND PLENTY RESTORED TO FRANCE.
(Satirical print, 1695.)

The Minister had no other resource than to buy from foreigners the very same corn at a high price which the French had sold to them in previous years of abundance. The people were fed, but at a heavy cost to the State; M. Colbert, however, had brought the finances into such order that the loss was not serious.

The fear of another bad harvest closed our ports against the export of corn. Each intendant made a merit of preventing the transport of grain from his province to the next. In good years corn could not be sold without application to the Council. That fatal policy seemed to be excused by the experience of the past. The Council was afraid that it might become necessary to re-purchase corn, which the growers had sold cheaply, at a high price, were external trade in grain permitted.

The grower, even more timid than the Council, was afraid of ruining himself by growing a commodity from which he could not expect a large profit, and the land was insufficiently cultivated. The flourishing condition of all the other branches of the administration prevented Colbert from rectifying the error of the most important of all.

This was the solitary blot upon his ministry: a great blot, but its excuse—a proof of how difficult it is to uproot prejudices in French administration, and to do good—resides in the fact that, although all intelligent citizens recognised the error, it was not repaired by any minister until a hundred years later, at the memorable epoch of 1764, when a more large-minded comptroller-general delivered France from deep poverty by restoring export trade in corn, with restrictions similar to those in force in England.

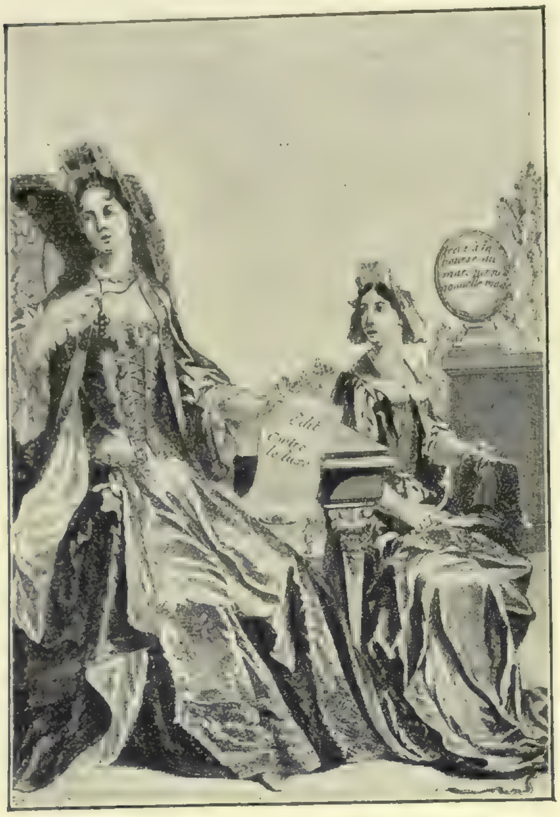

BUREAU D'ADRESSE
POUR LES CURIEUX
Ou ils trouveront les principaux evenemens de l'année

OFFICE FOR STAMPS AND ADDRESSES.
(Almanac of 1694 in the Hennin Collection.)

To meet the simultaneous expenses of war, building and pleasure, Colbert, about 1672, was obliged to re-impose taxes, on annuities and increase of wages, that he had at first contemplated abolishing for ever—charges which relieve the State for a time, and encumber it for centuries.

He was forced to forego the conviction, which all the instructions left by him prove him to have held, that the wealth of a country consists only in the number of its inhabitants, the cultivation of the soil, industry and commerce ; also, that the King, possessing but little property of his own, and being only an administrator of the property of his subjects, cannot be really wealthy otherwise than by taxes collected and equitably distributed. He was so afraid of delivering up the State to jobbers that, some time after the dissolution of the Court of Justice, which he set up against them, he procured a decree of the Council making it a capital offence to advance money upon the new taxes. He hoped to check the cupidity of speculators by this comminatory decree, which never was printed, but he was soon obliged to employ them without even revoking the decree : the King was urging him, and prompt steps had to be taken.

The invention of farming-out the revenue, brought into France from Italy by Catherine de Médicis, had so corrupted the Government by the dangerous facility it gives, that, after having been suppressed during the prosperous reign of Henry IV., it re-appeared in the reign of Louis XIII., and disfigured the close of that of Louis XIV.

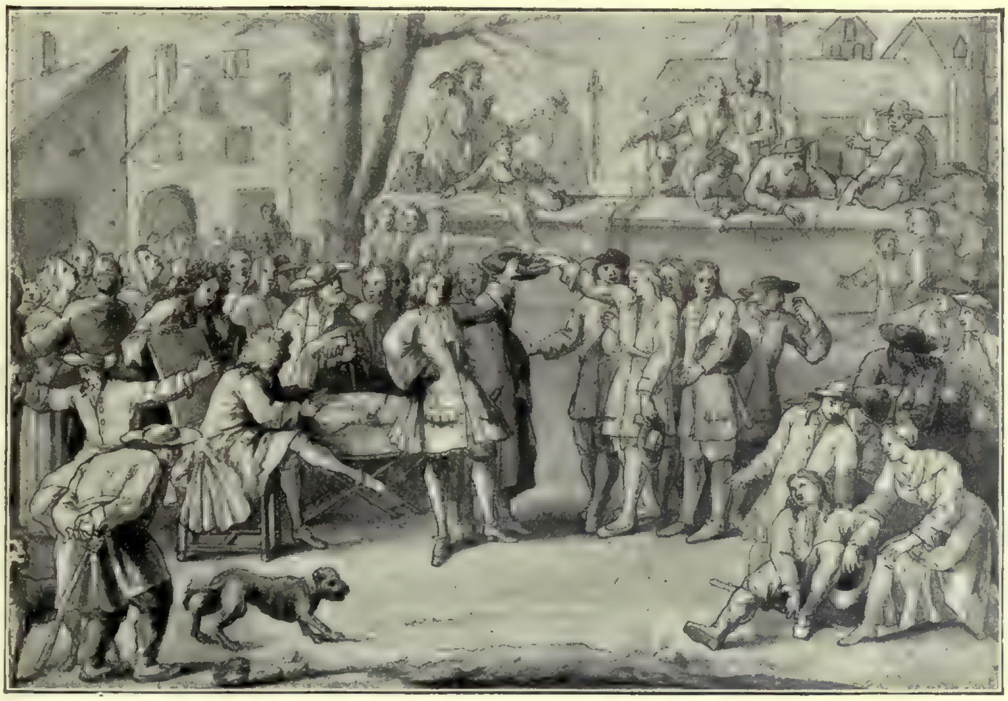


"À FEMME DÉSOLÉE MARI JOYEUX, TRÈVE À LA BOURSE DU MARI."

(Satirical print on the edict of Louis XIV. against the extravagance of women, November 16th, 1700.)

Sully enriched the state by a wise economy, supported by a king as parsimonious as he was valiant ; a soldier at the head of his army, and a father with his people. Colbert upheld the state in spite of the extravagance of an ostentatious master, who would have lavished everything to make his reign brilliant.

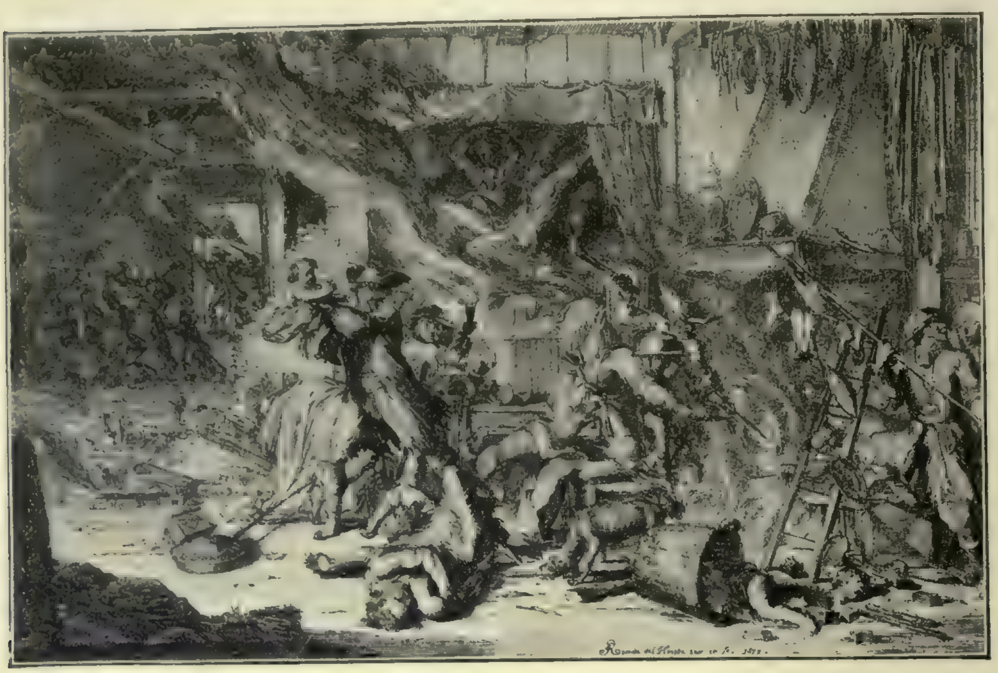
After Colbert's death, when the King proposed to make Le Pelletic minister of finance, Le Tellier said to him, " Sire, he is not the right man for that office." " Why ?" asked the King. Le Tellier answered, "He is not hard enough." " But I," replied the King, " do not want my people to be hardly dealt with." The new Minister was in fact lenient and just; but in 1688, when the country was again plunged in war and had to defend itself against the Augsburg alliance, that is to say, against almost all Europe, he found himself weighted with a burden that had been too heavy for Colbert, and the ready and mischievous expedient of borrowing and creating stock was his first resource. Afterwards an effort was made to check luxurious living, but this in a kingdom full of manufactures is to diminish industry and the circulation of money, and is only serviceable to a people who import their luxuries.



THE FRENCH PEASANTS AGGRIEVED BY COMPULSORY ENLISTMENT.
(From a print of 1705, representing the first levy of militia.)

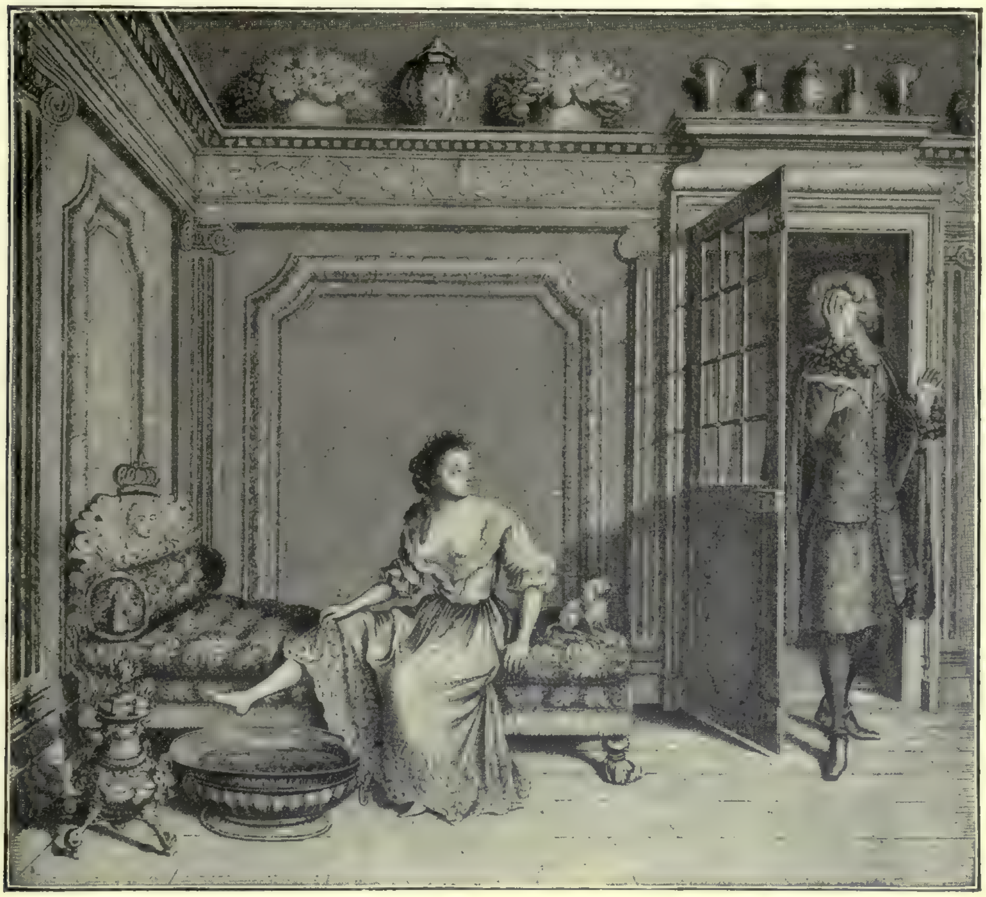
An order was given that all articles of silver, then very numerous in the houses of the noble and the wealthy, and which were a proof of prosperity and of wealth, should be sent to the Mint. The King himself set the example; he parted with all those large silver tables, candelabra, couches of massive silver, and many other articles, which were masterpieces of carving by Ballin, a unique artist in his line, and all executed from designs by Lebrun. They had cost ten millions, they produced three. The wrought silver goods of private individuals also produced three millions. The resource was a weak one.

Afterwards one of those great mistakes which remained uncorrected until our time was made. This was the altering of the coinage, and the giving a value to the crown pieces not proportioned to the quarters in the re-coining; the result was that the quarters were taken abroad and struck into crowns, on which profit was made by sending them back to France. A country must be vitally sound in itself to withstand such shocks as these without loss of power. The people were not yet educated, and finance, like physics, was a science of vain conjectures. The factors to whom the revenues were farmed out were cheats who imposed on the ministry; the State was defrauded of eighty millions. Twenty years are needed to repair such breaches.



THE MISERIES OF WAR: VIOLENCE OF THE FRENCH IN THE INVASION OF 1672.
(From a Dutch print.)

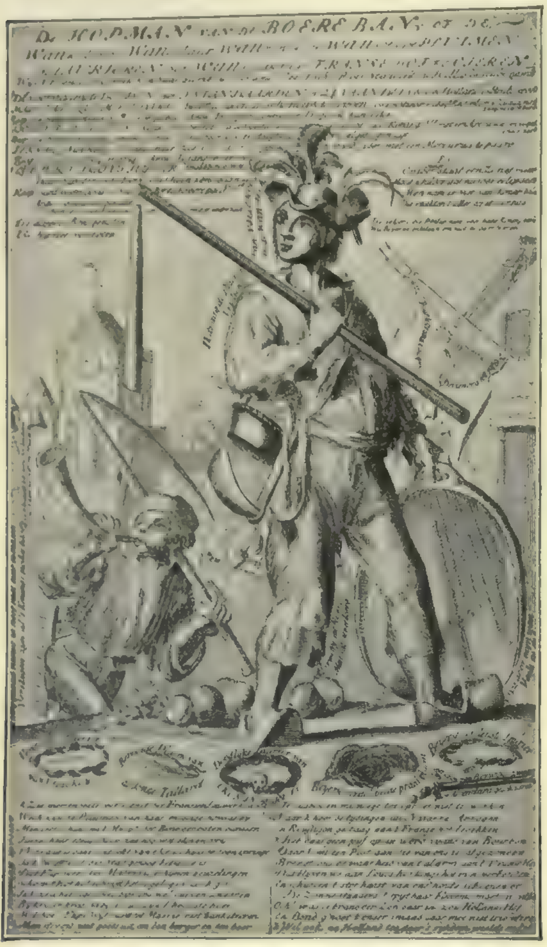
About 1691 and 1692 the finances of the State appeared to be seriously deranged. Those who attributed the dwindling of the resources mainly to the profuse expenditure of Louis XIV. on buildings, on the arts, or on his pleasures, were not aware that, on the contrary, expenditure which encourages industry enriches a State. It is war that necessarily impoverishes the public treasury, unless it be replenished by the spoils of the conquered. Since the ancient Romans I do not know of any nation which has been enriched by its victories. Italy, in the sixteenth century, was rich, but only by her commerce. Holland could never have subsisted for any long period if she had limited herself to the capture of the Spanish treasure-ships, if the Indies had not furnished the supplies which were the aliment of her power. England has always been impoverished by war, even when she was destroying the French fleets, and commerce only has enriched her. The Algerians, who have nothing but what they gain by piracy, are a very poor people.



SOLID SILVER COUCH, WITH THE ARMS OF THE SUN-KING AND ORNAMENTS IN GOLDSMITH'S WORK.

(From a print by Saint-Jean, representing the bath-room of a lady of quality.)

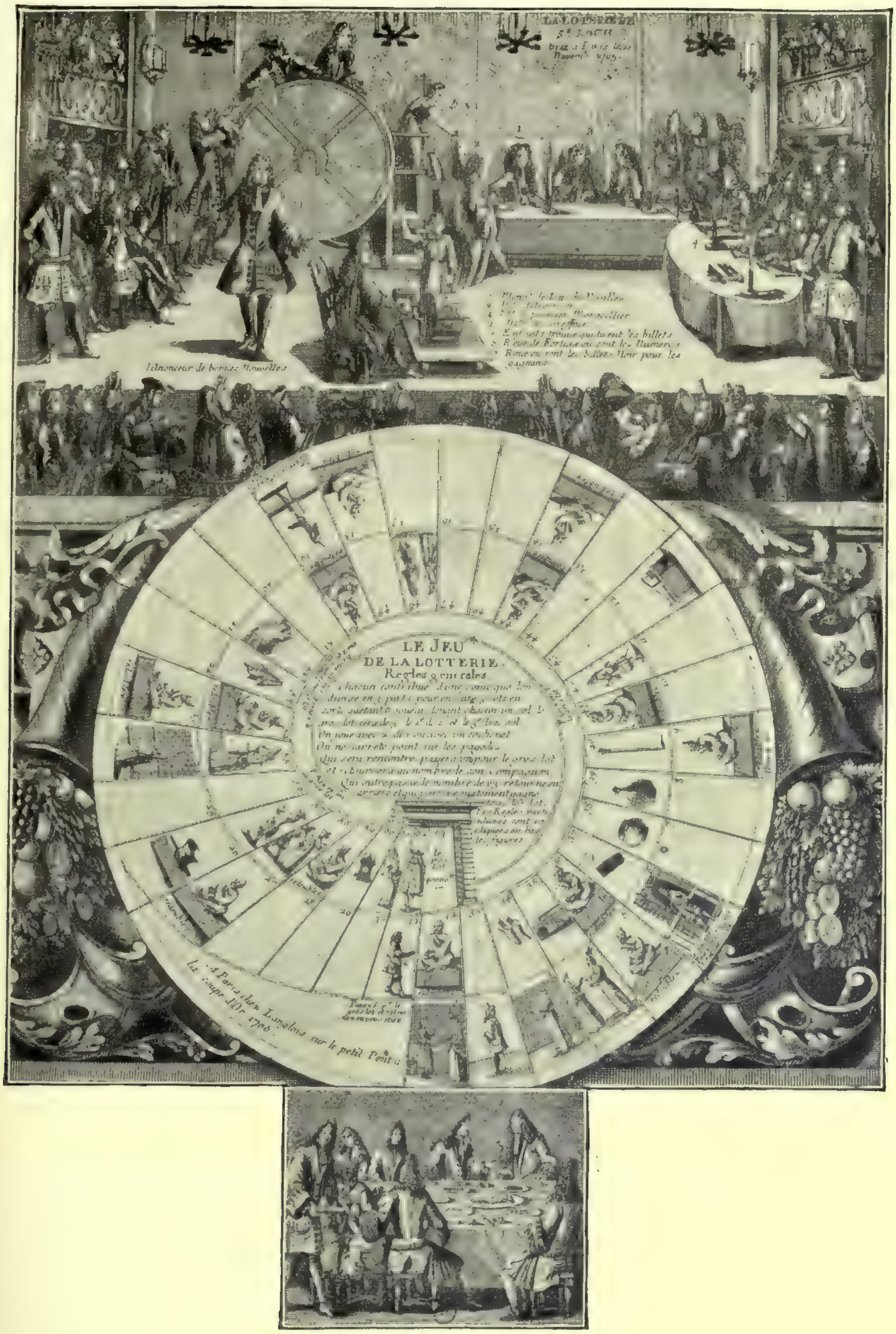
Among European nations, war, at the end of a few years, impoverishes conqueror almost as much as the conquered. It is a gulf into which all the streams of wealth fall. Ready money, that principle of all good and every evil, raised with so much difficulty in the provinces, goes into the coffers of a hundred contractors and farmers who advance the funds, and by doing so purchase the right of despoiling the nation in the name of the sovereign. Consequently private individuals, regarding the sovereign as their enemy, conceal their money, and the kingdom suffers by the loss of circulation.



THE FRENCH PEASANT FORCED TO GO TO THE WAR.
(A Dutch caricature.)

No hasty remedy can supply the place of a fixed and lasting arrangement settled long before, and which provides in anticipation for unforeseen wants. The poll-tax was imposed in 1695. It was repealed at the peace of Ryswick, and subsequently re-imposed. The Comptroller-General Pontchartrain sold patents of nobility for two thousand crowns in 1696; these were purchased by five hundred individuals, but the resource was temporary, and the shame was permanent. All the nobles, old and new alike, were compelled to register their armorial bearings, and to purchase permission to seal their letters with their arms. Tax-farmers transacted that affair and advanced the money. The Ministry hardly ever resorted to any but these small resources in a country that could have furnished greater.

The "tenth" was not imposed until the year 1710. But this tithe, levied after so many heavy imposts, seemed so hard that it could not be


LA LOTTERIE
LE JEU
DE LA LOTTERIE
Regles generales

A FRAGMENT OF A PAGE OF AN ALMANAC OF THE TIME.
(Cabinet of Prints. Bibliothèque Nationale, Hennin Collection.)

rigorously exacted. The Government did not derive from it twenty-five millions annually, at forty livres the marc.

GOLD COIN OF 1644.
(Upper side of the louis.)

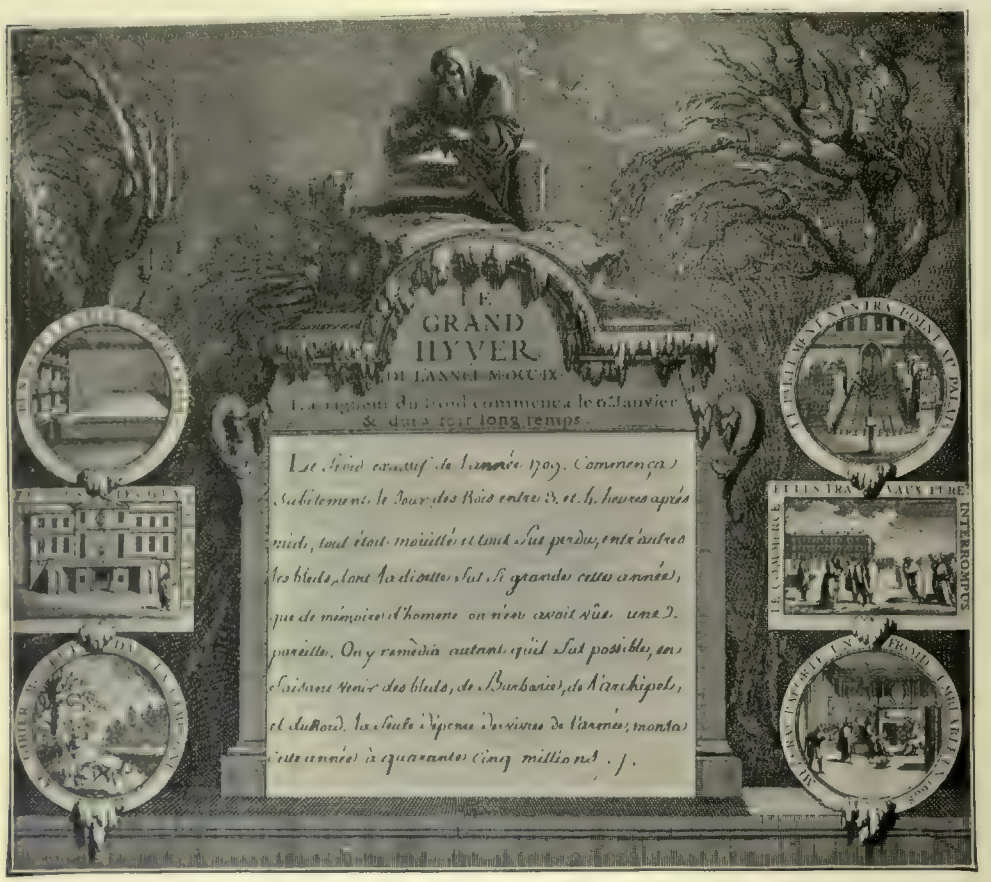
Colbert had but slightly changed the legal value of the coins. It is better not to change it at all. Gold and silver, being pledges of exchange, should be invariable standards. He only raised the legal value of the silver marc from the twenty-six livres, at which he found it, to twenty-seven and twenty-eight; and after him, during the last years of Louis XIV. that denomination was extended to forty—a fatal expedient by which the King was relieved for a moment to be subsequently ruined; for instead of receiving a full marc, he received little more than half. The debtor to the extent of twenty-six livres paid a marc in 1668, but the debtor in 1710 who owed forty livres also paid very little over a marc, intrinsically worth no more then than formerly. The diminutions that followed disturbed the little commerce which remained as much as the augmentation had disturbed it.

THE GREAT THOMAS, PARISIAN QUACK AND DENTIST:
HIS TRIUMPHAL PROGRESS AMIDST HIS GOOD PEOPLE OF PARIS.
(From an anonymous etching in the Hennin Collection.)

A resource might have been found in paper-money, but paper should be issued in a time of prosperity, to be available in a time of misfortune.

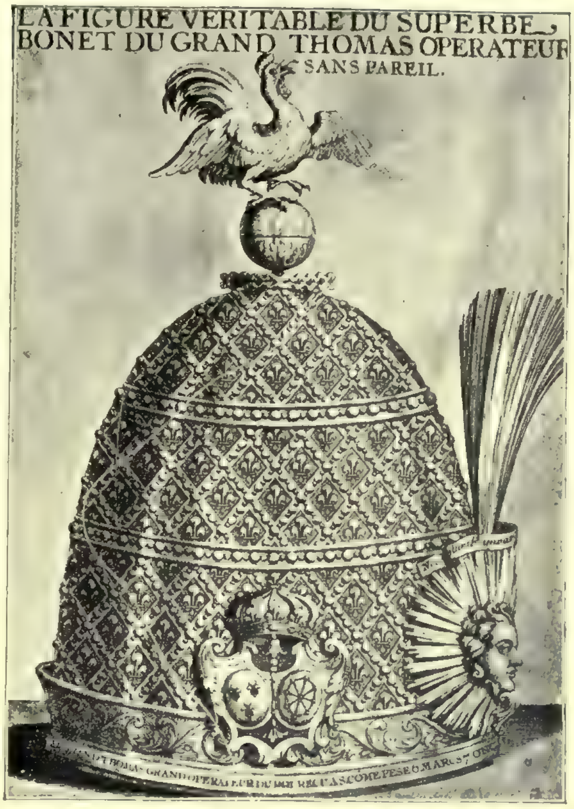
The Minister (Chamillart) began to make payments in bills in 1706, and as that paper-money was not accepted for the King's own coffers, it was discredited almost as soon as introduced. The Minister had to continue to raise heavy loans, consuming thus four years of the Crown revenues in anticipation.

What are called "extraordinary affairs" constantly arose, and ridiculous posts, always purchased by those who wanted to escape taxation, were created. The *taille* was always considered a degradation, and men being born vain, the bait of discharge from that obligation always caught dupes, and the considerable salaries attached to the new berths were an inducement to buy them in bad times, for want of reflection that they would be suppressed in better. Thus in 1707 the dignity of Councillors of the King was invented for certain wine-brokers and carriers, and that produced one hundred and forty thousand livres. Then came royal registrars, sub-deputies of the intendants of provinces, comptrollers of the


LE GRAND HYVER
DE L'ANNÉE MDCCIX
La rigueur du froid commença le 6. Janvier & dura fort long temps.
LE PARLEMENT N'ENTRA POINT AU PALAIS
LE COMMERCE ET LES TRAVAUX FURENT INTERROMPUS

Le froid excessif de l'année 1709. Commença subitement le Jour des Rois entre 3. et 4. heures après midi, tout étoit mouillé et tout fut perdu, entre autres les bleds, dont la disette fut si grande cette année, que de mémoire d'homme on n'en avoit vûe une pareille. On y remédia autant qu'il fut possible, en faisant venir des bleds, de Barbarie, de l'Archipel, et du Nord. la seule dépense des vivres de l'armée, monta cette année à quarante cinq millions ./.

THE GREAT WINTER OF 1709.
(An allegorical print of the period.)

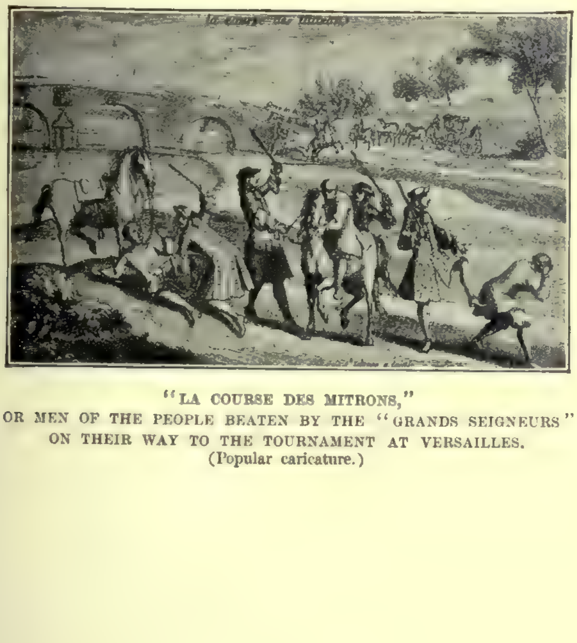

LA FIGURE VERITABLE DU SUPERBE BONET DU GRAND THOMAS OPERATEUR SANS PAREIL.

CAP OF THE GREAT THOMAS, THE QUACK OF THE PONT NEUF.
(From a print of the period.)

State timber-stacks: police-officers, barber-wigmakers, inspectors of fresh and testers of salt butter were made councillors. These absurdities make us laugh now, they drew tears then !

Comptroller-General Desmarets, the nephew of the illustrious Colbert, having succeeded Chamillart in 1708, could not cure an evil which everything rendered incurable.

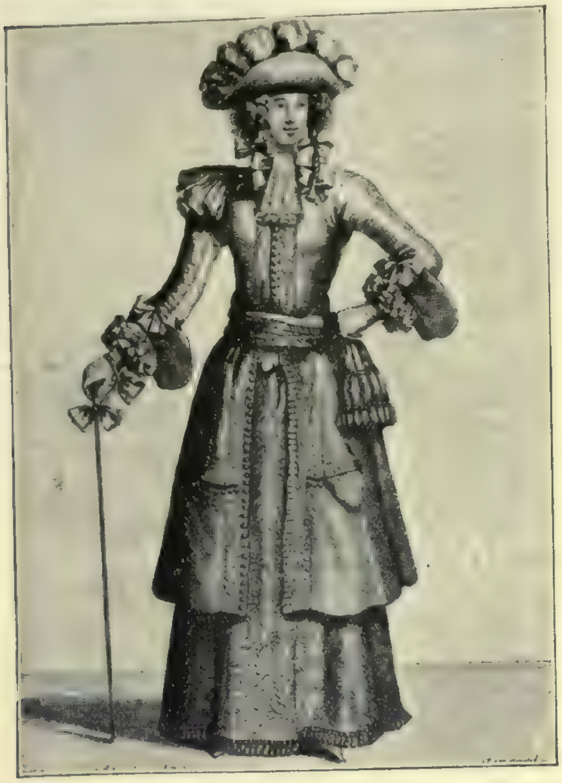
Nature conspired with fortune to overwhelm the State. The pitiless winter of 1709 compelled the King to remit to the people nine millions of taxes at a time when he had no means of paying his soldiers; the dearth of food was so great that it cost forty-five millions to provision the army. The expenditure of the year 1709 amounted to two hundred and twenty-one millions, and the ordinary royal revenue produced only forty-four. The State had to be ruined to prevent its enemies from becoming its masters. The disorder grew so rapidly and was so ill-repaired that at the beginning of the year 1715, long after peace had been made, the King was obliged to get thirty-two millions' worth of bills negotiated in order to obtain eight millions in cash. At his death he left debts to the amount of two milliards six hundred millions at twenty-eight livres to the marc, making four milliards five hundred millions of our current coin in 1760.



"LA COURSE DES MITRONS,"
OR MEN OF THE PEOPLE BEATEN BY THE "GRANDS SEIGNEURS" ON THEIR WAY TO THE TOURNAMENT AT VERSAILLES.
(Popular caricature.)

It is amazing, but it is true, that this enormous debt would not have proved an insupportable burden had there been at the time a thriving commerce, a settled paper credit, and substantial companies who would have taken it up, as in Sweden, England, Venice and Holland: for when a powerful State is debtor only to itself, confidence and circulation suffice for payment; but France at that time was far from having springs enough to move so vast and so complicated a machine then crushing her by its weight.

Louis XIV. spent eighteen milliards in the course of his reign; this represents an annual expenditure of three hundred and thirty millions if we allow for the fluctuation of the currency.



THE FASHION IN 1678: LADY IN SHOOTING COSTUME.
(From a print by Bonnart.)

Under the administration of the great Colbert the ordinary revenues of the Crown amounted only to one hundred and seventeen millions, at twenty-seven livres and then twenty-eight livres to the silver marc. All the surplus was supplied by "extraordinary affairs." Colbert, the greatest enemy of this fatal resource, was obliged to adopt it for prompt use. He borrowed eight hundred millions at the present value during the war of 1672. Very little of the ancient domains of the Crown now remained to the King. They are declared inalienable by all the parliaments of the kingdom, nevertheless they are almost all gone. The King's revenue at present consists of that of his subjects; it is a perpetual circulation of debts and payments. The King owes the citizens more millions a year, under the name of "Rentes de l'Hôtel de Ville," than any sovereign has ever derived from the domains of the Crown.

To attain an idea of this prodigious growth of taxes, debt, wealth, and circulation, and at the same time of the embarrassments and hardship

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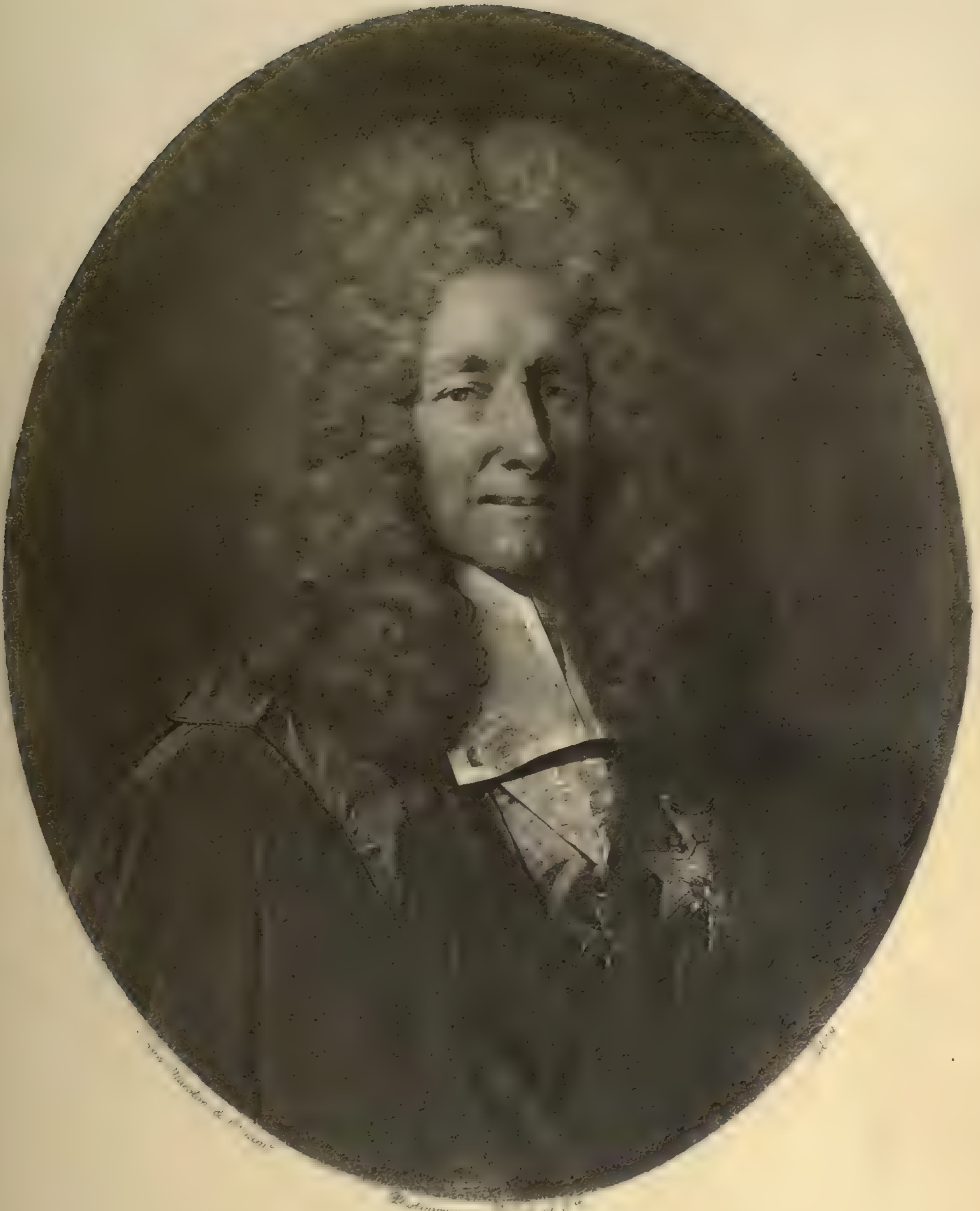


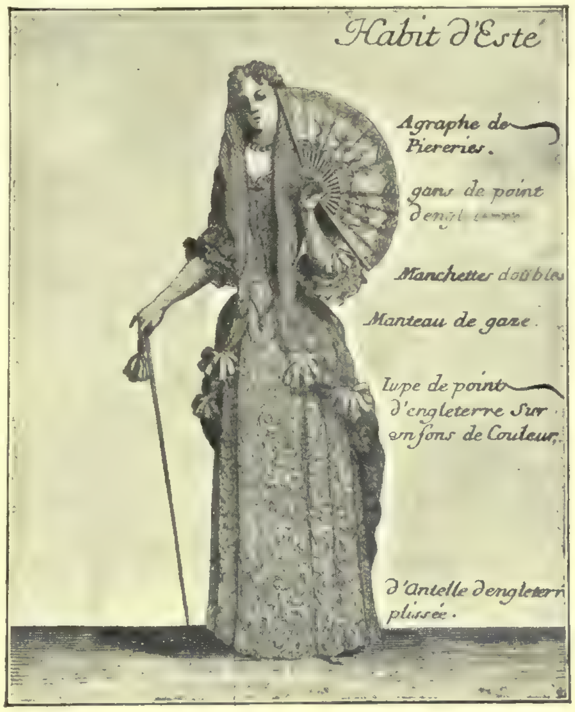
Photogravure Goupil et Cie

Louis Phélipeaux de Pontchartrain
Chancelier de France
Peinture attribuée à Tournière
Appartenant à Mr. le Marquis de Mortemart

CROWN PIECE OF 1705, WITH INSIGNIA (ÉCU CARAMBOLÉ DE FLANDRE).

that were endured in France and other countries, we may recall the fact that at the death of François I. the State owed thirty thousand livres of perpetual "rentes" on the Hôtel de Ville, and that it owes at present more than forty-five millions.

They who have compared the revenues of Louis XIV. with those of Louis XV. have found that, taking into account only the fixed and current revenue, Louis XIV. was considerably richer in 1683, at the time of Colbert's death, with one hundred and seventeen millions of revenue, than his successor was in 1730 with nearly two hundred millions; and this is considering the fixed and ordinary revenues of the Crown only, for one hundred and seventeen millions at twenty-eight livres to the marc is a larger sum than two hundred millions at forty-nine livres to the marc, to which the King's revenue amounted in 1730. Besides and beyond this, the charges augmented by the loans to the Crown have to be reckoned; but also the revenues of the King, that is to say, of the State, have increased since then; and the knowledge of finance has made such an advance that, in the ruinous war of 1741, there was not a moment's discredit. A sinking-fund like that of the English was adopted: it was necessary to adopt a part of their system of finance as well as their philosophy; and if those circulating papers, which at least double the wealth of England, could be introduced into a purely monarchical State, the

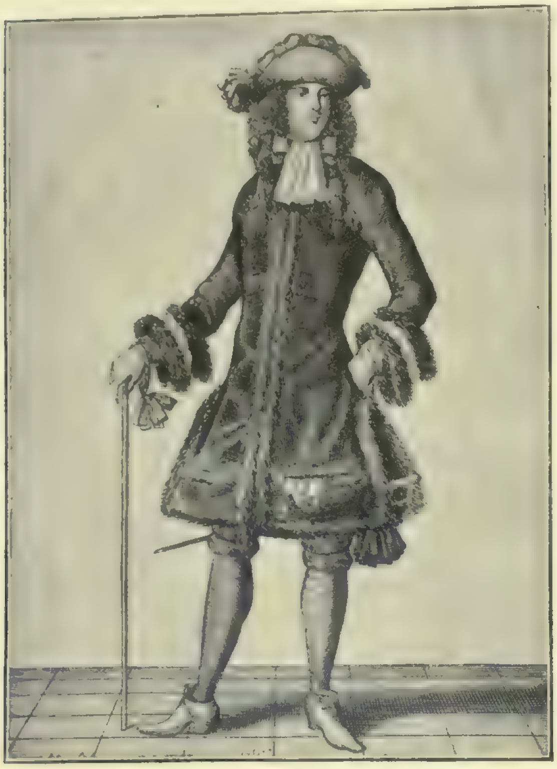


FASHION IN 1678: A LADY IN SUMMER DRESS WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE COSTUME, THE FAN, AND THE CANE.

CROWN PIECE OF 1709 WITH THREE CROWNS (OBVERSE).

French administration would acquire her last degree of perfection, but perfection too close in a monarchy to abuse.

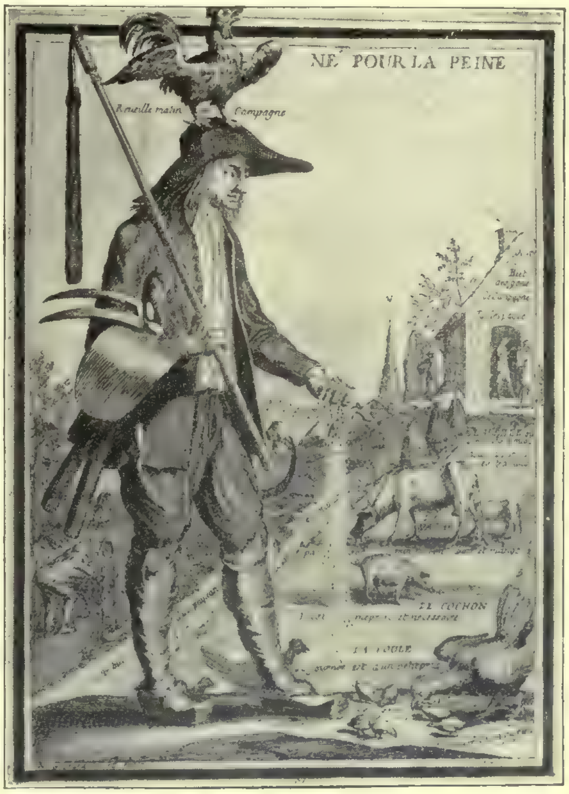
There was about five hundred millions of coined money in the kingdom in 1683, and about twelve hundred millions in 1730, according to present reckoning. But the coin under the ministry of Cardinal de Fleury was almost double what it was in the time of Colbert. It appears then that France was only one-sixth more rich in current coin since the death of Colbert. Her wealth is much more largely increased in point of wrought gold and silver employed for use and display. In 1690 there was not four hundred millions' worth of our present coinage, and in 1730 there was the same amount as the specie in circulation. Nothing shows more plainly how commerce increased when its channels, which the wars had closed, were opened. Notwithstanding the emigration of so many artists after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, arts and crafts were brought to perfection, and industry increases every day. The nation is capable of things as great or even greater than were done under Louis XIV., because both genius and commerce always thrive by encouragement.



FASHION IN 1678: A MAN IN WINTER COSTUME.
(Print by Bonnart.)

Contemplating the comforts of private life, the prodigious number of pleasant residences in Paris and in the provinces, the number of equipages, the conveniences and refinements of what is called luxury, one might suppose that opulence is twenty-fold greater than formerly. All this is the fruit of intelligent industry even more than of wealth. It costs little more to be comfortably housed to-day than it did to be indifferently housed in the time of Henri IV. Fine mirrors of home manufacture adorn our houses at far less expense than the little mirrors that were brought from Venice. Our beautiful and becoming stuffs cost less than foreign goods, and are worth more.

It is not, in fact, silver and gold which procure the comfort of life, it is ability, genius. A people who should have nothing but those metals would be very poor; a people who without those metals should utilise with success all the products of the earth, would be the really rich people. France has this advantage, and also more money than is wanted for circulation.

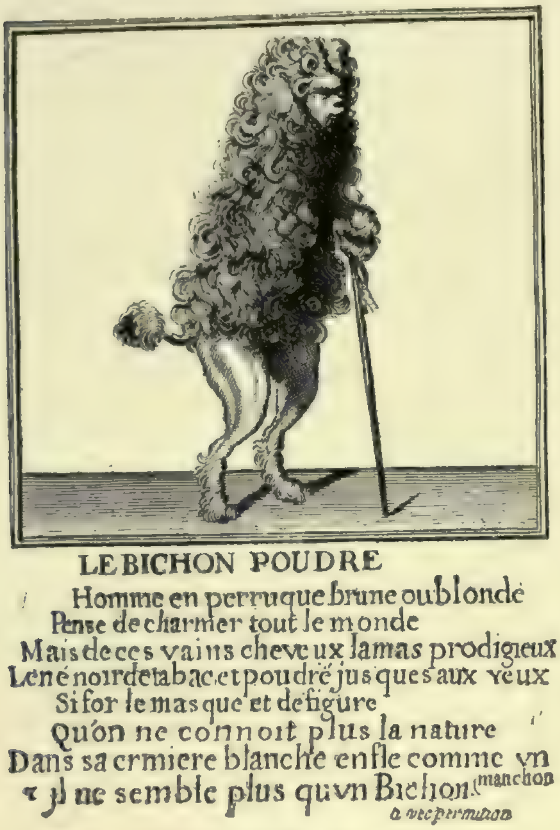


THE VILLAGER OR PEASANT WHO IS BORN TO LABOUR: "HE IS DESPISED AND NECESSARY." HIS OBJECT: "TAX PAID."

(From a satirical print by Guérard.)

Industry, having perfected itself in the towns, has increased in the country. There will always be complaints of the lot of the husbandmen. We hear these, or of them, in every quarter of the world, and they are chiefly uttered by opulent idlers who condemn the governments more than they pity the peoples. It is true that in almost every country, if those who spend their days in rustic labour had leisure to murmur, they would rise against the exactions which deprive them of a portion of their substance. They would detest the necessity of paying taxes which they had not imposed upon themselves, and that of bearing the burden of the State without participating in the advantages of other citizens. It is not the province of history to inquire into how the people are to contribute without being oppressed, or to mark the precise point that is so difficult to find, between the enforcement and the abuse of law, between taxation and plunder; but history ought to show that it is impossible for a town to be flourishing unless the surrounding country is well off; for the towns live on the country.

Wine-growing became a prosperous branch of agricultural industry. New wines formerly unknown, such as those of Champagne, have been given colour, body and strength, equal to those of Burgundy, and sold abroad to great advantage: this increase of wines has produced an increase of brandies. The culture of vegetables and of fruit has been immensely extended, and trade in provisions with the American colonies has been augmented thereby, and the complaints of the poverty of the country parts that have been urged at all times have ceased to be well founded. Besides, in these vague complainings, the cultivators, the farmers, are not distinguished from the labourers. The latter live by the work of their hands; this is so in every country of the world, where the greater number must live by toil. But there is no kingdom on the earth where the farmer, the cultivator, is better off than in some of the provinces of France; only England can dispute this advantage with her. Proportional, substituted in some provinces for arbitrary taxation, has also contributed to the prosperity of cultivators who own plough-lands, vineyards, gardens. The labourer, the workman, has to be reduced to necessity to make him work: such is the nature of man. This majority of mankind must be poor, but they must not necessarily be miserable.


LE BICHON POUDRE
Homme en perruque brune ou blonde
Pense de charmer tout le monde
Mais de ces vains cheveux l'amas prodigieux
L'ené noir de tabac et poudré jusques aux yeux
Si for le masque et defigure
Qu'on ne connoit plus la nature
Dans sa crmiere blanche enfle comme vn
Il ne semble plus qu'vn Bichon. (manchon
a vec permission

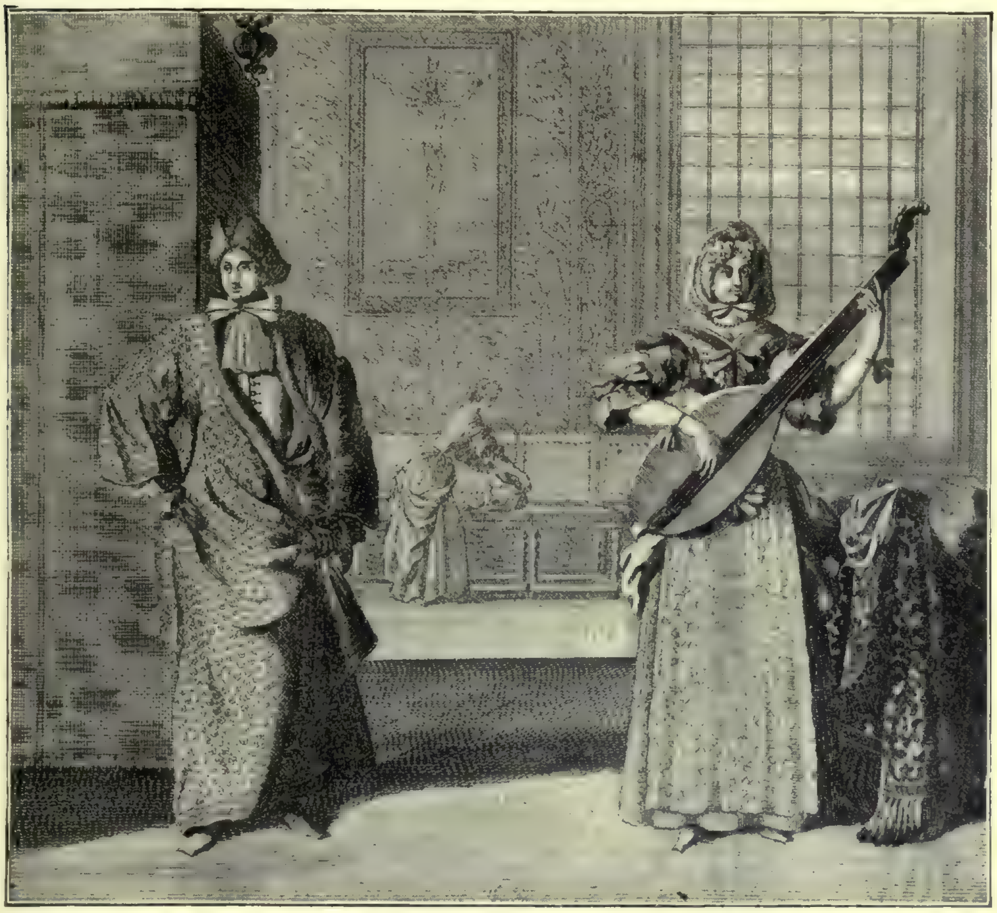
THE POWDERED PUG.

(Satirical print on the fashion in wigs.)

The middle class have enriched themselves by industry. Ministers and courtiers have been less wealthy because money has numerically increased by nearly one half, salaries and pensions have remained the same, and the price of provisions has risen to more than double; this has happened in all the countries of Europe. Dues and fees are still on the old scale everywhere.

An Elector, when he is invested with his sovereignty, pays no more than his predecessors paid in the time of the Emperor Charles IV. in the fourteenth century, and at that ceremony a single crown piece was the fee of the Emperor's secretary.

It is still more strange that while everything has increased, the pay of the soldier remains the same as it was two hundred years ago; five sous are given to the foot-soldier as in the time of Henri IV. Not one of this multitude of ignorant men, who sell their lives so cheaply, is aware that, considering the rise in money and the dearness of provisions, he receives less by about two-thirds than the soldiers of Henri IV. If he knew this, if he demanded pay higher by two-thirds, it would have to be given to him, and then it would come to pass that each European power



AN INTERIOR IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: MAN AND WOMAN IN DÉSHABILLÉ.

(From an anonymous print in Hennin's Collection.)

would maintain troops less by two-thirds; the forces would still be equally balanced, and agriculture and manufactures would benefit by the change.

It is also to be observed that the profits of commerce having increased, and the emoluments of all the great offices having diminished in value, there is less wealth among the great and more in the middle class, and this has put less distance between men. Formerly there was no resource for the small but to serve the great, but industry has now opened a thousand roads which were not known a century ago. Lastly, however the finances of the State may be administered, France possesses an inestimable treasure in the labour of nearly twenty millions of her inhabitants.

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This conclusion, as well as the passage given above on the condition of the peasantry in the seventeenth century, proves that Voltaire had no great feeling for the labouring classes. What would France do in the event of financial distress or bad administration if they did not support her by their toil? And would they work if they were prosperous? This is the social philosophy of a contented man.

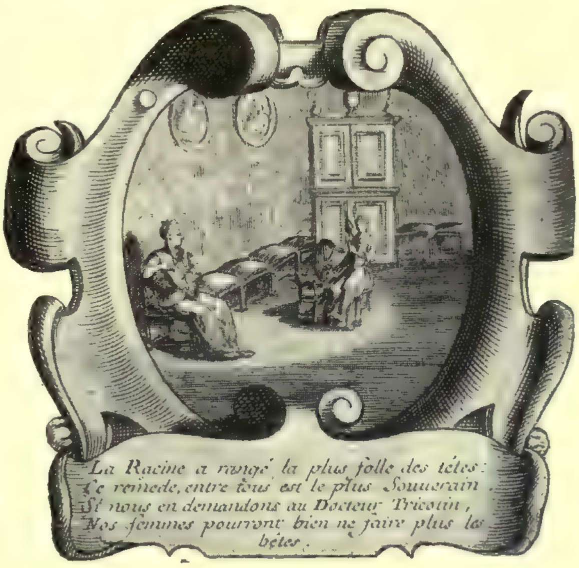
It is not that of La Bruyère when he wrote the justly celebrated passage that follows: "Certain wild animals, male and female, are to be seen in country places, black, livid, sunburnt, affixed to the soil, which they dig and turn over with invincible persistence; they have a kind of articulate voice, and when they rise on their feet they show a human face, and, in fact, they are men. They retire at night into dens where they live on black bread, water and roots; they save other men the trouble of sowing, toiling and reaping, and do not deserve to lack that bread which they have sown."

From the beginning to the end of the reign, contemporary writers describe and deplore the misery of the poor classes. Guy Patin writes, in 1660: "There is a project for fresh taxation; the people are dying throughout France of misery, oppression, want and despair."

"The people groaned," says one of the King's magistrates in an official speech, "under the hands of the extortioner in all the provinces, and it seemed that all their substance and their own blood could not quench the burning thirst of the tax-farmers. The misery of these poor people is almost at the last extremity, as much from the continuance of the ills they have suffered for so long as from the dearness of food, and the almost unheard-of scarcity of the last two years."

In 1680, Madame de Sévigné, being struck with compassion, writes on behalf of the peasants: "I see only people who owe me money and have not bread, who sleep upon straw, and weep."

At the end of the reign, and owing to the miseries of war, the situation became worse. Vauban in his "Oisevetés" remarks: "All the poor people live on bread made of oats and barley mixed, with the bran left in; one might lift the loaf by the oatstraws that are left in it. The mass of the people do not eat meat three times a year. They are also crushed by the loans of corn and money made to them in their need by moneyed persons, who extort usurious interest from them. Within a limited space there are five hundred and eleven houses in ruins and uninhabitable; two hundred and forty-eight empty, seven hundred and fifty-nine in all; which is nearly one-seventh of the whole, a plain mark of the decline of the people."

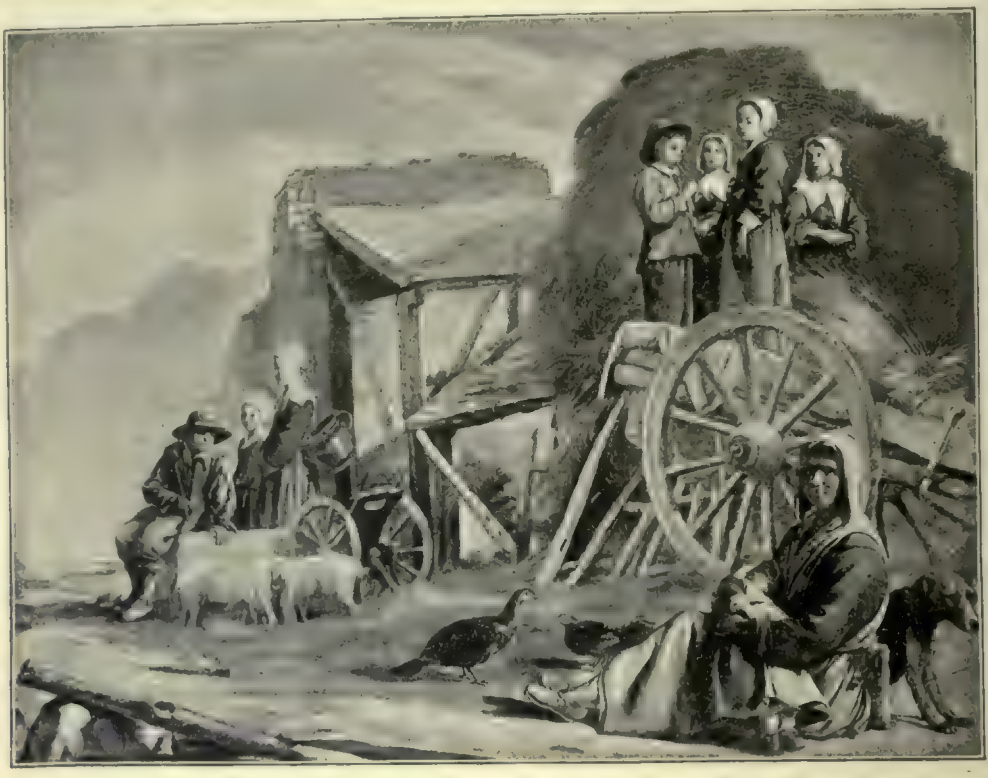

La Racine a rangé la plus folle des têtes:
Ce remede, entre tous est le plus Souuerain,
Si nous en demandons au Docteur Tricotin,
Nos femmes pourront bien ne faire plus les
bêtes.

HOMELY SIMPLICITY RESTORED TO THE HOUSEHOLD BY THE "RACINE DE HOLA!" OR THE HUSBANDS' STICK.
(Fragment of an Almanac.)

They do not only suffer: they die. And Saint-Simon says this to Louis XIV.: "Will you persevere, Sire, in deafness? Never had a king fixed revenues equal to a quarter of yours: I say yours, since that augmentation is of your reign. Never did king create so much debt with so little security, and without any proportion; never were subjects more faithful, more obedient, more submissive, even to silence from words, and of thought itself; never was there exhaustion like that of your Majesty, and of all your State.

"What account is there of all this treasure which the ministers have made you spend, and that has reduced you by dint of spending to seek it in the very bones of your subjects, whose destitution causes the fields to lie untilled, prevents the breeding of the cattle, and leaves nothing for the hard tax-gatherers but the remains of the dilapidated houses from which they tear the timber and the framework to sell it for a trifle. These, Sire, are not figments and exaggerations."

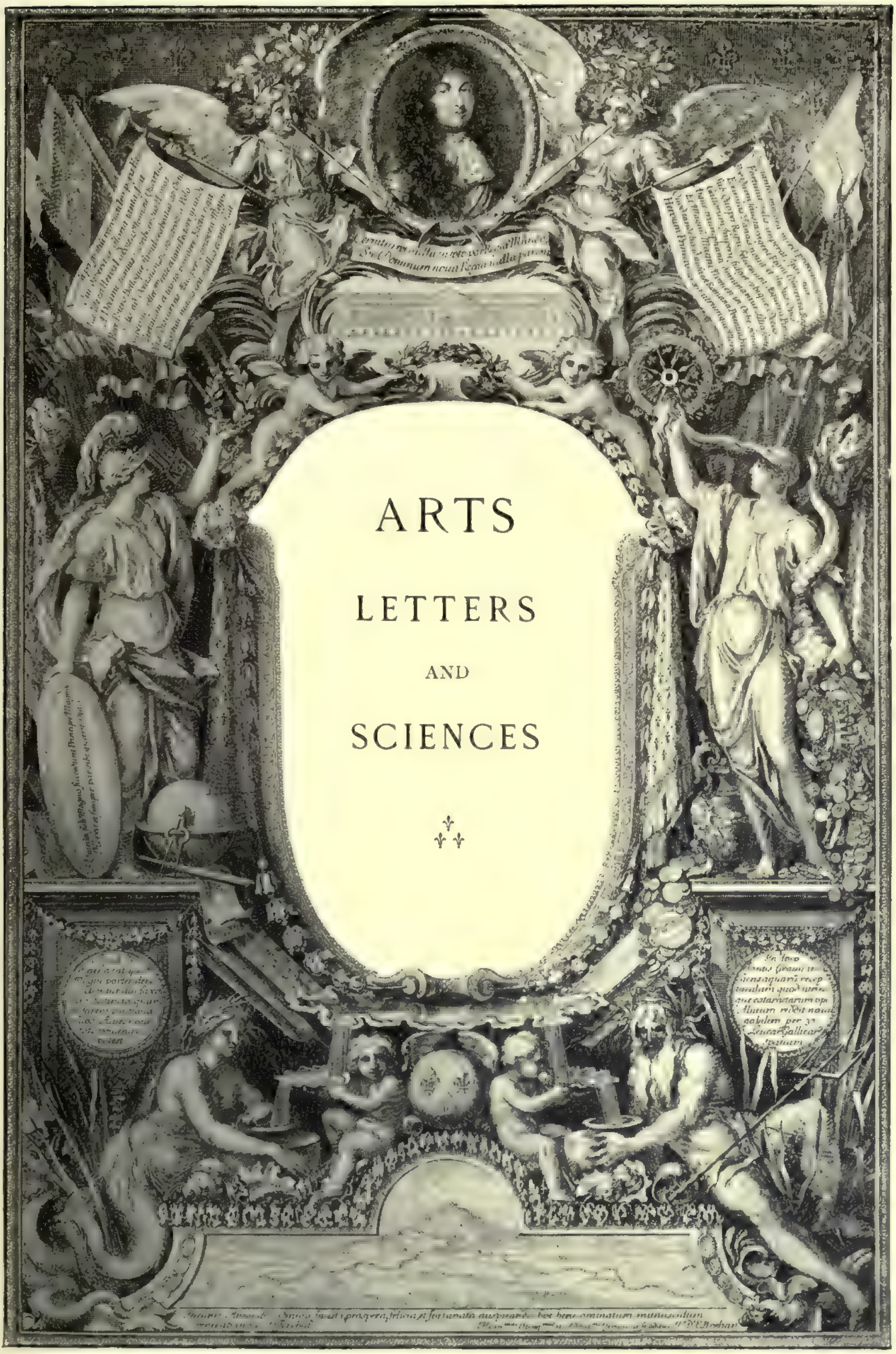
In 1725, Saint-Simon put a similar picture before Fleury. Here it is: "In Normandy the people live on the grass of the fields. I speak in secret and in confidence to a Frenchman, to a bishop, to a minister, to the only man who appears to have any share in the confidence of the King, who is a king only in so far that he has a kingdom and has subjects, yet is of an age to be able to feel the importance of this matter, and who, although he is the first king in Europe, cannot be a great king if he be king only of beggars of all conditions and if his kingdom is turning into a vast hospital of dying and despairing people."



FIELD WORK.

(From the picture by the brothers Le Nain, *Hay Harvest*.—Musée du Louvre.)

These eloquent appeals have met in our time with incredulous readers who would incline, with Voltaire, to draw a less sombre picture of the French people. The indignation of Vauban and La Bruyère inspires us, however, with more confidence than the complacent philosophy of the author of "Le Siècle de Louis XIV."


ARTS
LETTERS
AND
SCIENCES

COMPOSITION AND PRINT BY SÉBASTIEN LECLERC IN HONOUR OF LOUIS XIV.
(1677.)

FRIEZE IN GILT STUCCO FROM THE SALON DE L'ŒIL-DE-BŒUF.
(Château de Versailles.—Carving by Van Clève.)

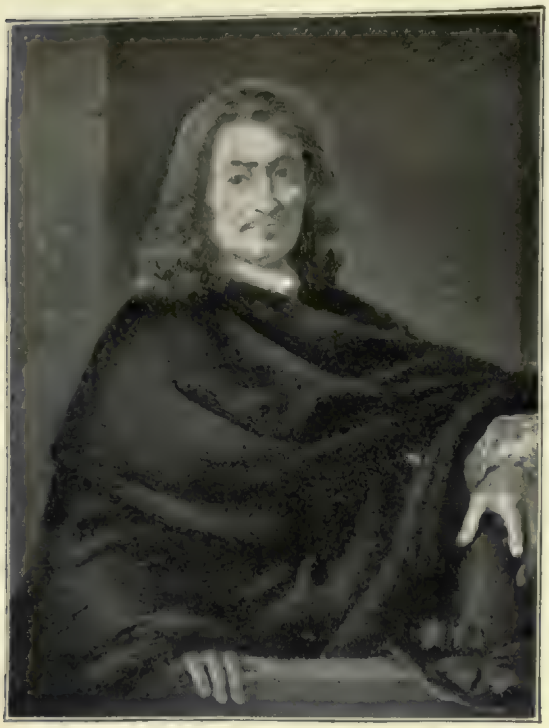
# I

## SCIENCES

ORNAMENTED LETTER.
(By François Chauveau.)

THIS favoured century, which witnessed the birth of a revolution in the human mind, did not seem destined to such fortune. To begin with philosophy, there was no appearance in the time of Louis XIII. that it would extricate itself from chaos. The Inquisition in Italy, in Spain, and in Portugal, had bound up philosophic errors with the dogmas of religion; the civil wars in France, and the quarrels of Calvinism, were not more likely to cultivate human reason than was the fanaticism of Cromwell's time in England.

Lord Bacon had shown the way to science from afar; Galileo had discovered the laws of falling bodies; Torricelli had begun to know the weight of the air that surrounds us; some experiments had been made at Magdeburg. Nevertheless the schools and the world were alike in ignorance. Then came Descartes; he did the very contrary of what ought to be done; instead of studying nature he guessed at it. He was the greatest geometrician of his time; but geometry leaves the mind as it finds it. Descartes was too much inclined to invention; the first among mathematicians produced romances of philosophy only. A man who disdained experiments, who never quoted Galileo, one who would build without materials, could raise none but an imaginary edifice.



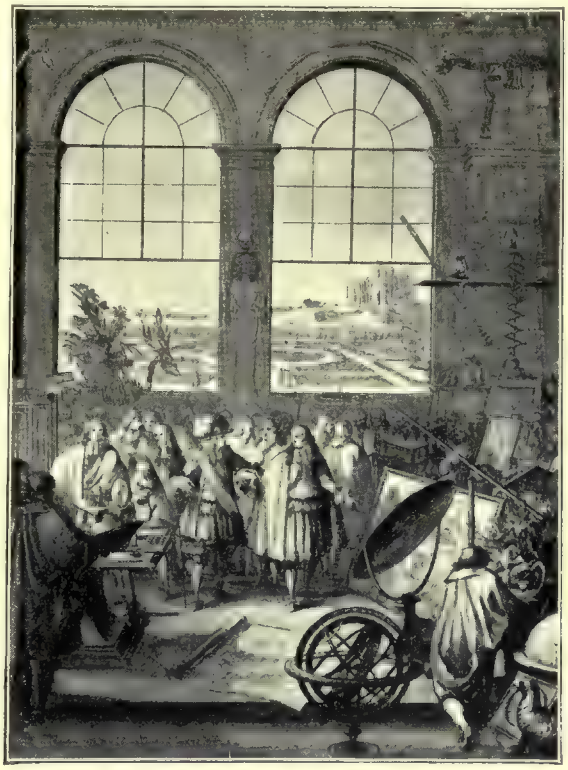
PORTRAIT OF DESCARTES BY S. BOURDON.
(Musée du Louvre.)

The romantic portion of his system succeeded, and the little truth there was in his new notions was at first contested. But at length that little truth did prevail, owing to the method he had introduced: for before him there was no clue to this labyrinth, and he at least gave one, which others used after he himself had gone astray. It was important that the delusions of peripateticism should be destroyed, even by other delusions.

These two phantoms fought; the one fell after the other, and reason at last arose upon their ruins. In that fatherland of the arts, the "Academia del Cimento" which Cardinal Léopoldo de' Médici had founded about 1655 at Florence, it was already felt that the great edifice of Nature could only be understood by examining it piece by piece. This Academy rendered great services after Galileo and from the time of Torricelli.

A few philosophers in England, under the austere administration of Cromwell, met together to seek for truths in peace, while fanaticism was oppressing all truth. Charles II., who had been restored to the throne of his ancestors, granted letters patent to this infant Academy, but that was all the Government gave. The Royal Society, or rather the free Society of London, worked for the honour of working. From its bosom in our own day have proceeded discoveries respecting geometry, light, the principle of gravitation, the aberration of the fixed stars, and many others which might entitle this to be called "the century of the English" as well as that of Louis XIV.

In 1666, M. Colbert, jealous of that rising fame, desired that France should share it; and, upon the petition of certain *savants*, he got Louis XIV. to sanction the establishment of an Academy of Sciences. This was free until 1699, like the Royal Society of London and the Académie Française. Colbert brought Domenico Cassini from Italy, Huygens from Holland, and Roëmer from Denmark by large salaries. Roëmer determined the velocity of the sun's rays, Huygens discovered the ring of Saturn and one of his satellites, and Cassini discovered the other four. Huygens, though he was not actually the inventor of pendulum-clocks, defined the true principles of the regularity of their movements — principles which he had deduced from his profound study of geometry.



LOUIS XIV. VISITING THE MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY AND THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.

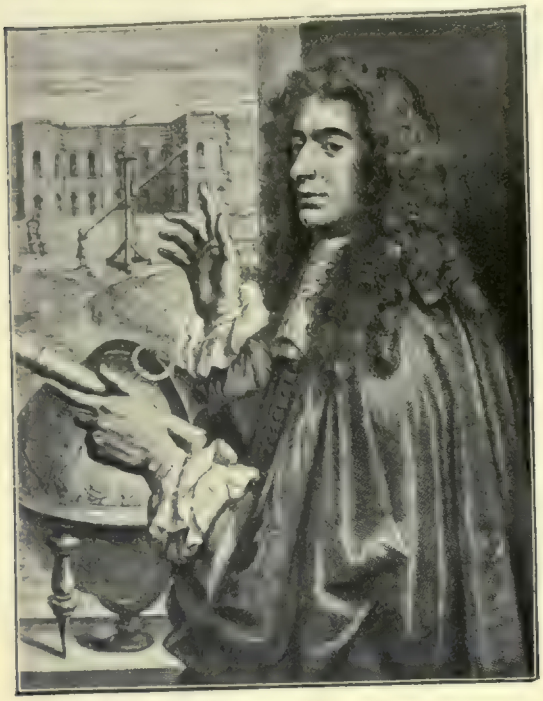
(From an engraving by Sébastien Leclerc.)

Previous systems were now discarded, and information on all the parts of physical science was gradually attained. The public was astonished with a chemistry which did not seek the philosopher's stone or the elixir of life, astronomy which did not predict future events, and medicine independent of the phases of the moon. Corruption was no longer the mother of animals and of plants. There were no more prodigies, so soon as Nature was better known, and she was being studied in all her productions.

Geography made startling advances. Louis XIV. had no sooner built the Observatoire than he set Domenico Cassini and Picard to work in 1669 upon a meridian line. This was continued northwards by Lahire in 1683, and was finally prolonged by Cassini in 1700 to the extremity of Roussillon. It is the finest astronomical monument, and might suffice to immortalise the century.

In 1672 physicists were sent to Cayenne to make observations. This voyage was the origin of our knowledge of the depression of the earth at the poles: this was afterwards demonstrated by Sir Isaac Newton, and it led to those more famous voyages which did such honour to the reign of Louis XIV.

Tournefort was despatched to the East in 1700 to collect plants for the Jardin Royal (Jardin des Plantes), which had been completely neglected, but was restored, and is now an object of curiosity to Europe. The Bibliothèque Royale, already extensive, received an addition of thirty thousand volumes under Louis XIV.; and this example has been so faithfully followed that the number of volumes is now over one hundred and eighty thousand. The King re-opened the School of Law which had been closed for a century, and he established a professor of French law in all the universities.



GIOVANNI DOMENICO CASSINI (1625–1712).
(From an engraving by Cossin.)

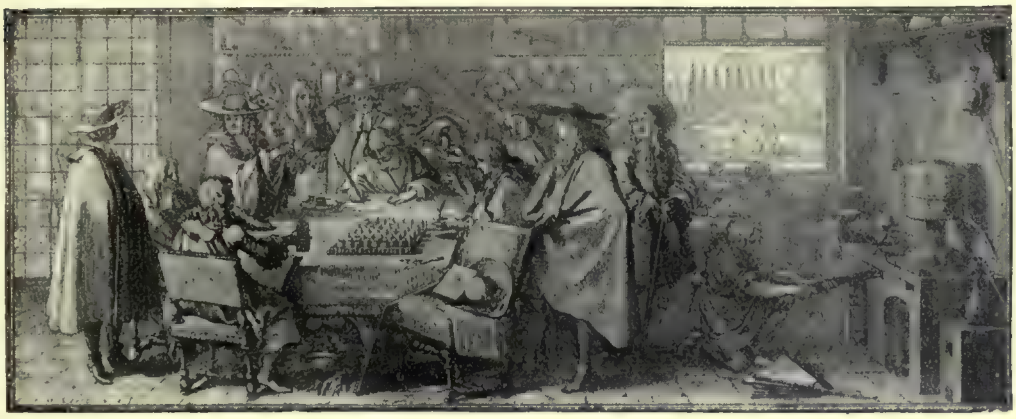
In his reign newspapers came into existence. *Le Journal des Savants*, first published in 1665, was the parent of all the works of this kind which now abound in Europe.

The Académie des Belles-lettres, originally founded in 1663 by a few members of the Académie Française, for the purpose of transmitting the actions of Louis XIV. to posterity by medals, became useful to the public so soon as it ceased to be exclusively occupied with the monarch, and applied itself to antiquarian research and judicious criticism of opinions and facts. It did almost the same for history as the Academy of Sciences did for physics—it dispelled error.

MEDAL COMMEMORATIVE OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE ACADEMY OF INSCRIPTIONS AND MEDALS: "RERUM GESTARUM FIDES."

The spirit of wisdom and criticism which spread from one to another insensibly destroyed a great deal of superstition. In 1672 the King prohibited the courts from admitting mere accusations of sorcery. Henri IV. or Louis XIII. would not have ventured to do this, and although subsequently to 1672 charges of witchcraft have been brought before the judges, they have generally condemned the accused only as guilty of profanity and the employment of poison.

It was formerly a common practice to put sorcerers to the test by throwing them, bound with ropes, into the water: if they floated, they were convicted. Several provincial judges had ordered these ordeals, and the practice subsisted for a long time among the people. Every shepherd was a sorcerer, and amulets and constellation-rings were in use in the towns. That water-springs, treasure or thieves were discovered by the divining-rod, was considered certain, and is still believed in more than one German province. Almost everyone had his horoscope drawn; magic secrets were the common talk. Scholars and magistrates had written seriously on these matters; a class of demonographers was admitted among authors. There were rules for discerning true magicians and those who were really possessed.

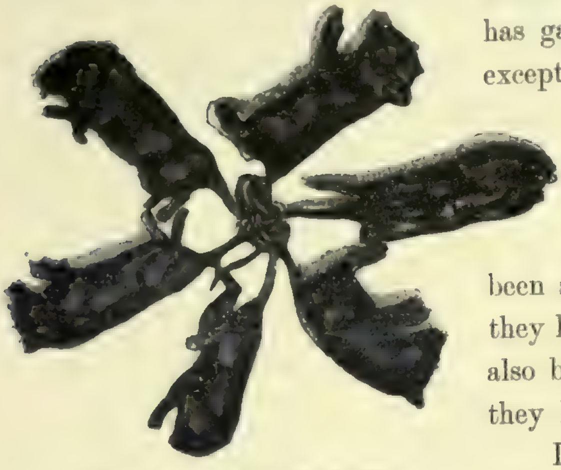


A SITTING IN A CHEMICAL LABORATORY: CHEMISTRY AT THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(Engraving by S. Leclerc in *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des plantes*, by Dodart.)

Superstitious ideas were so deeply rooted in the people that they were frightened by comets, even in 1680, and few had courage to oppose the popular credulity. Jacques Bernoulli, one of the great mathematicians of Europe, in refuting popular notions respecting the comet of that year, argued that the coma of the comet, because it is eternal, could not be a sign of the Divine wrath, but that the tail might be. And yet neither the tail nor the head is eternal. Bayle wrote a book against the popular prejudice; but the progress of reason has deprived it of its piquancy.

Although kings have no reason to be obliged to philosophers, it is true that the philosophic spirit which has gained access to all conditions of men except the lowest, contributes to uphold the rights of sovereigns. Quarrels which might formerly have led to excommunications, interdicts, and schisms, have not done so. It has been said that nations would be happier if they had philosophers for kings, but it may also be said that kings are better off when they have philosophers for subjects.



A LITTER OF RATS TIED BY THE TAIL.
(A great wonder that occurred in Germany in 1686, and is accredited by a popular print.)

It must be confessed that the reasonable spirit which was beginning to preside over education in the great towns was unable to control the fury of the fanatics of the Cévennes, or the violence of the mob around a tomb at Saint-Médard; neither did it calm the frivolous disputes between obstinate men who ought to have been wise. But before this century those disputes would have caused troubles in the State; the miracles of Saint-Médard would have been believed by the most respectable citizens, and fanaticism, which was happily confined to the mountains of the Cévennes, would have extended to the towns.

All kinds of science and literature have been exhausted in this century, and so many writers have enlarged the bounds of knowledge that those who in other times would have passed for prodigies have been lost in the crowd. Their fame is little, and the fame of the century is great, because of their number.

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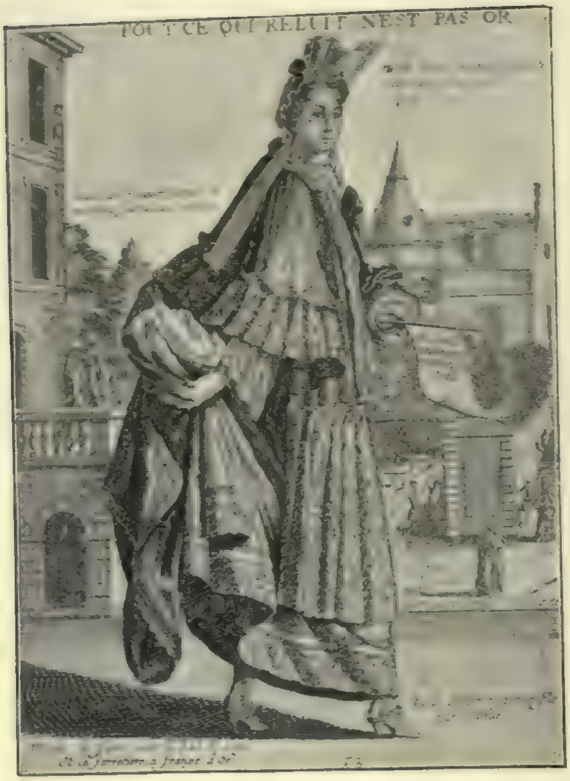
In giving the sciences the foremost place in this picture of the progress of the French mind during the seventeenth century, we have respected the order that was adopted by Voltaire. That order, as he acknowledges, is not favourable to the true perspective of the epoch.

He adopted it because he was especially anxious to trace the elements of modern thought in the Great Century in describing its successor. For Voltaire, as to d'Alembert, sciences and philosophy united, and the spirit of criticism and research awoke humanity from a long lethargy at the close of the reign of Louis XIV. "A light is shining that did not enlighten our forefathers." In their eagerness to salute the dawn of that new era, to exalt Gassendi, Bayle and Fontenelle, the men of the eighteenth century exaggerated the darkness that had preceded it.

Voltaire perhaps, like the others, has overstated the facts ; but his admiration for the achievements of his own age has not made him unjust for a single instant towards the Great Century.

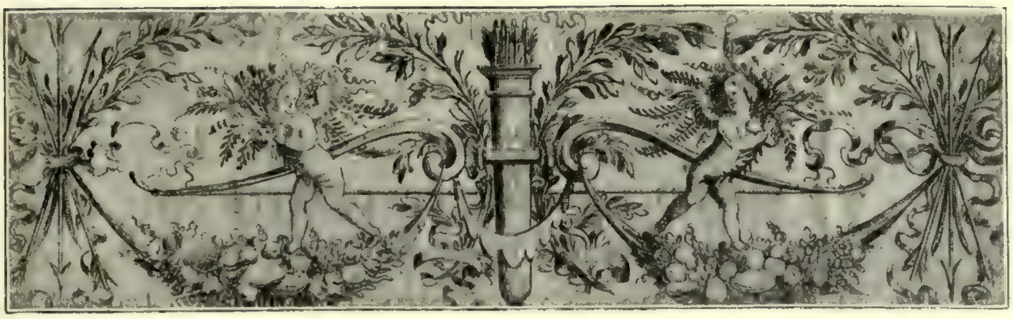
PIERRE GASSEND, CALLED GASSENDI (1592–1655).
Mathematician and philosopher.
(Medallion by Varin, in the Collection of Baron Jérôme Pichon.)

None have enjoyed and praised the literary and artistic works of the contemporaries of Louis XIV. more than Voltaire. He was large-minded enough to appreciate how widely they had extended the sphere of the French intellect. We shall see with what vivid perception and true emotion he afterwards speaks of the other lights of literature and the arts in the reign of the great King.


TOUT CE QUI RELUIT NEST PAS OR

A CRITICISM ON THE FASHIONS.

(From a caricature of the period.)



(From a composition by S. Leclerc in the series called "The Lorraine.")

# II

## LITERATURE

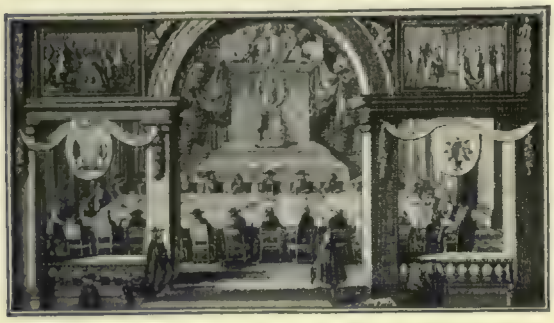
ORNAMENTAL LETTER BY FR. CHAUVEAU.
(For the Collection of *Courses de tétes et de bagues*, of the Imprimerie Royale.)

SOUND philosophy did not make so great progress in France as in England or at Florence; and although the Academy of Sciences rendered services to mankind in general, it did not put France above other nations. All the great inventions and all the great truths came from elsewhere.

But, in eloquence, in poetry, in literature, in works on morals, and in fiction and entertainment, the French were the legislators of Europe. Taste existed no longer in Italy. True eloquence was unknown anywhere; religion was ill-taught in the pulpit, and causes were ill-pleaded at the bar.

Preachers quoted Virgil and Ovid; lawyers Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome. The genius who should give grace, rhythm, propriety of style and dignity to the French language, had not yet appeared. Some verses of Malherbe made it felt that the language was capable of grandeur and force; but that was all. The same gifted men who had written very well in Latin, for instance President De Thou, a Chancellor of the Hospital, failed when they handled their own rebellious language. French was not yet commendable except for a certain piquancy which had constituted the sole merit of Joinville, Amyot, Marot, Montaigne, Régnier, of "La Satire Ménippée."

The first orator who spoke in the grand style was Jean de Lingendes, Bishop of Mâcon: he is now forgotten because he never had his works printed. His sermons and his funeral orations, though they were not free from the defects of his time, were the model of orators who imitated and surpassed him. The funeral oration in 1630 on Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, surnamed in his own country "the Great," which the Bishop delivered, was so finely eloquent that Fléchier long afterwards took the entire exordium, as well as the text and several striking passages, and used them in his oration at the funeral of the Vicomte de Turenne.



A SITTING OF THE ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE RECENTLY INSTALLED AT THE LOUVRE.

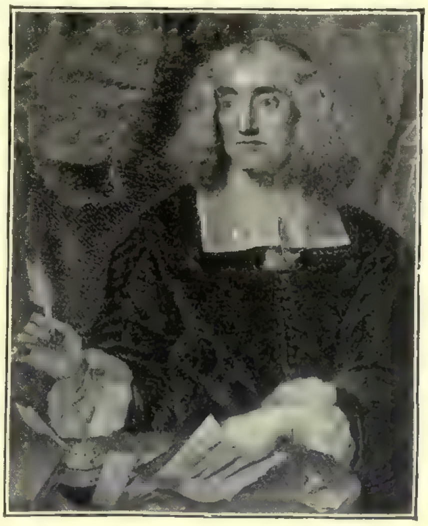
Balzac gave variety and harmony to prose about the same time. It is true that his letters were bombastic harangues; he wrote to the Cardinal de Retz: "You have just assumed the sceptre of kings with the colours of roses." Notwithstanding this fault he charmed the ear. Eloquence has such power over men that Balzac was admired in his day for having discovered the art of choosing words harmoniously, and indeed for having frequently used it out of place.

Voiture gives some idea of the light graces of this epistolary style, which is not the best, being mainly jesting. His letters are mere buffoonery; in the two volumes not one instructive letter is to be found, not one that comes from the heart, not one that paints the manners of the times and the characters of men. This is abuse rather than use of wit.

The language was now becoming more refined, and taking a permanent form. This was due to the Académie Française, and especially to Vaugelas. His "Traduction de Quinte-Curce," which appeared in 1646, was the first book written in a good style, and only a few of his expressions are now out of date.

Olivier Patru, who came immediately after him, did much to refine the language; and although he did not pass for a profound lawyer, such order, perspicuity, propriety, and elegance of speech as his were previously absolutely unknown at the bar.

The little collection of the Maxims by François, Duc de la Rochefoucauld, contributed largely to form the style of the language and to give it terseness and precision. Although the one truth, that selfishness is the motive of everything, is almost the only truth is this book, the thought is presented under so many different aspects that it rarely fails to be attractive. It is not so much a book as material for the ornamenting of a book. This little collection was eagerly read; it accustomed its readers to think, and to cast their thoughts into a precise, refined and expressive form. This had never been done by anybody before the Duc de la Rochefoucauld, since the revival of letters in Europe.



CONRART, THE FOUNDER OF THE ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE.

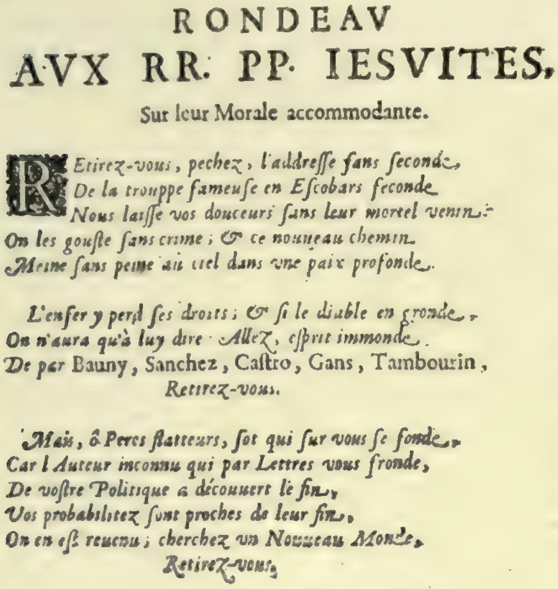
(Portrait by Lefebvre, engraved by Coussin.)

But the first prose work of genius was Pascal's "Lettres Provinciales," published in 1656. Every sort of eloquence is to be found in that. Not a single word in it has been affected in a hundred years by the alteration that often occurs in living languages. This work fixed the standard of the language. The Bishop of Luçon, son of the famous Bussy, told me that when he asked the Bishop of Meaux what work he would have best liked to have written, if he had not written his own, Bossuet replied, "The 'Lettres Provinciales.'" They lost much of their point when the Jesuits were abolished, and the subjects of their disputes fell into oblivion.

The good taste that reigns throughout this book and the vigour of the later letters did not at first avail to correct diffuseness, incorrectness and slovenliness of style in authors, preachers, and lawyers.

Père Bourdaloue was the first of the new great preachers. He brought eloquence and reason together in the pulpit in 1668. He was a new light. He was succeeded by other pulpit orators, such as Père Massillon, Bishop of Clermont, who spoke with greater grace than he, and depicted the manners of the age with finer precision; but he has never been forgotten. His style was strong rather than florid, there was nothing imaginative in it; he desired to convince rather than to touch his hearers, and never sought to please.

He had been preceded by Bossuet, afterwards Bishop of Meaux. The latter, who became so great a man, was betrothed while quite a youth to Mademoiselle Desvieux, an admirable young lady. His taste and talent for theological studies, and his gift of eloquence manifested themselves so early, that his relations and friends induced him to devote himself to the Church. Mademoiselle Desvieux herself urged him to this decision, and was consoled by her prevision of the fame that awaited him.



RONDEAV
AVX RR: PP· IESVITES,
Sur leur Morale accommodante.

REtirez-vous, pechez, l'addreſſe ſans ſeconde,
De la trouppe fameuſe en Eſcobars feconde
Nous laiſſe vos douceurs ſans leur mortel venin:
On les gouſte ſans crime; & ce nouueau chemin
Meine ſans peine au ciel dans vne paix profonde.

L'enfer y perd ſes droits; & ſi le diable en gronde,
On n'aura qu'à luy dire: Allez, eſprit immonde,
De par Bauny, Sanchez, Caſtro, Gans, Tambourin,
Retirez-vous.

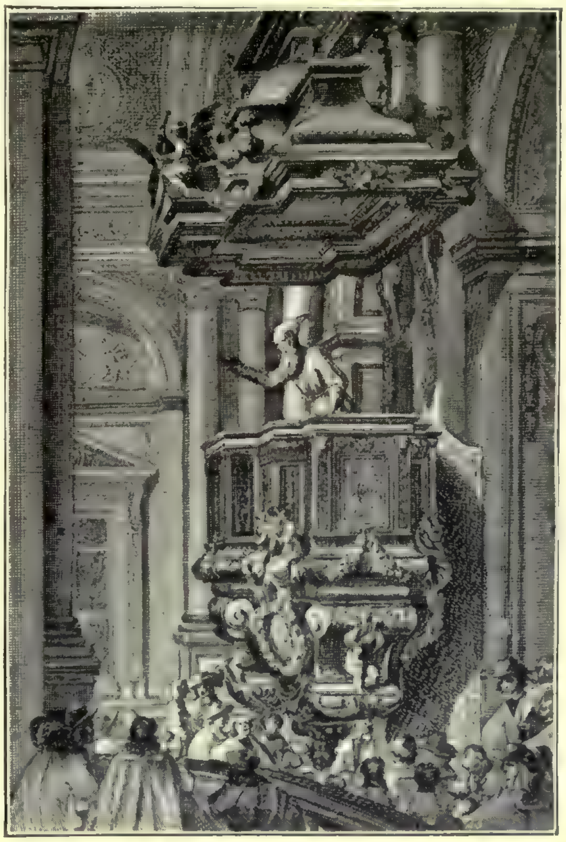
Mais, ô Peres flatteurs, ſot qui ſur vous ſe fonde,
Car l'Auteur inconnu qui par Lettres vous fronde,
De voſtre Politique a découuert le fin,
Vos probabilitez ſont proches de leur fin,
On en eſt reuenu; cherchez vn Nouueau Monde,
Retirez-vous.

A RONDEAU TO THE JESUIT FATHERS.

Placed at the end of the Introduction to one of the early editions of the *Lettres Provinciales* (Cologne, 1657).

He was still young when he preached before the King and the Queen-mother in 1662, long before Bourdaloue was known. His sermons, which were made doubly impressive by dignified and noble gesture, were the first with any approach to the sublime that had been heard at Court, and so great was their success that the King had a letter sent in his name to the preacher's father, who was intendant of Soissons, to congratulate him on possessing such a son.

When Bourdaloue appeared, Bossuet could no longer rank as the foremost preacher. He was already famous for his funeral sermons, and had been rewarded with the bishopric of Condom for his oration at the burial of Anne of Austria. That discourse was not quite worthy of him; it was not printed, nor were his ordinary sermons. His funeral panegyric on the Queen-Dowager of England, widow of Charles I., in 1669, was in almost every respect a masterpiece. The interest of these displays of eloquence is in proportion to the misfortunes which have marked the lives of the subjects of them. It is the same in the case of tragedies; the growing interest attaches to the accumulating woes of the leading personages. His funeral panegyric on Madame, who died in her prime, and with him by her side, achieved the greatest and more rare of triumphs; it made the Court weep! He was obliged to stop after he uttered the famous words; "O nuit désastreuse! nuit effroyable, où retentit tout à coup, comme un éclat de tonnerre, cette étonnante nouvelle: Madame se meurt, Madame est morte!" The voice of the orator was lost in the sobs of his hearers.

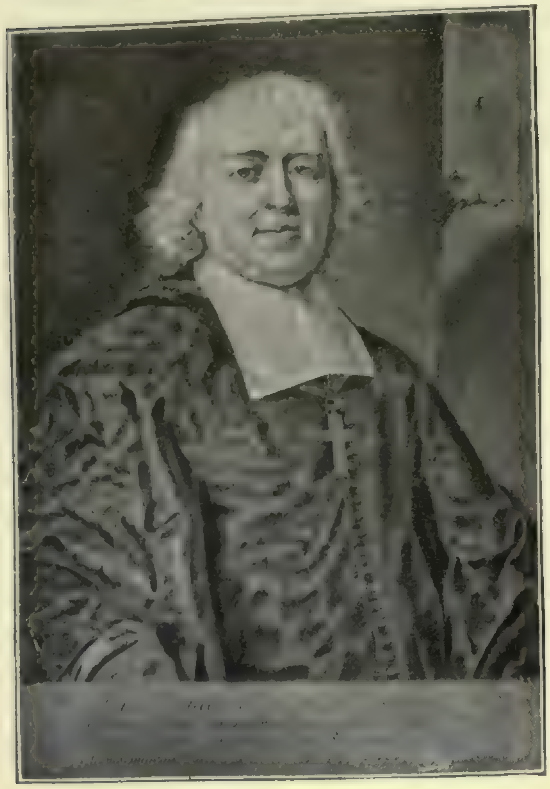


A SERMON IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: THE CAPUCHIN.
(From a print by Lepautre.)

The French were the only people who produced this kind of eloquence. Some time afterwards Bossuet invented a new kind, and it succeeded because it was his. He applied the art of oratory to history, which seems to exclude it. His "Discours sur l'histoire Universelle," composed for the education of the Dauphin, had no model, and found no imitators. His method of reconciling the chronology of the Jews with that of the other nations has been challenged by *savants*; but his style has only admirers. The majestic power of his description of the manners, the government, the growth and the fall of great empires astonished everybody, and the courageous truthfulness with which he depicts and judges the nations deepened that impression.

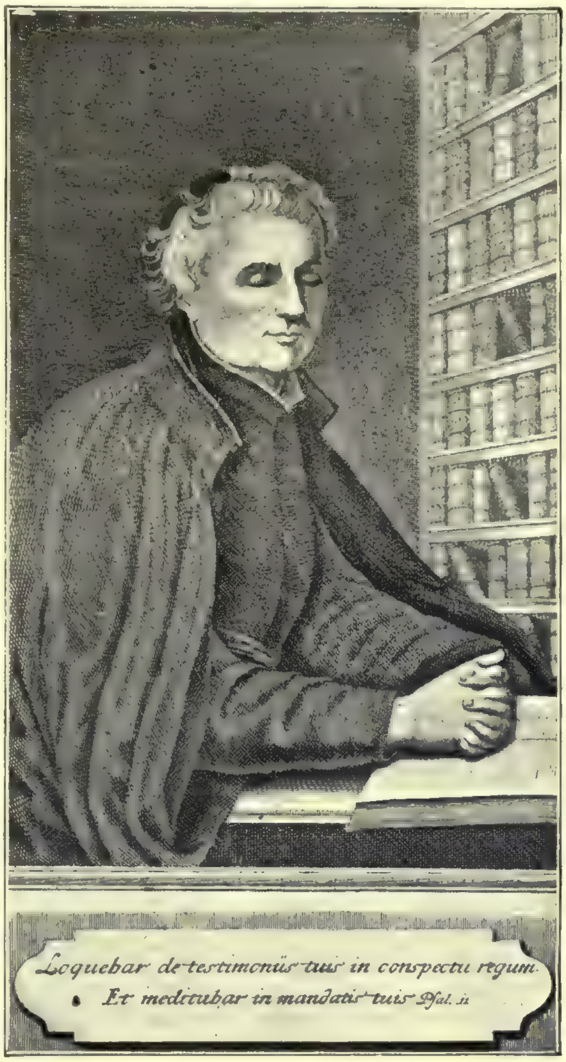
Almost all the works which did honour to the century were of a kind unknown to antiquity. "Télémaque" is of this number. Fénelon, the disciple and friend of Bossuet, and who afterwards, in spite of himself, became his rival and his foe, composed this singular book, which is half romance and half poem, and substitutes a cadenced prose for verse. In "Télémaque" Fénelon purposed to treat romance as Bossuet had treated history, by giving it charm and dignity hitherto unknown, and especially by investing it with a moral utility to human nature that never had been previously attempted. It was believed that he had written "Télémaque" for the instruction of the Duc de Bourgogne, and the other children of France, as Bossuet had written his "Histoire Universelle" for the instruction of Monseigneur (the Grand Dauphin); but his nephew, the Marquis de Fénelon, the inheritor of his uncle's virtues, who was killed at the battle of Recoux, assured me that this was not the case.

The book was not written until after his retirement to Cambray. He was deeply read in classic literature; his imagination was both vivid and tender; he made a style which was his only and flowed in unchecked abundance from its source. I have seen the original manuscript; it does not contain ten erasures. He completed it in three months in the midst of the unhappy disputes on Quietism, little thinking how far superior to his occupations this recreation was. It is said that a servant stole a copy and had it printed. If this be so, the Archbishop of Cambray owed to that theft all the reputation he had in Europe, but his irretrievable ruin with the Court was also due to it.



J. B. BOSSUET AT THE AGE OF SEVENTY-TWO.
(From the original by Rigaud, engraved by Sarrabat.)

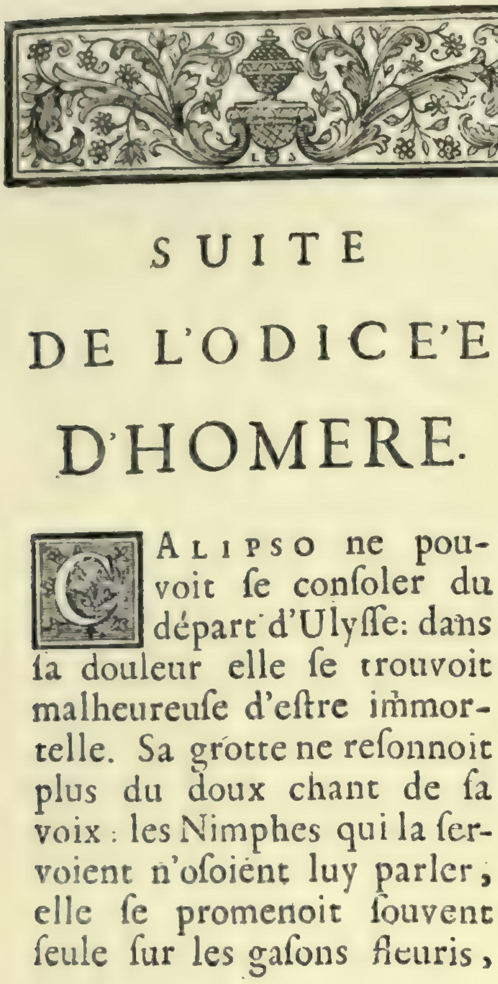
It was believed that "Télémaque" was an indirect criticism on the government of Louis XIV. Sesostris, who was too ostentatious in his triumph, and Idomeneus, who made Salentum luxurious, but forgot the necessaries of life, were taken to be portraits of the King, although after all it requires the arts which produce the first necessities to procure the superfluous by their superabundance. To the eye of the malcontents the Marquis de Louvois was represented under the name of Protesilaus, the vain, stern and haughty enemy of the great captains who served the State and not the minister.


Loquebar de testimoniis tuis in conspectu regum.
Et meditabar in mandatis tuis Psal. ii

BOURDALOUE AT PRAYER.
(From the painting by Jouvenet, engraved by Rössler.)

The allies who combined against Louis XIV. in the war of 1688, and who afterwards shook his power in the war of 1701, were delighted to recognise him in this same Idomeneus whose arrogance alienated all his neighbours. These allusions made a profound impression, because of the harmonious style that so gently persuades to moderation and peace. Foreigners and even Frenchmen, weary of war, discovered a satire, in a book written to inculcate all the virtues, with mischievous satisfaction. A great number of editions were published. I have seen fourteen in English. After the death of the monarch who was so much feared, envied and respected by all, so much hated by some, and when human malignity ceased to revel in allusions which were supposed to censure his conduct, a more stern court of opinion judged "Télémaque" severely enough, blaming the work for prolixity, detail, want of cohesion, and also for repetition and the monotony of the scenes of rural life; nevertheless, "Télémaque" has always been regarded as one of the glories of a resplendent age.

"Les Caractères," by La Bruyère, is also a work that stands alone. Its style, fluent, concise, vigorous, its picturesque phrases and novel use of the language, without violation of its rules, struck the public, and the transparent allusions secured its success. When La Bruyère showed his manuscript to M. de Malézieu, the latter said: "This is certain to bring you many readers and also many enemies." The work ceased to be rated so highly when the entire generation it had attacked had passed away. Nevertheless, as it treats of matters that are for all time and all places, it is not likely ever to be forgotten. "Télémaque" has had some imitators; "Les Caractères" has had more. It is easier to give pictures in little of things that strike us, than to produce a long work of imagination which pleases while it instructs.



SUITE
DE L'ODICE'E
D'HOMERE.

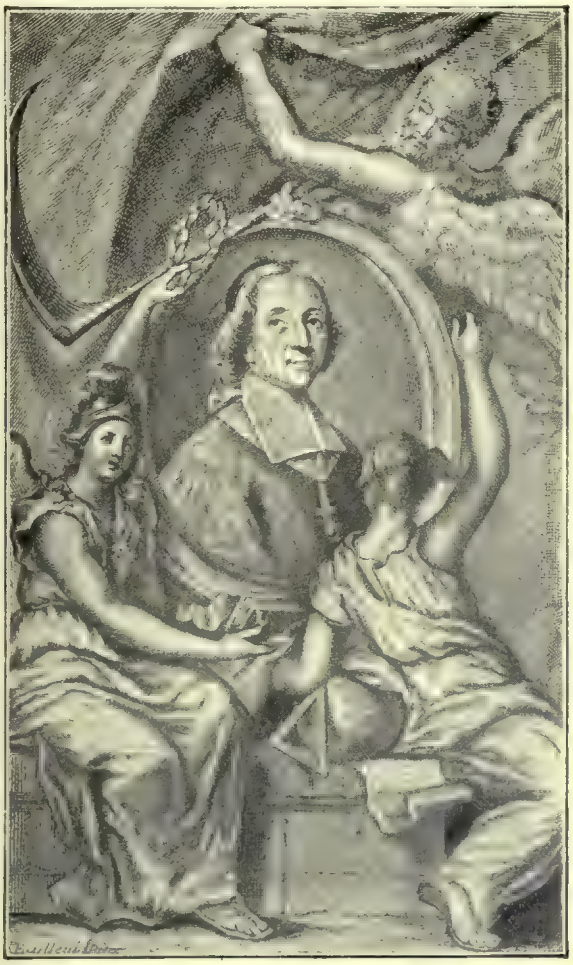
CALIPSO ne pouvoit ſe conſoler du départ d'Ulyſſe: dans ſa douleur elle ſe trouvoit malheureuſe d'eſtre immortelle. Sa grotte ne reſonnoit plus du doux chant de ſa voix : les Nimphes qui la ſervoient n'oſoient luy parler, elle ſe promenoit ſouvent ſeule ſur les gaſons fleuris,

FIRST PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF "TÉLÉMAQUE," WHICH APPEARED UNDER THE TITLE: "SUITE DE L'ODYSSÉE D'HOMÈRE."

The delicate art of imparting grace to philosophy was new. "Les Mondes" was the first example of it; but a dangerous example, because the true setting of philosophy is order, lucidity and, above all, truth. The book was ingenious, but it has probably failed to be ranked as a classic because it is founded in part upon the chimerical theory of Descartes.

We shall not dwell here upon the number of good books of the century, but will pause only at the new or singular productions of genius which distinguish it from other centuries. The eloquence of Bossuet and Bourdaloue, for instance, was not and could not be that of Cicero. If the new eloquence had any resemblance to that of the Roman orator, the likeness will be traced in the three memorials which Pellisson composed for Fouquet. They are of the same kind as several of the orations of Cicero, a mixture of legal with State affairs, treated with sound unobtrusive art, and adorned by affecting eloquence.

We have had historians, but never a Livy. The style of "La Conjuration de Venise" bears comparison with that of Sallust. The Abbé de Saint Réal evidently took him for his model, and perhaps he has surpassed him. All the other works to which we have referred belong to a new creation. This is the special distinction of the great century; for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced *savants* and commentators in plenty, but true genius in any line was not yet developed.



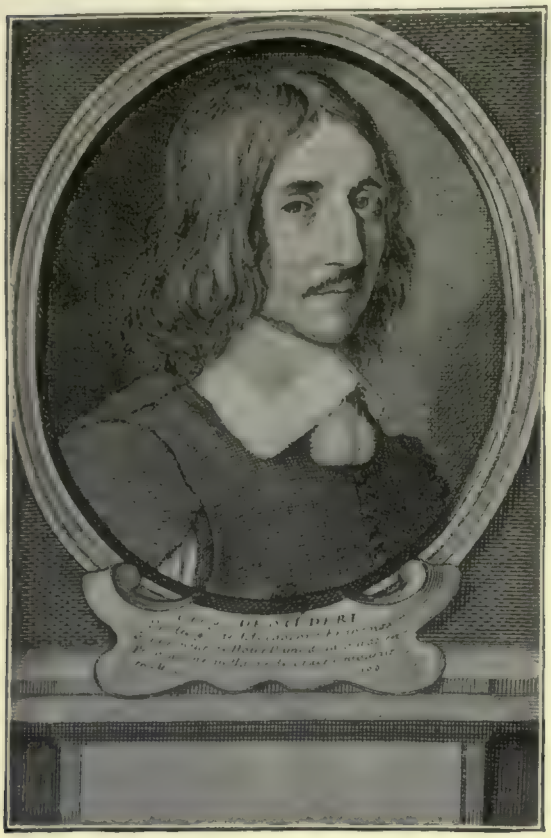
FRONTISPIECE OF THE FIRST COMPLETE EDITION OF "TÉLÉMAQUE," PUBLISHED IN 1717 BY THE MARQUIS DE FÉNELON.
(Print by Bailleul and Duflos.)

Who would believe that all these fine works in prose would probably never have existed if they had not been preceded by poetry? This is, however, the destiny of the human intellect in every nation; verse has always been the first-born of genius, and the first teacher of eloquence.

Nations are like individuals. Plato and Cicero began by writing in verse. Not a passage of noble or sublime French prose could be quoted, when everyone knew the few beautiful stanzas left by Malherbe, and it is conceivable that, save for Pierre Corneille, the genius of prose would not have been developed.

Corneille is all the more admirable because he had only bad models when he began to produce tragedies, and these bad models were held in esteem. For his greater discouragement too, they were favoured by Cardinal de Richelieu, the patron of men of letters, but not of good taste. The Cardinal-minister rewarded small writers, who are generally servile, and desired to keep down those in whom, to his displeasure, he recognised real genius, which seldom stoops to dependence. Good artists are very seldom patronised by a power-wielding man who is himself an artist.

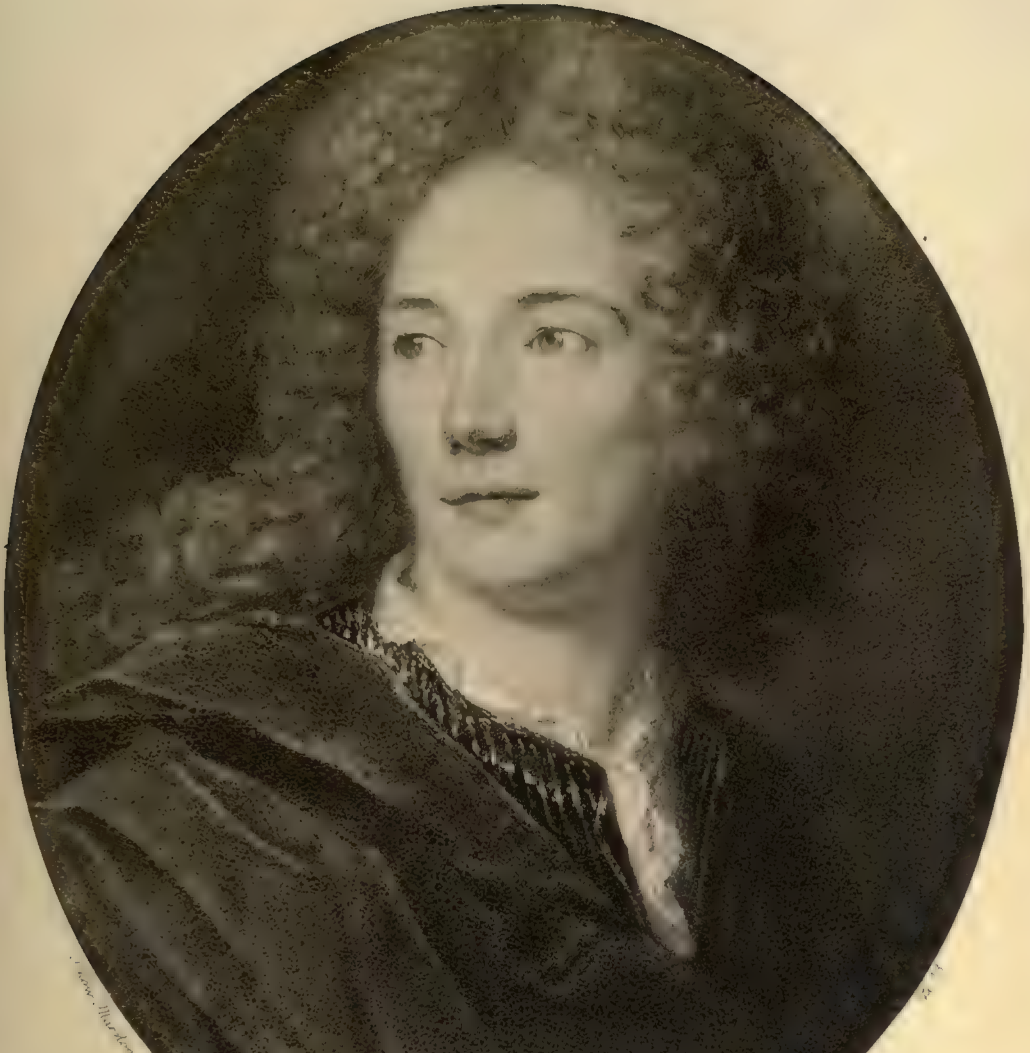
Corneille had to contend with his time, his rivals, and Cardinal de Richelieu. I will not repeat here what has been written concerning "Le Cid." I shall merely remark that the Académie Française, in its judicial decisions between Corneille and Scudéry, were too accommodating to Richelieu in condemning Chimène (Ximena). That she should love the murderer and yet seek vengeance for the murder was sublime. The denial of her love would have been a capital defect in tragic art, which chiefly consists in the strife of the heart; but art was unknown then except to Pierre Corneille.


GEORGES DE SCUDÉRY.
(From a print by Desrochers.)

"Le Cid" was not the only work of its author that Cardinal de Richelieu would have put down if he could. The Abbé d'Aubignac tells us that the great Minister disapproved of "Polyeucte."

"Le Cid" is, after all, a highly-embellished imitation of Guillem de Castro, and in many places a direct translation. "Cinna," which followed it, was original. I knew an old servant of the house of Condé who said that the great Condé, then about twenty years of age, being present at a first performance of "Cinna," shed tears at the words of Augustus:—

Je suis maître de moi comme de l'univers;
Je le suis, je veux l'être. O siècles! O mémoire!
Conservez à jamais ma dernière victoire.
Je triomphe aujourd'hui du plus juste courroux
De qui le souvenir puisse aller jusqu'à vous:
Soyons amis, Cinna; c'est moi qui t'en convie.

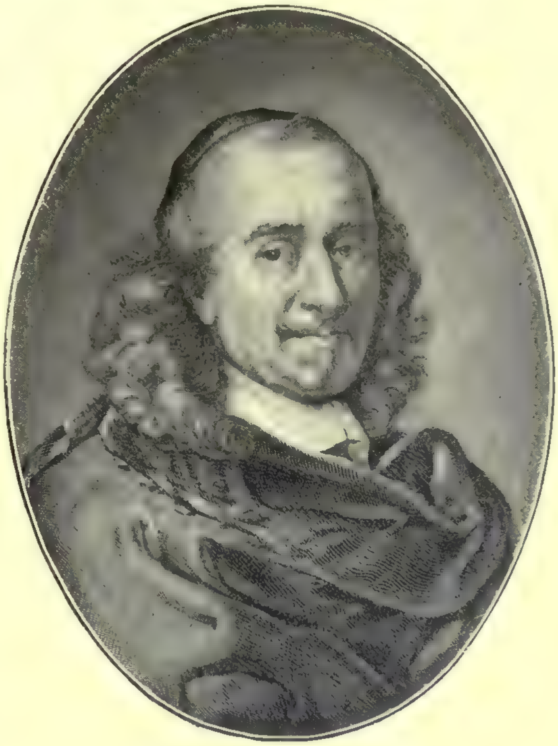


Jean de La Bruyère

Peinture sur cuivre conservée au musée de Versailles

Those were the tears of a hero. The great Corneille making the great Condé weep with admiration is a memorable epoch in the history of the human mind.

The large number of inferior plays which he wrote many years afterwards did not prevent the nation from regarding him as a great man, just as the considerable defects of Homer did not prevent him from being sublime. It is the privilege of true genius, and especially of the genius that initiates, to make great mistakes with impunity.

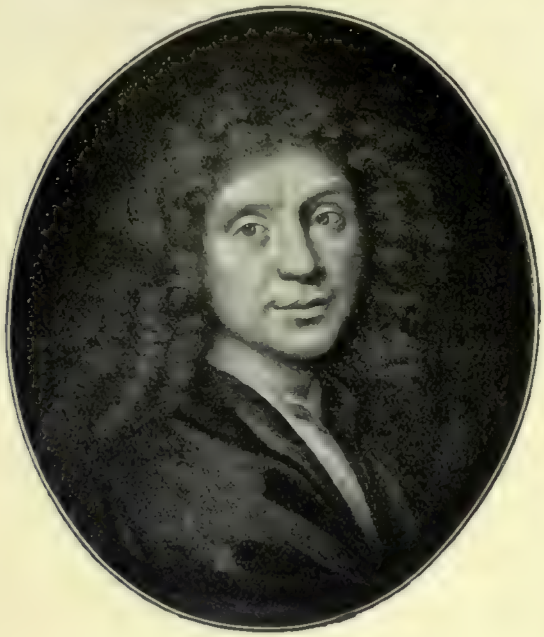


PIERRE CORNEILLE.
(From the original portrait by Lebrun.)

Corneille was formed by himself only, but Louis XIV., Colbert, Sophocles, and Euripides all contributed to form Racine. An ode which he composed at the age of eighteen in honour of the marriage of the king brought him an unexpected present, and determined him to devote himself to poetry. His reputation has grown from day to day, and that of Corneille has declined a little. The reason is that in all his works since his "Alexandre" Racine is always elegant, always correct, always real, that he speaks to the heart, and that Corneille too often fails in all these respects. Racine went far beyond the Greeks and Corneille in the understanding of the passions, and carried the sweet harmony of verse and the graces of speech to the highest point they could reach. These men taught the nation to think, to feel, and to express itself. Their hearers, their pupils, instructed by them alone, at last became severe critics of their teachers.

There were but few persons in France in the time of Richelieu capable of detecting the faults of "Le Cid"; and in 1702, when "Athalie" was performed for the Duchesse de Bourgogne and her guests, the courtiers considered themselves competent to condemn it. Time has avenged the author, but the great man died without enjoying the fame of his finest work. A numerously-composed "set" deliberately did injustice to Racine. Madame de Sévigné, whose epistolary style was unrivalled in the century, and especially for its airy grace in discussing or describing trifles, always thinks Racine "will not last." She pronounced on him as she did on coffee, saying, "people will soon find it out." Reputations need time to mature.

The singular destiny of this century made Molière the contemporary of Corneille and Racine. It is not true that Molière, when he appeared, found the stage absolutely destitute of good comedies. Corneille himself had produced "Le Menteur," a play of character and intrigue, taken like "Le Cid" from the Spanish stage, and Molière had produced but two of his masterpieces in 1664 when Quinault gave "La Mère coquette," a play of character and intrigue, indeed a model of intrigue, to the public. This was the first comedy that depicted those who have since been called "les marquis." Most of the "grands seigneurs" at the Court of Louis XIV. longed to imitate the master's air of grandeur, dignity, and splendour. Those of an inferior order copied the proud bearing of the class above them; so that many carried their pretensions to importance to the height of absurdity.



MOLIÈRE.
(From the original portrait by Mignard, which belonged to the Duc d'Aumale, Château de Chantilly.)

This went on for a long time. Molière attacked the evil frequently, and he contributed to deliver the public from these pretenders, as well as from the affectation of the "précieuses," the pedantry of the "femmes savantes," and from the gowns and the Latin of the doctors. Molière was, if one may say so, a law-giver in good manners. I speak here only of this one social service which he rendered to his time; his other merits are sufficiently known.

Well worthy of the attention of the time to come is that in which the heroes of Corneille and Racine, the characters of Molière, the

THE GREAT CONDÉ.
(From a medal by Chéron, face.)

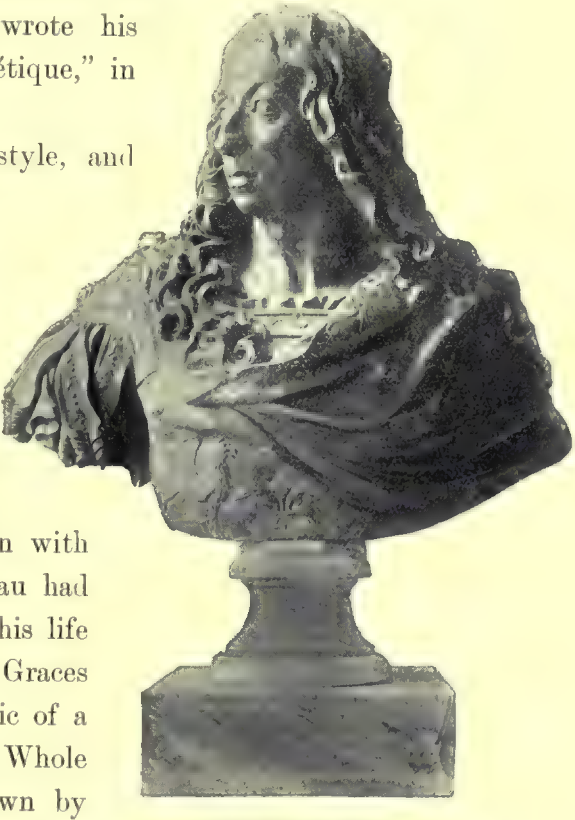
THE TRIUMPHS OF THE GREAT CONDÉ.
(Same medal, reverse.)

symphonies of Lulli, all new to the nation, the eloquence of Bossuet and Bourdaloue, were made known to Louis XIV., to Madame, so famous for her fine taste, to Condé, to Turenne, to Colbert, and to the eminent men who appeared in numbers in all ranks. The Duc de La Rochefoucauld, the author of the "Maximes," might then have come away from a conversation with a Pascal or an Arnauld to go to a play by Corneille.

Despréaux raised himself to the level of so many great men, not by his early satires, for posterity will care little for "Les Embarras de Paris," or for the names of Cassaigne and Cotin; but he was instructing that posterity when he wrote his elegant letters, and especially "L'Art Poétique," in which Corneille found much to learn.

La Fontaine, much less chaste in style, and less correct in language, but unrivalled in simplicity and gracefulness all his own, stands almost alongside of those greatest men, by his perfection in the simplest things.

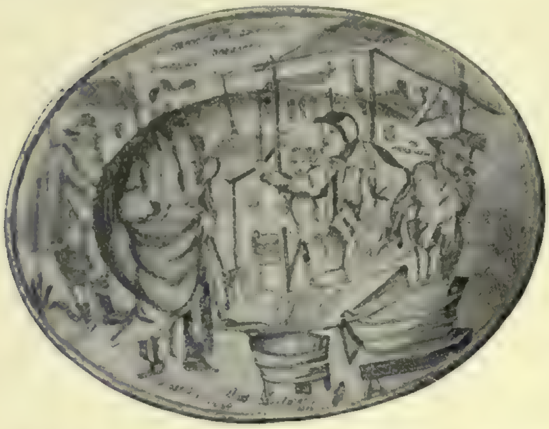
Quinault, in an original fashion which was all the more difficult that it seemed easy, was worthy of a place among his illustrious contemporaries. It is well known with what injustice Boileau treated him. Boileau had never sacrificed to the Graces; and so all his life he tried to humiliate a man whom the Graces only had made famous. The true panegyric of a poet is that his poems are remembered. Whole scenes in the works of Quinault are known by heart, a distinction to which no Italian opera could



THE GREAT CONDÉ.
(Bronze bust by Coysevox.—Musée du Louvre.)

attain. French music has retained a simplicity which is no longer to the taste of any country, but the simple and beautiful naturalness that has such a charm in Quinault, still pleases all who know our language and possess a cultivated taste, throughout Europe. If an antique poem like "Armide" or "Atys" could be found, with what idolatry it would be received! But Quinault was modern.

All these great men were known and patronised by Louis XIV. except La Fontaine. His extreme simplicity, which exceeded the bounds of propriety, excluded him from a Court which he did not seek; but the Duc de Bourgogne received him with welcome, and showed him kindness in his old age. Notwithstanding his genius, he was almost as simple as the characters in his fables. We might apply to La Fontaine his own admirable fable, "Les Animaux malades de la peste." In that quaint conceit all the beasts confess their faults; everything is forgiven to the lions, the wolves, and the bears, while an innocent animal is sacrificed for having eaten a little grass.



A DISH IN PARISIAN EARTHENWARE, REPRESENTING, FROM THE ROMANCE BY FRANCION, A SCENE OF PARISIAN LIFE, PLACE MAUBERT.

(Collection of M. Charles Rossigneux.)

In the school of these men of genius, who will give delight and instruction for ages to come, a number of minor writers were produced and reared, whose works provide amusement for ordinary folks; and just in the same way we have had many graceful painters whom we do not place beside Poussin, Lesueur, Lebrun, Lemoine or Vanloo.

However, towards the end of the reign of Louis XIV., there were two men who had considerable reputation. One of these was La Motte Houdar, whose mind was wise and broad rather than sublime, a delicate and methodical writer in prose, but wanting in his poetry in warmth, elegance, and even in that correctness which must be neglected only in favour of the sublime. At first he produced fine stanzas rather than fine odes, and his vogue was short-lived; but we still have some good pieces by him in more than one style; these will always prevent his being classed

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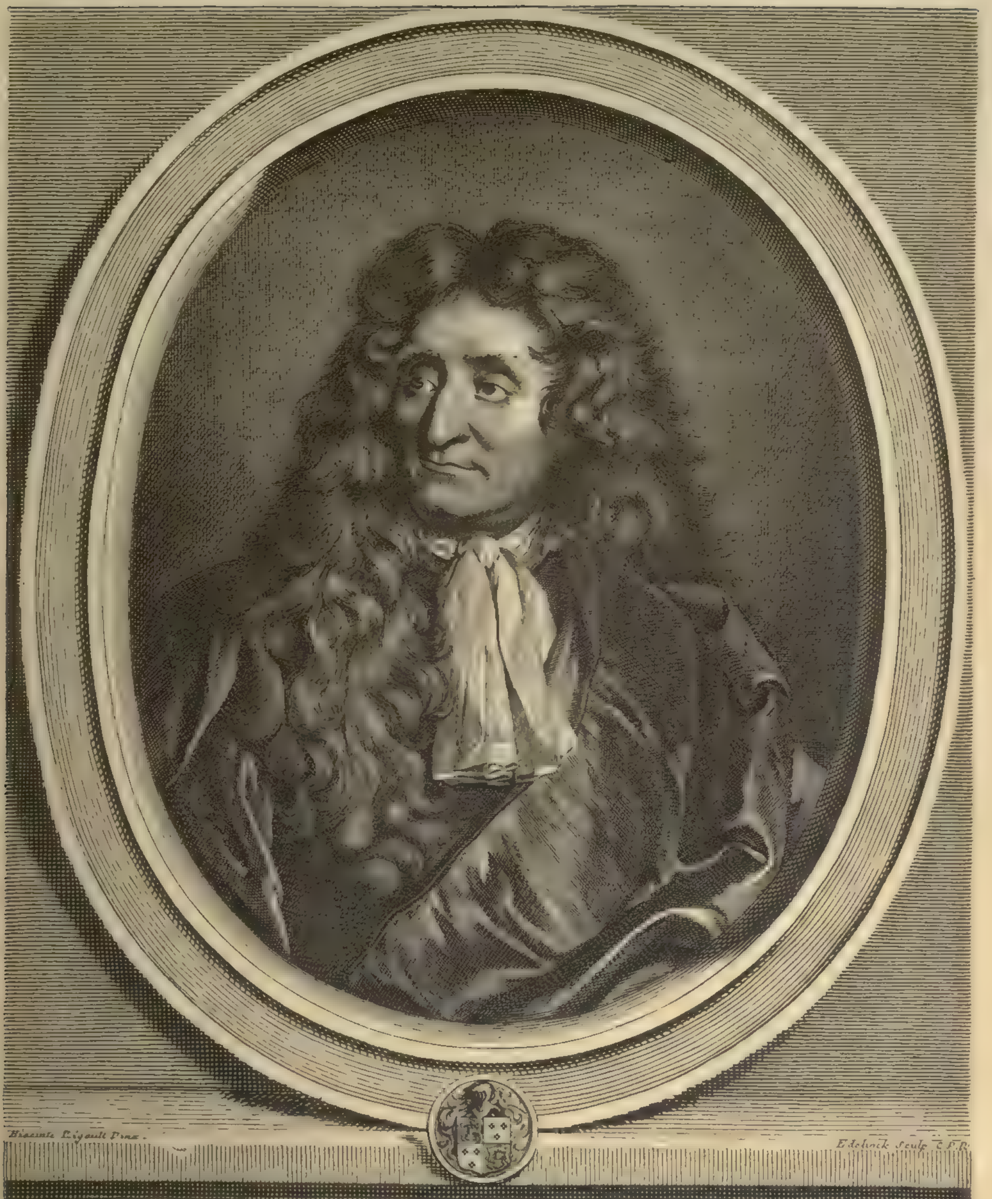
Hiacinte Rigault Pinx.
Edelinck Sculp. C.P.R.

Jean de La Fontaine
de l'Academie Françoise

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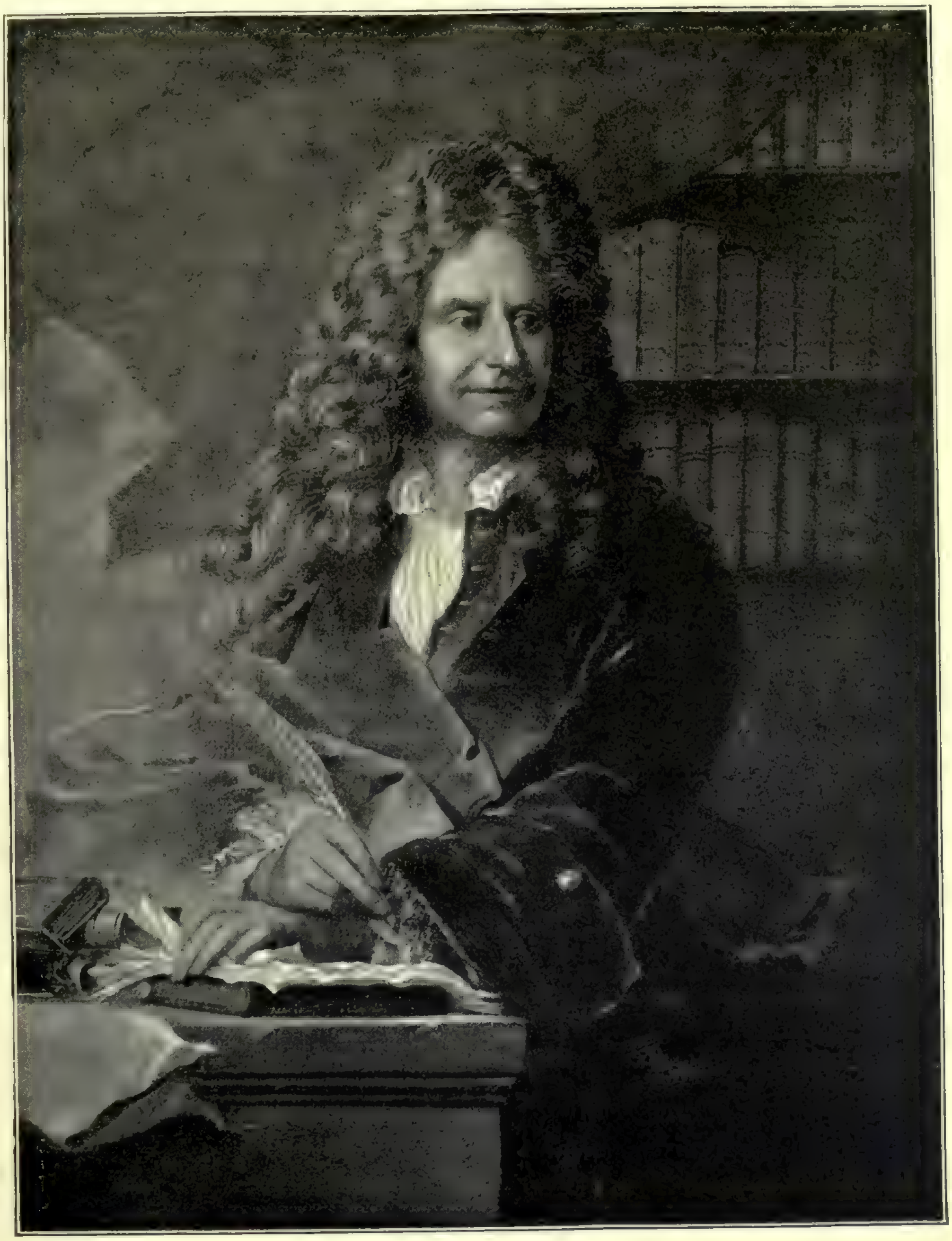
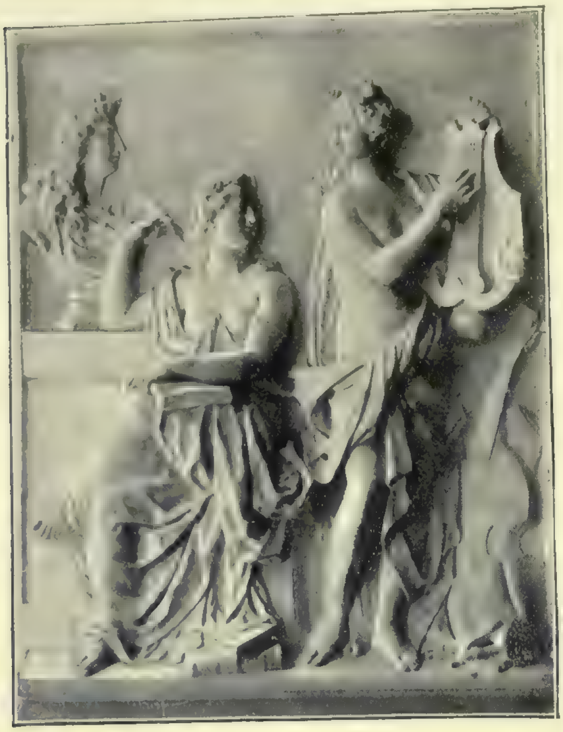
with indifferent writers. He proved that, in the art of writing, one may still be "somebody" in the second rank.



BOILEAU DESPRÉAUX, BY H. RIGAUD.
(Musée de Versailles.)

The other was Rousseau, who, with less wit, less delicacy, less refinement and facility than La Motte, had more of the poetic gift. His odes, which were "after" La Motte, were more graceful and varied. They were full of imagery. His psalms are equal in fervour and harmony to the hymns of Racine. His epigrams are more highly finished than those of Marot. He failed in operas which demand sentiment, in comedy which requires vivacity, and in moral epistles which must have truth, because he lacked all these.

He would have corrupted the French language if the style which he adopted from Marot had found imitators; but fortunately, that mixture of the purity of our own tongue with the deformities of the language two centuries earlier was but a passing fashion. His long course of ill-fortune had its origin in indomitable self-love, with a large admixture of jealousy and animosity. His example ought to be a striking lesson for all men of parts; but we are considering him in these pages only as a writer who contributed not a little to the honour of literature.

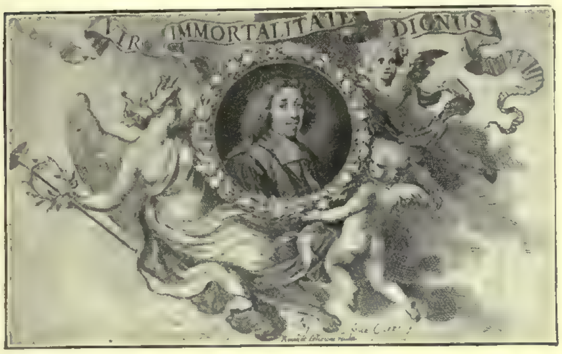


THE MUSE OF HISTORY WRITING THE LIFE OF LOUIS XIV.
(Bas-relief in marble by Rousselet.—Musée du Louvre.)

No men of great genius have arisen since the golden days of these illustrious artists; and towards the close of the life of Louis XIV. Nature seemed to be in repose.

At the beginning of the century the path was difficult because it was untrodden; it is difficult in our day because it has been beaten. The great men of the past century taught us to think and to speak; they told us that which we did not know. Their successors could only tell us what was known, and so at length there came a sort of distaste for the multitude of masterpieces.

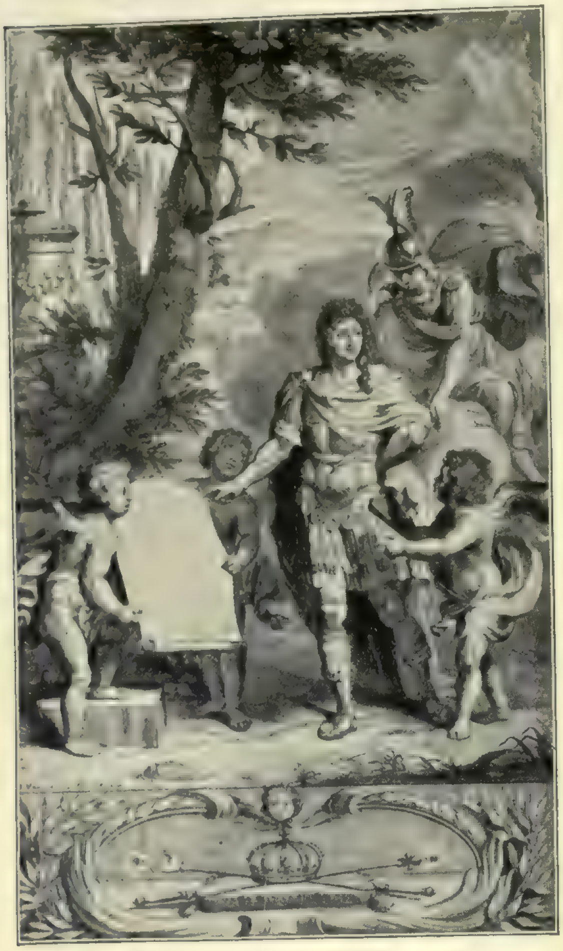
The destiny of the age of Louis XIV. has followed the track of the ages of Leo. X., of Augustus, and of Alexander. The soil which bore such fruits of genius in those famous times had been prepared long before. The reason of the long delay of that harvest, and the sterility which followed it, has been sought in vain in physical and moral causes: the true reason is that it takes many years to purify language and taste in countries where the fine arts are cultivated. After the first steps genius shows and develops itself; emulation and the public favour that is freely bestowed upon new achievements stir all the talents into animation. Each artist makes his own of the natural beauties which are related to his order of art. Every student of the theory of the purely intellectual arts ought, if he himself possesses talent, to know that the primary beauties, the great natural features which belong to the arts, are few. Subjects and the accessories proper to them are more restricted than is supposed. The Abbé Dubos, a man of sound good sense, who wrote his treatise on poetry and painting in 1714, points out that, in the whole history of France there is no truly fit subject for an epic poem save the destruction of the League by Henri IV. He ought to have added that the ornamentation of the epic which was acceptable to the Greeks and Romans, and to the Italians of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, being proscribed among the French, the gods of fable, oracles, invulnerable heroes, monsters, sorceries, metamorphoses, and romantic adventurers being out of date, the accessories of the epic are confined within a very narrow circle. If then some artist shall appear who immediately lays hold of the only decorative objects that correspond with the time, the subject, and his country, and does what others have only attempted, those who come after him will find the ground occupied.



CHANCELLOR SÉGUIER, PATRON OF THE ACADÉMIE FRANÇAISE.
(From a print by Sébastien Leclerc.)

The case is the same with tragedy. We must not imagine that great tragic passions and sentiments can be infinitely varied after a new and striking fashion. All things have their limits.

High comedy has its own boundaries. There is not in human nature more than a dozen at most types of character truly comic and strongly-featured. The Abbé Dubos, who lacks genius, thinks men of genius may yet find a multitude of new characters; but Nature would have to make them. Shades of colour are indeed innumerable, but the bright tints are few, and it is these primitive tints that a great artist unfailingly employs. A sufficient number of fables being composed by a La Fontaine, all that are added to that number convey the same moral truths, illustrated by almost similar adventures. So it happens that genius has only one epoch, after which it is bound to degenerate.



LOUIS XIV. PATRONISES ART AND SCIENCE.
(A print by Watelé and Edelinck.)

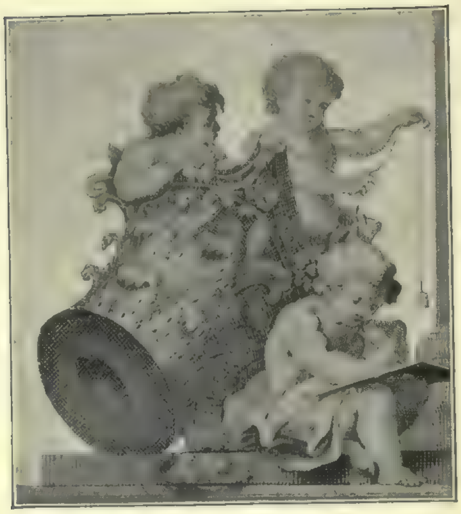
The kinds of art which are constantly progressive, such as history and physical observation, and which require only application, judgment, and ordinary intelligence, may be kept up more easily; and the arts of the hand, such as painting and sculpture, need not degenerate when the governing power is careful, like Louis XIV., to employ only the best artists. For the same subjects may be treated a hundred times over in painting and in sculpture. The Holy Family is still painted, although Raffaelle has lavished all that is best of his art upon it; but it would not be tolerated that Cinna, Andromaque, L'Art poétique, and Le Tartufe should be dealt with again.

It must also be observed that, the past century having instructed the present, it has become so easy to write second-rate things that we have been inundated with frivolous books, and worse still, with useless serious books; but we find from time to time among that mass of mediocrity—a necessary evil in a huge opulent and idle city, where one part of the citizens is incessantly engaged in amusing the other—excellent works of various kinds, history, reflections, or the light literature that affords recreation to minds of every sort.

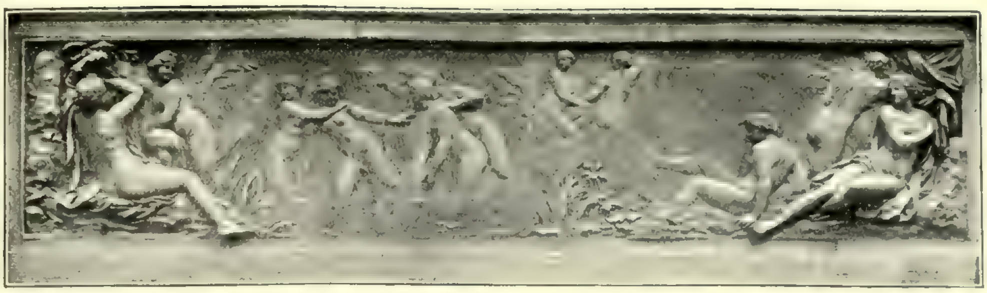
France has produced more of these works than any other country. Her language has become the language of Europe. To this everything has contributed: the great authors of the time of the great King, the refugee Calvinist pastors, who carried eloquence and method into foreign countries; Bayle especially, who, writing in Holland, was read everywhere; Rapin de Thoyras, who has written in French the only good history of England; Saint-Évremond, whose society was sought by the whole English Court; the Duchess d'Olbreuse, afterwards Duchess of Zell, who transported her native grace into Germany. The spirit of society is the natural inheritance of the French; other nations would fain have it. Of all languages, the French is that which expresses all the subjects on which people converse with most facility, neatness and delicacy, and by this gift of expression the French language contributes to one of the greatest pleasures of life all over Europe.

HOEBI DOCTAS
QUOD AMAVERIS ARTES
IDUS ERIS

TAILPIECE FROM THE COLLECTION OF FRONTISPIECES
OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(From the Cabinet of Prints.)
(Bibliothèque Nationale.)



THE LOVES AS SCULPTORS AND ARCHITECTS.
(An allegorical engraving for the Academy of Sculpture.)



THE CASCADE OR THE BATHS OF DIANA.
(Bas-relief by Girardon. Bronze gilt.—Gardens of Versailles.)

## III

## THE FINE ARTS

ORNAMENTAL LETTER BY FR. CHAUVEAU.
(From the collection of *Courses de têtes et de bagues*, from the Imprimerie Royale.)

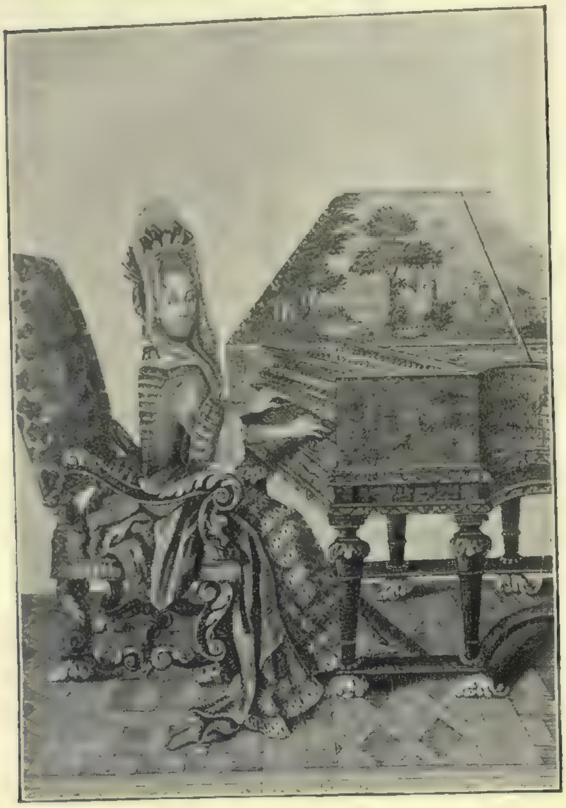
IN arts that are not purely intellectual, like music, painting, sculpture and architecture, but little progress had been made in France before the time that is called the age of Louis XIV. Music was in its infancy; a few sentimental songs, some airs for the violin, guitar and theorbo, mostly composed in Spain, were all that was known. The science and taste of Lulli were recognised with astonishment; he was the first in France who produced bass, middle parts and fugues. At first there was some difficulty in playing his compositions, simple and easy as they seem now. At the present time there are a thousand people who know music for one who knew that art in the time of Louis XIV., and music itself has progressed in a like proportion. Now there is no great town without public concerts; then Paris itself had none; and the King's twenty-four violins represented all the music of France.

Knowledge of things appertaining to music, and to the arts that are derived from it, made such progress that at the end of the reign of Louis XIV. notation for dance music had been introduced.

France had very eminent architects in the time of the regency of Marie de Médicis. The Palais du Luxembourg, which she was never to inhabit, was built for the Queen by De Brosse in the Tuscan style, to do honour to her own country and to adorn ours. He also executed the great entrance to Saint-Gervais. Cardinal de Richelieu, although his ideas were as expansive as hers, did not possess her correct taste. The Palais Cardinal, now the Palais Royal, is a proof of this. Our hopes were raised high when we beheld that beautiful façade of the Louvre, which makes it so disappointing that the palace should not be completed. Many citizens have built fine houses for themselves, but these are more elegant in their interior than in their external aspect, and are more satisfactory to their owners than ornamental to the city.

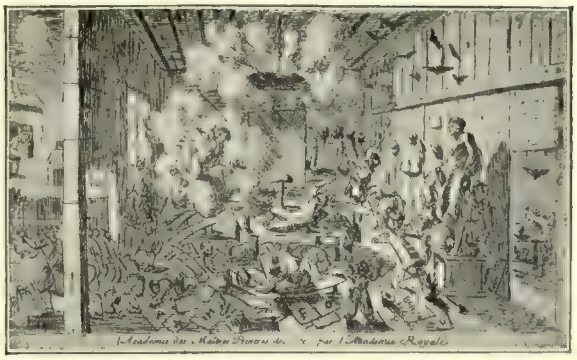
Colbert, the Mæcenas of all the arts, founded an Academy of Architecture in 1671, but it is of little avail to have ever so many examples of Vitruvius; we want some imitators of Augustus as well.

The municipal magistrates also must have energy and taste. Had there been two or three Mayors of Paris like President Turgot, the city would not have to bear the reproach of that ill-constructed and ill-placed Hôtel de Ville, in a square so small and irregular that it is famous only for executions and fireworks, and of its narrow streets in the most frequented quarters; in short, the remains of barbarism in the midst of grandeur and in the home of all the arts.



A HARPSICHORD OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(From a print by Bonnart.)

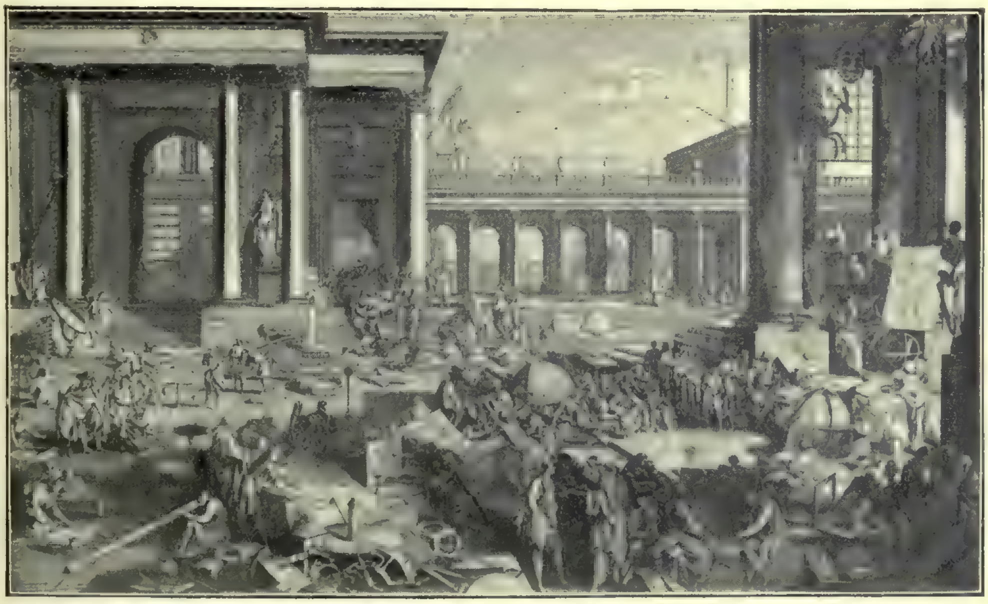
Painting began under Louis XIV. with Poussin. No account need be taken of the painters who preceded him. Since him we have always had great painters, not indeed in the numbers which make Italy rich, but without mentioning Lesueur, who was his own teacher, or Lebrun, who



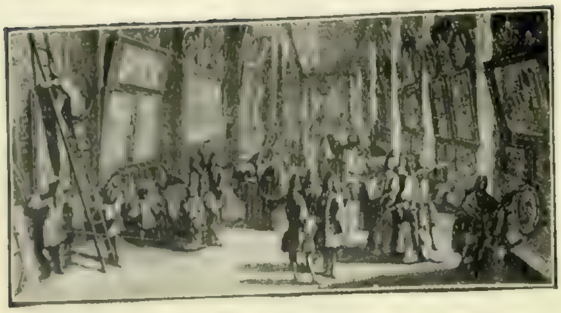
A SATIRICAL PRINT OF 1664 ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ACADÉMIE DES BEAUX-ARTS, WHICH REPLACED THE FORMER ACADÉMIE DES MAITRES PEINTRES ON SEPTEMBER 10TH.

was equal to the Italians in design and execution, we have had more than thirty artists who have left pictures well worthy of study. Foreigners have begun to carry them away from us. In the residence of a great king (Frederick the Great) I have seen apartments and even galleries adorned solely with our pictures: perhaps we were not sufficiently aware of their value. I have known twelve thousand livres to be refused in France for a picture by Santerre. In all Europe there is not to be found a larger piece of painting than the ceiling at Versailles by Lemoine, and I do not know whether there are finer ones. Since then we have had Vanloo, who ranked even among foreigners as the first of his time.

Not only did Colbert give the Academy of Painting its still existing form, but he prevailed on Louis XIV. to establish one at Rome in 1667. A palace was purchased, and a director was installed. Students who have gained prizes in Paris are sent to this Academy, where they are maintained



A COMPOSITION BY S. LECLERC IN HONOUR OF THE FOUNDATION OF THE ACADEMIES BY LOUIS XIV.



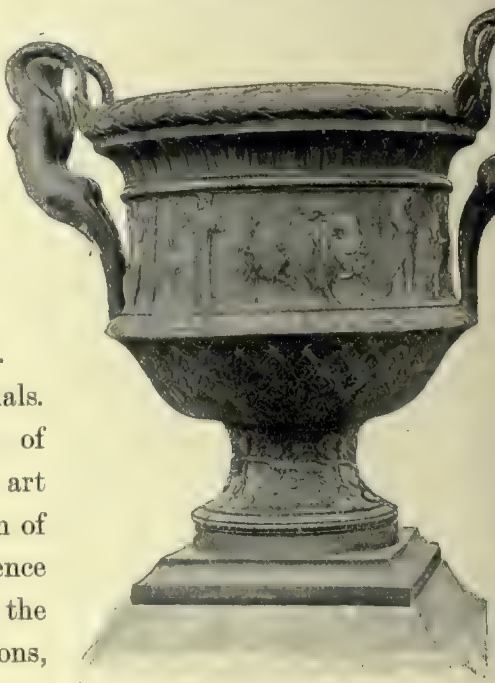
LOUIS XIV. VISITING ONE OF THE FIRST EXHIBITIONS OF PAINTING AT THE GOBELINS, 1699.

(Print by Sébastien Leclerc.)

at the King's expense; there they draw from the antique; they study Raphael and Michael Angelo. Noble homage is done to Rome, ancient and modern, by this desire to imitate her; and that homage has not been withdrawn since the immense collections of Italian pictures made by the King and by the Duc d'Orléans, and the masterpieces of sculpture which France has produced, have rendered it unnecessary to seek for masters elsewhere.

It is in the department of sculpture that we have principally excelled, and in the art of casting colossal equestrian figures.

If there were disinterred some day, from mounds of ruins, such works of art as the Baths of Apollo, now exposed to injury by the air in the groves of Versailles; the tomb of Cardinal de Richelieu out of public view in the chapel of the Sorbonne; the equestrian statue of Louis XIV., executed in Paris for the adornment of Bordeaux; or the Mercury which Louis XV. has presented to the King of Prussia, and so many other works equal to these, we may be sure that those productions of our time would be placed by the side of the finest of the antiquities of Greece.

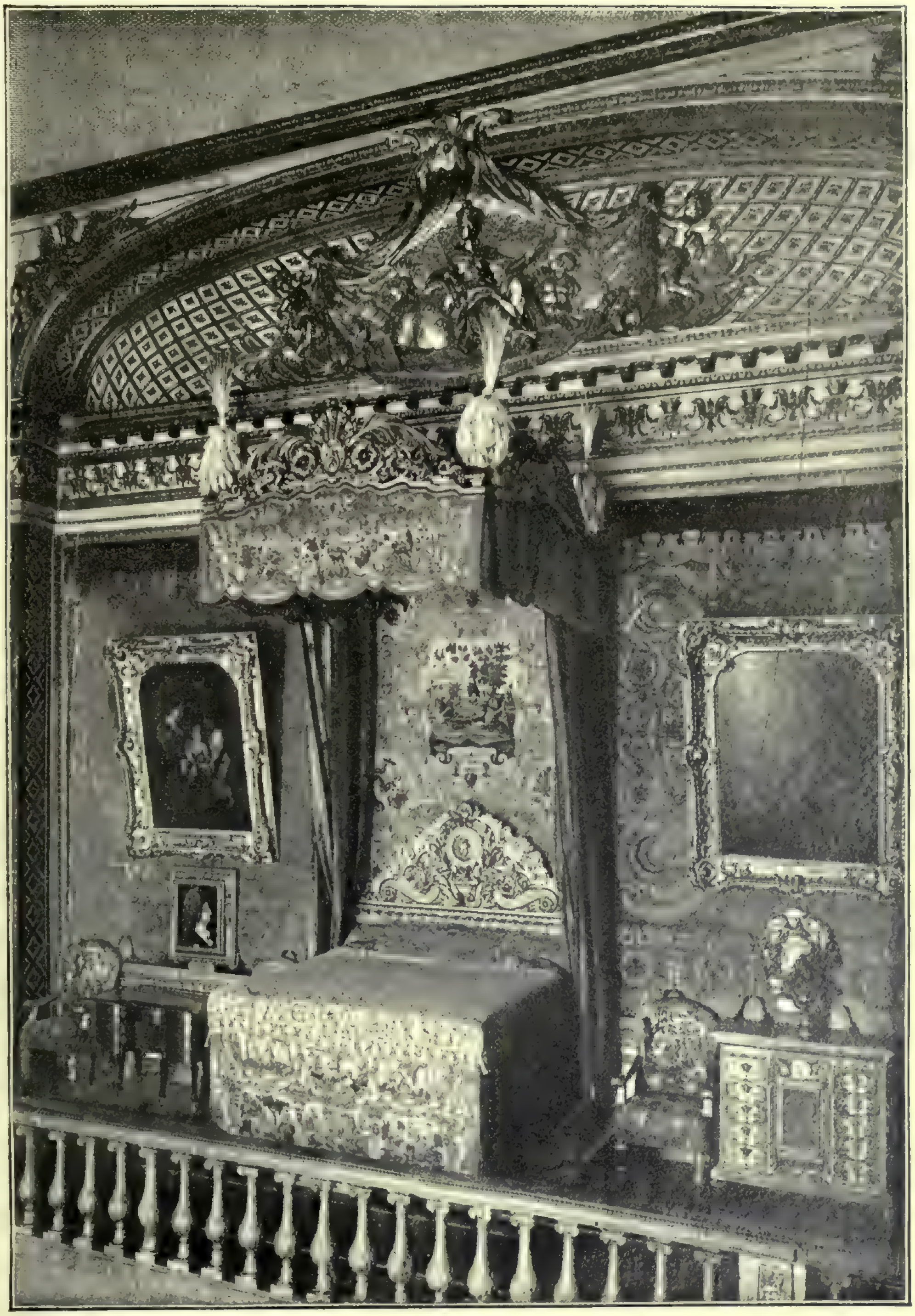


A CHILDREN'S BACCHANALIA.

(Bronze vase on the terrace of the Château de Versailles, cast by Duval, and carved by Pallin.)

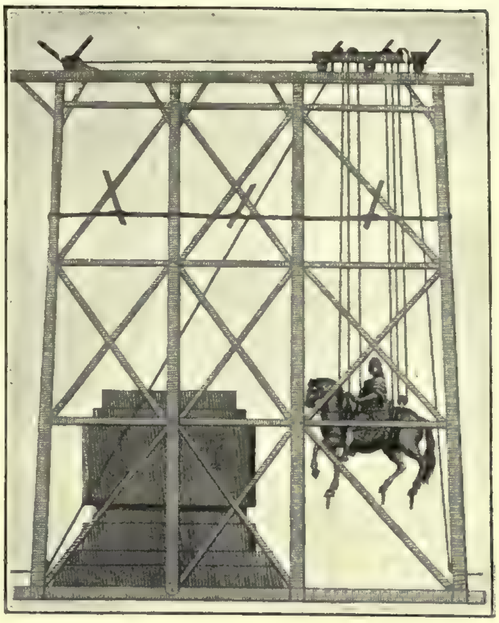
We have equalled the ancients in medals. Warin, towards the end of the reign of Louis XIII., was the first to raise the art above mediocrity. An admirable collection of medals is now arranged in historical sequence in the gallery assigned to artists at the Louvre. They are worth nearly two millions, and most of them are masterpieces.

Equal excellence has been attained in the art of engraving precious stones. The

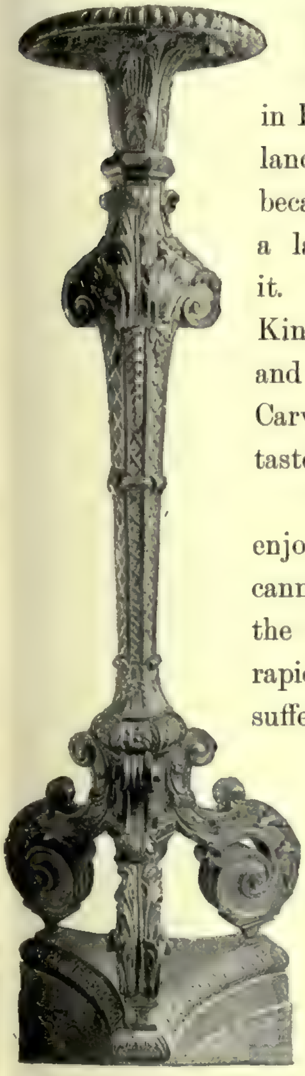


THE BED-CHAMBER OF LOUIS XIV., CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES.

The gilded sculpture of the fronts is by Coustou and Lespingole. The balustrade and all the ornaments in carved wood which adorn the walls are of the period.



THE ERECTION OF THE STATUE OF LOUIS XIV. AT LYONS.
(From a print of the period.)



ANCIENT TORCHSTAND IN THE CHAMBER OF LOUIS XIV., CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES.

art of multiplying pictures by copperplate engraving, thus easily transmitting all the representations of nature and art to posterity, was elementary in France before this century. It is one of the most useful and pleasing arts. We owe it to the Florentines, who invented it about the middle of the fifteenth century, and it has been brought to greater perfection in France than in the land of its origin, because there has been a larger demand for it. Collections of the King's prints have frequently been presented to ambassadors, and are reckoned among the most valuable of his gifts. Carving in gold and silver, which depends upon design and taste, has been carried to the highest perfection.

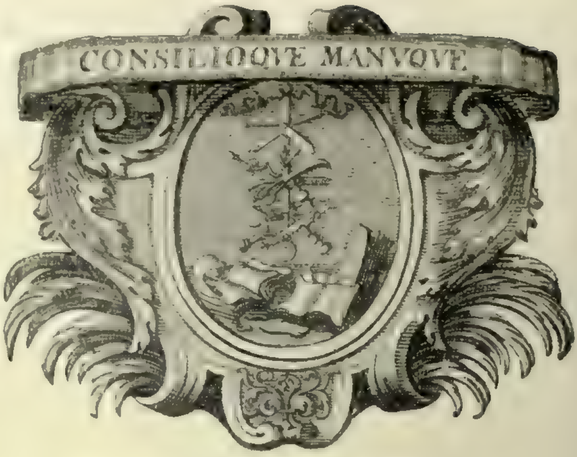
We have now enumerated the arts that contribute to the enjoyment of individuals and the honour of the State; we cannot leave the most useful of them all unnoticed. This is the art of surgery, in which France surpasses the world. So rapid and so famous was its progress in this century, that sufferers came to Paris from the most distant parts of Europe for cure, and for all operations that required exceptional dexterity.

Not only were there few skilful surgeons elsewhere than in France, but the necessary instruments were perfected only in this country. France supplied all her neighbours, and I have heard from Chesilden, the greatest surgeon in London, that he was the first who had the instruments of his art made in England in 1715.

Medicine did not rise higher in France than in

England, or under the celebrated Boerhave in Holland, but it reached such perfection as it did attain because we had profited by the studies of our neighbours.

This faithful statement of the progress of human intelligence in France, in this century, began with the time of Cardinal de Richelieu and ends in our own. It will hardly be surpassed; and if, indeed, it be surpassed in some respects, it will remain a model for the happier ages which owe their birth to it.



EMBLEMATIC DEVICE OF THE SURGEONS OF PARIS.
(Fragment of an Almanac.)

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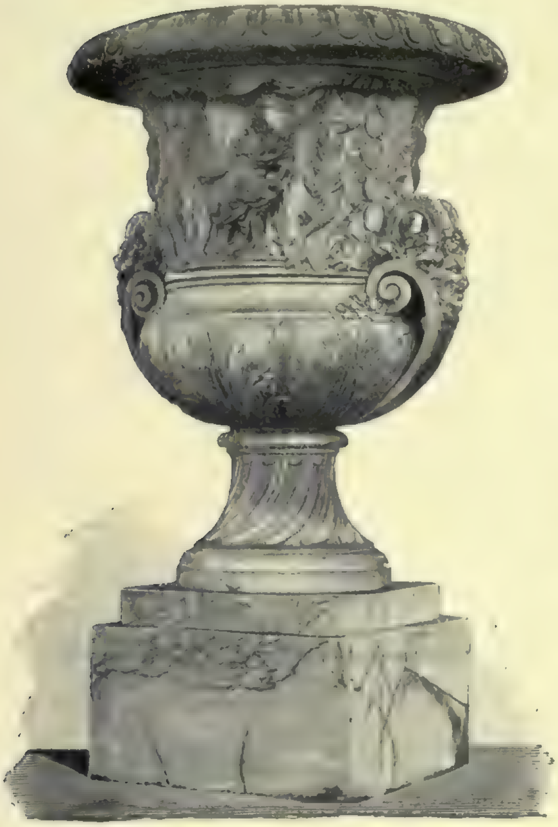
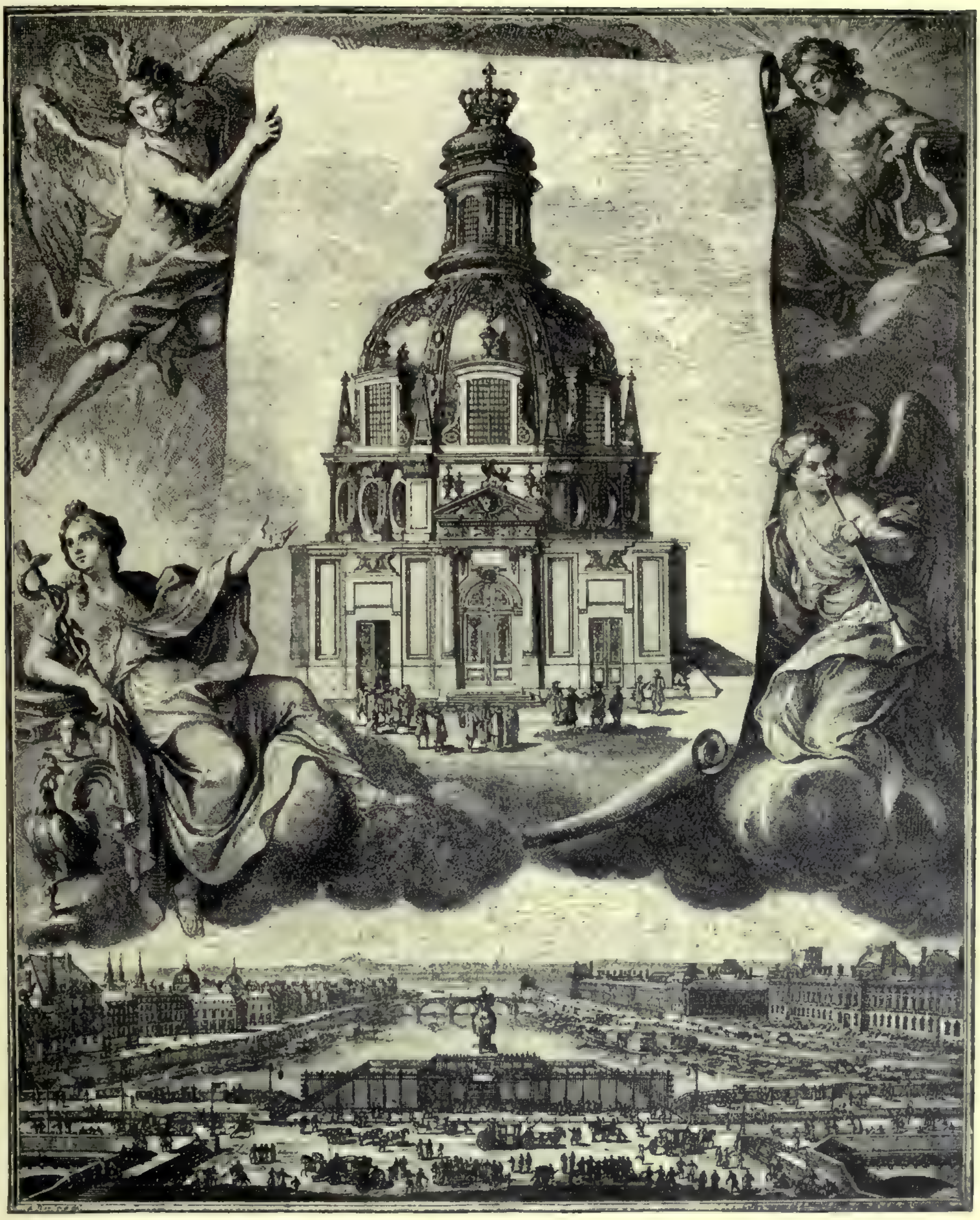


LOUIS XIV. VICTOR IN THE WAR WITH HOLLAND.
(Marble vase on the terrace of the Château de Versailles, sculptured by Tuby.)

It is very surprising to find this summary of the arts completed by a statement of the progress of surgery, at the end of the seventeenth century. The sketch itself is so brief that it may justly be regarded as incomplete; but we may allow surgery to occupy the place which Voltaire has given it, because the word "art" was still understood in his day in the former sense, which we now render by "arts and crafts." Let us, however, complete the indications he has given us here, by the biographical details which he has added in his catalogue of famous artists.

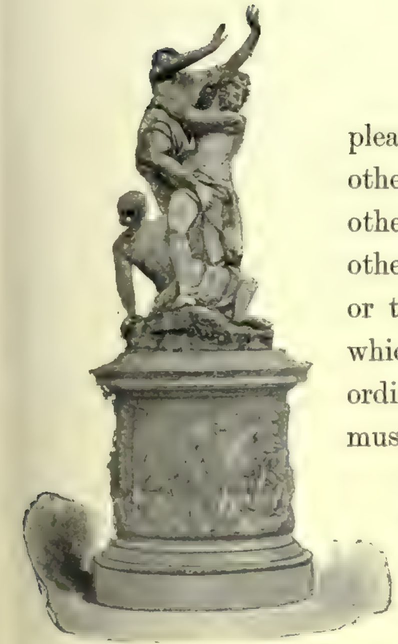
This is the most legitimate and the surest way of learning his whole mind, and also the judgment of his time on questions of art in his age, which was so close to the seventeenth century itself.



THE AMPHITHEATRE OF SAINT-COURE, OR THE PARISIAN SURGEONS' HALL.

(From a print by Simonneau and Perelle.)

## *MUSICIANS.*

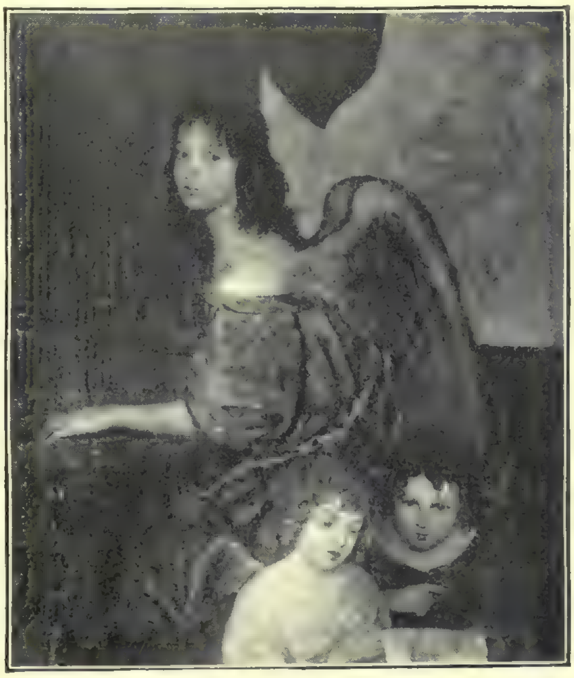


THE RAPE OF PROSERPINE.
(A composition by Lebrun for the *Bosquet de la Colonnade*, executed by Girardon.)
(Gardens of Versailles.)

The vocal music of France has not hitherto been pleasing to any foreign nation. This could not be otherwise, because French prosody differs from every other. We dwell upon the final syllable, and all the other peoples, like the Italians, dwell on the penultimate or the ante-penultimate. Ours is the only language which has words ending in *e* mute, and these, in ordinary utterance not pronounced, are sounded in music in an invariable manner, as for instance, *gloi-reu, victoi-reu, barbari-eu, furi-eu.* And this makes our airs and recitative distasteful to those who are not accustomed to them. Our climate denies that clearness to our voices which the climate of Italy gives. Besides, the slowness of our singing, which contrasts strangely with the vivacity of our race, will always make French music acceptable only to the French.

Notwithstanding all these reasons, foreigners who have resided long in France are agreed that our musicians have achieved wonders in adjusting their airs to our words, and that their musical utterance frequently has admirable expression; but this is only to an accustomed ear, and the execution must be perfect: it must have actors; in Italy singers only are required.

Instrumental music has also been charged with being slow and monotonous, yet several of our symphonies and a great deal of our dance music have found favour in other countries.

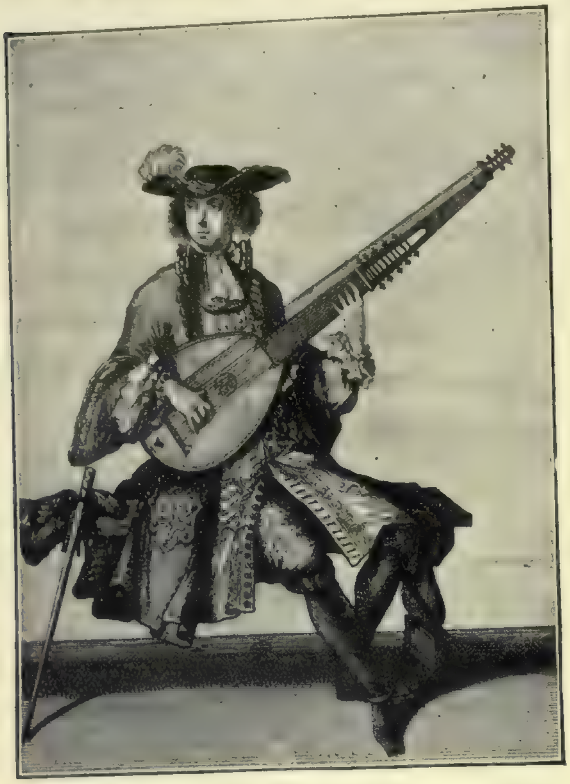


A CONCERT BY CHILDREN.
(Fragment of a picture of the School of Lély.)
(Musée de Versailles.)

They are performed at various Italian operas; and are in the highest favour with a king who supports one of the finest opera-houses in Europe, and, besides his other accomplishments, has carefully cultivated that of music.

Lulli (Jean Baptiste), born at Florence in 1633, and brought to France at the age of fourteen, when he played the violin only, was the father of true French music. He accommodated his art to the spirit of the language; this was the only way to succeed. It should be remarked that Italian music had not then departed from the gravity and noble simplicity which we still admire in the recitatives of Lulli. The well-known motet of Luigi, which was sung with so much success in Italy in the seventeenth century, closely resembles those recitatives; it begins thus:—

Sunt breves mundi rosæ,
Sunt fugitivi flores;
Frondes veluti annosæ,
Sunt labiles honores.



DAMON, A "GRAND SEIGNEUR," PLAYING THE VIOL.
(From a print by Bonnart.)

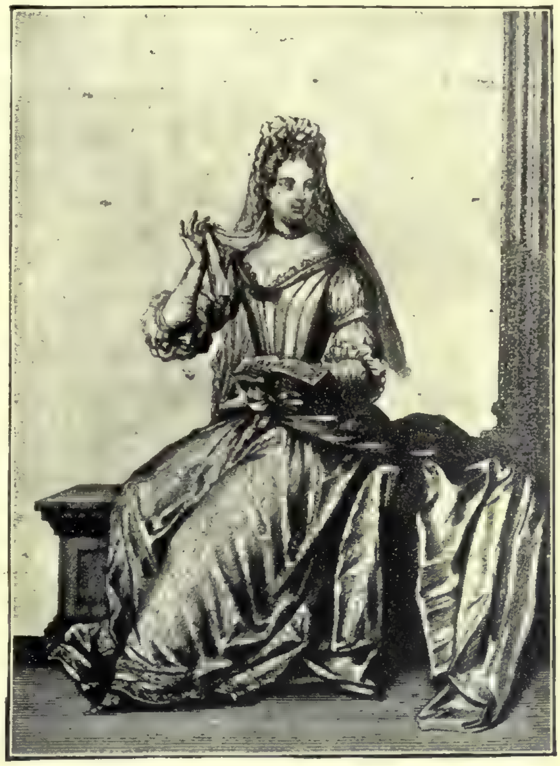
It must be observed that in music of this kind, the melody of the ancients, the natural beauty of the words produces the beauty of the song: nothing can be effectively uttered unless it is worth hearing. This was not fully understood in the time of Quinault and of Lulli. The poets were jealous of the poet, and were not jealous of the musician. Boileau reproaches Quinault with:

. . . . ces lieux communs de morale lubrique,
Que Lulli réchauffa des sons de sa musique.

The tender passions that Quinault expressed so well were, treated by him, the true picture of the human heart, far more than a loose morality.

Quinault lent warmth to the music of Lulli, by his verse, rather than Lulli to Quinault's words. These two artists and the actors made out of certain scenes of "Atys," of "Armide," and "Roland," a performance such as no ancient, or any country of their own time had ever known. The detached airs and ariettes did not respond to the perfection of these great scenes. Those airs and little songs were like our "noëls" and the Venetian boat-songs; but they were all that was desired at that time. The more feeble the music, the more easy to remember; but the recitative was so fine that Rameau never equalled it. "I want singers," he said; "and Lulli, actors." Rameau enchanted the ears, Lulli enchanted the soul: it was a great boon to the age of Louis XIV. that Lulli met with a Quinault.

After Lulli, all the musicians, Colasse, Campra, Destouches and others, were his imitators, until Rameau appeared, and then he soared above them all by his wonderful harmony, and made of music a new art.



URANIA, A LADY OF QUALITY, SINGING.
(From a print by Bonnart.)

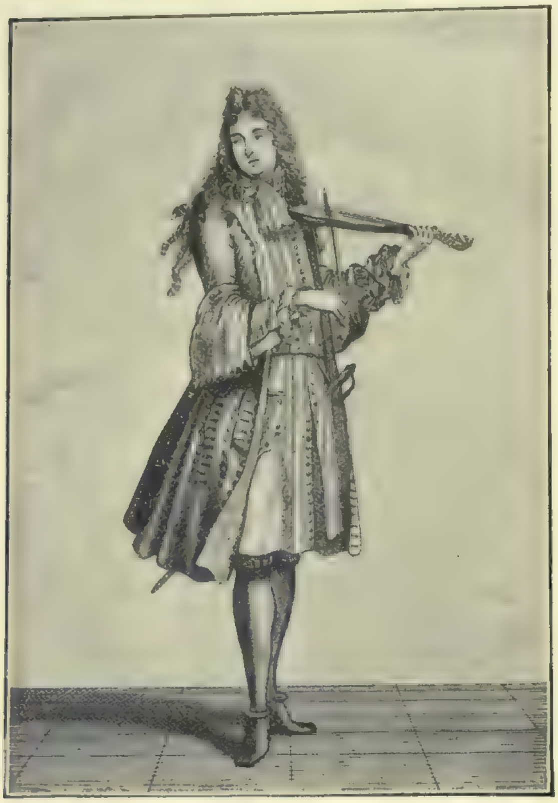
Although several composers of church music have been celebrated in France, their works have not hitherto been performed elsewhere.

## *PAINTERS.*

The case of painting is not identical with that of music. A country may have a school of song that pleases none but itself, because the genius of its language does not admit any other; but painters must represent Nature, which is the same in every country, and is seen with the same eyes.

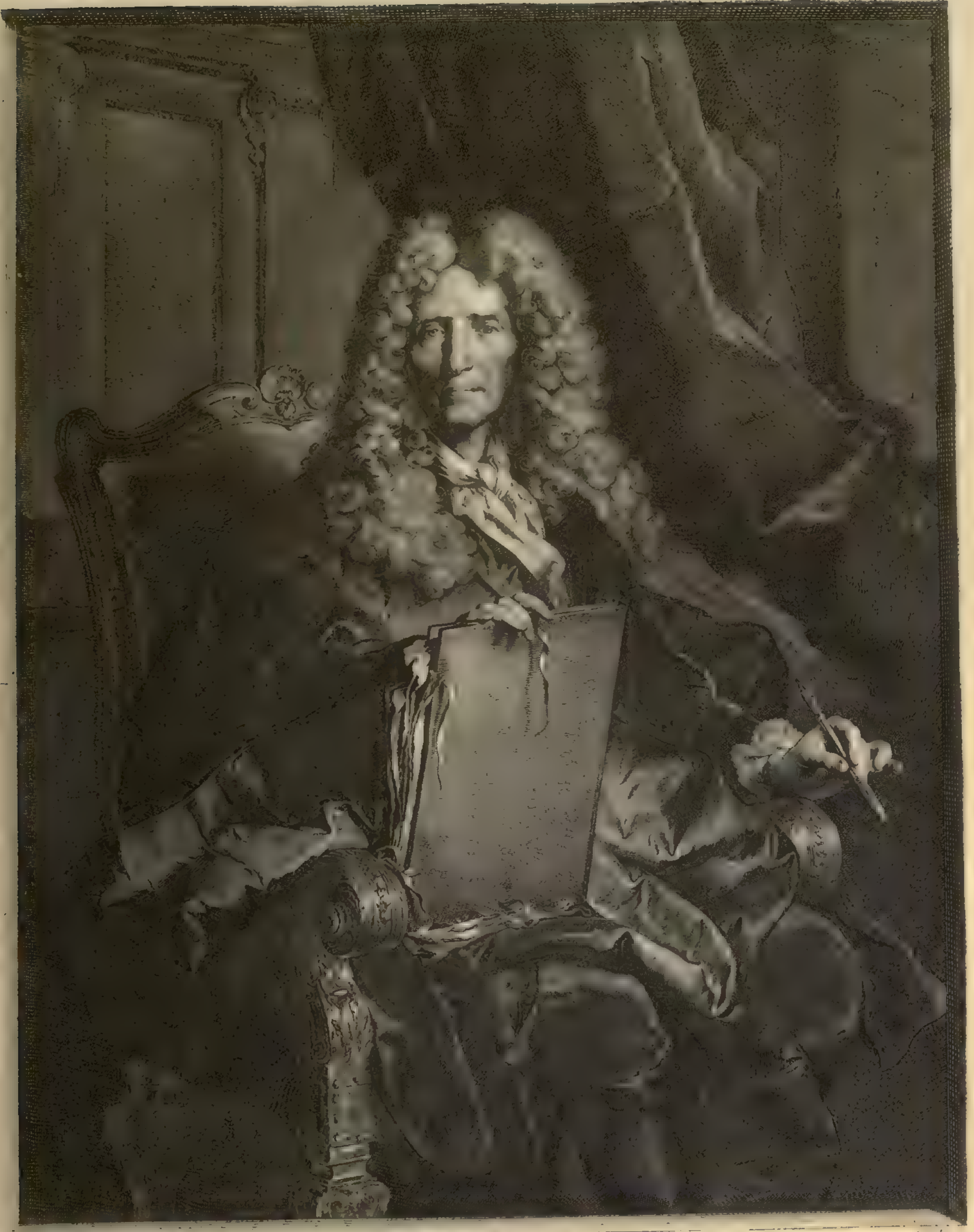
For a painter's reputation may be genuine, his works must be valued abroad. It is not enough to have a little party and to be praised in little books: his works must sell.

The talents of painters are sometimes cramped by the very method that ought, it would seem, to expand them: that is, the academic style. The academies are no doubt very useful for the training of students, especially when the directors work in the grand style; but if the president's is the small style, or hard and stiff; if his faces grin, if his pictures are painted like fans, the pupils, being tempted by imitation, or by the desire to please an indifferent master, entirely lose the idea of beautiful Nature. There is a fate over academies; no work that is called academic has ever yet been, in any case, a work of genius. Show me an artist who is afraid of failing to imitate the style of his fellows, and his productions will be narrow and formal; show me a man of a free spirit, full of the Nature which he copies, and he will succeed. Almost all the great artists flourished before the establishment of academies, and their work is in a different style from the reigning taste of those associations.


THE DANCING MASTER.
(From a print by Bonnart.)

Corneille, Racine, Despréaux, Le Sueur, and Le Moine not only went a different way from their contemporaries, but had almost all of them for enemies.

Poussin (Nicolas), born at Andelys in Normandy in 1594, was his own pupil; he completed his education at Rome. He is termed the painter of men of intelligence; he might also be called the painter of men of taste. His only fault was that he intensified the sombre colouring



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Pierre Mignard
d'après Hyacinthe Rigaud

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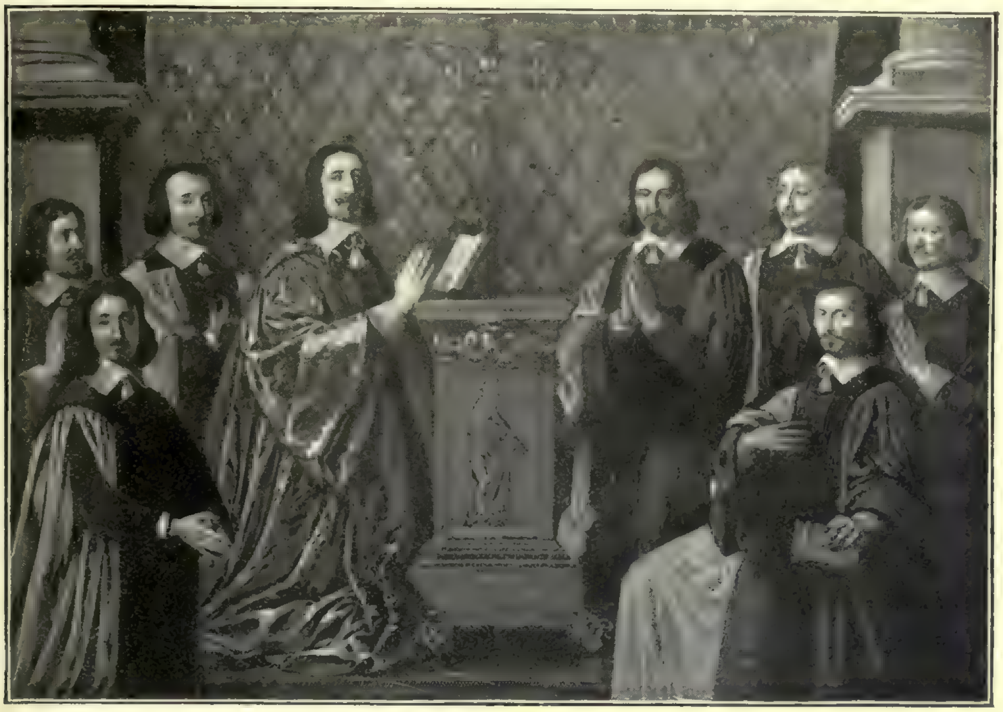
of the Roman School. In his time he was the greatest painter in Europe. Being recalled from Rome to Paris, he became a prey to envy and the cabals, and like many another artist he left Paris again, and returned to Rome, where he lived, poor but content. His philosophy placed him above his fortune. He died in 1665.

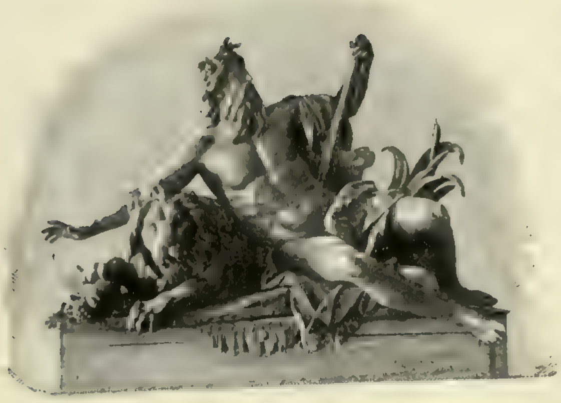
LE SUEUR (Eustache) was born in Paris in 1617. Though he had no other master than Vouet, he nevertheless became an excellent painter. He had brought the art of painting to high perfection when he died in 1655 at the age of thirty-eight.



THE ALDERMEN OF PARIS.
(By Philippe de Champagne.—Musée du Louvre.)

BOURDON and LE VALENTIN have been famous. Three of the best pictures in the Church of Saint Peter at Rome are by Poussin, Bourdon, and Le Valentin.

LEBRUN (Charles) was born in Paris in 1619. He had hardly developed his ability when Fouquet, one of the most generous and unfortunate men that ever lived, gave him a pension of twenty-four thousand livres of our present money. It is worthy of remark that his picture of the Family of Darius at Versailles is not overpowered by the colouring



THE RHÔNE.
(Bronze statue by Coustou, which decorated the base of the statue of Louis XIV. at Lyons.—Hôtel de Ville, Lyons.)

of the work of Paul Veronese which hangs by its side, while the latter far surpasses it in design, composition, dignity, expression, and faithful rendering of costume. The engravings of his pictures of the Battles of Alexander are even more in request than the Battles of Constantine by Rafaelle and Giulio Romano. He died in 1690.

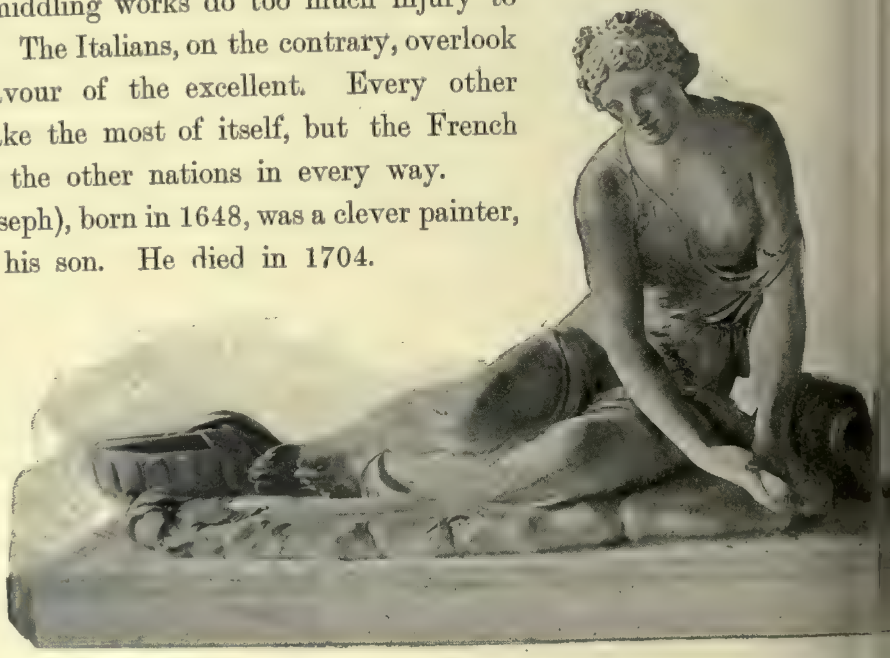
Mignard (Pierre), born at Troyes in Champagne in 1610, was for some time the rival of Lebrun, but he has not maintained his position in the eyes of posterity. He died in 1695.

Gelée (Claude), called Le Lorrain. His father, who wanted to make him a pastrycook, did not foresee that one day his son would paint pictures which should be regarded as the work of one of the greatest landscape painters of Europe. He died at Rome in 1678.

Caze (Pierre Jacques). There are pictures of his that are beginning to command high prices. France is too slow in doing justice to good artists, and their middling works do too much injury to their masterpieces. The Italians, on the contrary, overlook the inferior in favour of the excellent. Every other nation tries to make the most of itself, but the French make the most of the other nations in every way.

Parrocel (Joseph), born in 1648, was a clever painter, and surpassed by his son. He died in 1704.

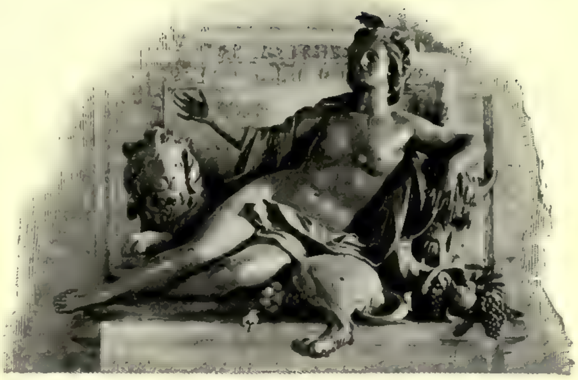
Jouvenet (Jean), born at Rouen in 1644, was a pupil of Lebrun, but inferior to his master, although a good painter. He painted almost all objects slightly



NYMPH WITH A SHELL.
(Marble figure by Coysevox.—Musée du Louvre.)

yellow: a singular defect of vision made him see them yellow. He became paralytic in the right arm, but practised painting with his left, and there are great compositions of his executed in that manner. He died in 1717.

**Santerre** (Jean Baptiste). There are some admirable easel-pieces of his; they are true and tender in colour. His picture of Adam and Eve is one of the finest in Europe. That of Saint Teresa in the chapel of Versailles is a masterpiece of grace; it is, however, too voluptuous for an altar-picture. Santerre was born in 1651, and died in 1717.



THE SAÔNE.
(Bronze statue; by Coustou, decorating the base of the statue of Louis XIV. at Lyons.—Hôtel de Ville, Lyons.)

**La Fosse** (Charles de) resembled Santerre in many points.

**Boulogne** (Bon). An excellent painter: the proof is that he received high prices for his pictures.

**Boulogne** (Louis). His paintings, though not deficient in merit, are less in request than those of his brother.

**Raoux**, an uncertain painter, but when he succeeded, he was equal to Rembrandt.

**Rigaud** (Hyacinthe) was born at Perpignan in 1663. Although his reputation was for portrait painting only, his great picture of Cardinal de Bouillon opening the sacred year, is a masterpiece equal to the finest works of Rubens. He died in 1743.

A LION STRIKING DOWN A WOLF.
(Bronze group by Van Clève for the Fountain of Diana in the Gardens of Versailles.)

**De Troy** (François)

painted in the style of Rigaud. Some historical pictures by his son are also admired.

Watteau (Antoine) did for the graceful what Teniers did for the grotesque. He had pupils whose works are in demand.

Le Moine, born in Paris in 1688, has perhaps surpassed all these painters by his composition in the Salon d'Hercule at Versailles. This apotheosis of Hercules was a tribute of flattery to Cardinal Hercule de Fleury, who had nothing in common with the Hercules of fable. It would have been better to have represented the apotheosis of Henri IV. in the salon of a king of France. Le Moine, who was envied by his fellow-artists and thought himself ill-recompensed by the Cardinal, destroyed himself in despair in 1737.

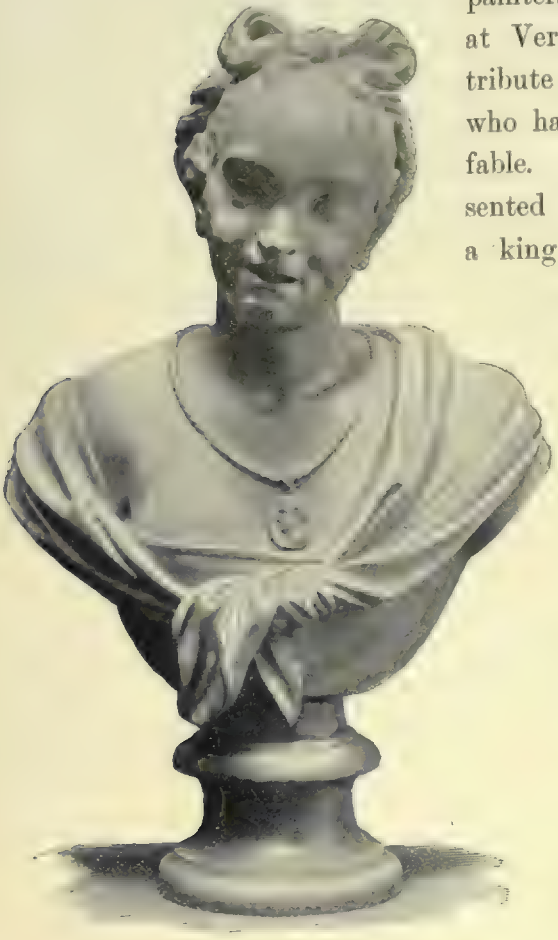
Other artists have excelled like Desportes and Oudry in painting animals; others have been successful in miniature, and several in portraits.

Some painters, and especially the famous Vanloo, have distinguished themselves since the greater days, and we may be sure the art will not die out in France.

### *SCULPTORS, ARCHITECTS, ENGRAVERS, ETC.*

Sculpture reached its perfection under Louis XIV., and has fully maintained its position under Louis XV.

Sarrasin (Jacques), born in 1598, executed several masterpieces at Rome for Pope Clement VIII. He worked in Paris with equal success. He died in 1660.



A FEMALE FAUN, MARBLE BUST ATTRIBUTED TO SARRASIN.

(Collection of Madame Moreau Nélaton.)

Puget (Pierre), born at Marseilles in 1623, was an architect, sculptor and painter. He is famous for several masterpieces now at Marseilles and Versailles. He died in 1694.

Le Gros and Théodon have adorned Italy with their works. They executed in Rome two models each, and took the prize above all the other competitors, and are reckoned among masterpieces. Le Gros died at Rome in 1719.

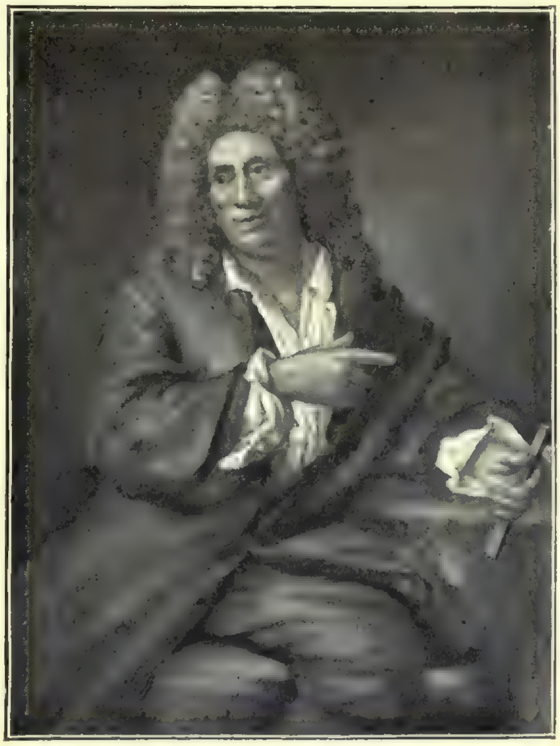
Girardon (François), born in 1638, has equalled the finest work of antiquity by his Baths of Apollo, and the tomb of Cardinal de Richelieu. He died in 1715.

Coysevox, Coustou, and many others were highly distinguished artists, and are even surpassed by three or four of our modern sculptors.

Chauveau, Nanteuil, Mellan, Audran, Edelinck, Leclerc, Drevet, Poilly, Picart, Duchange, succeeded by superior artists, excelled in engraving on copper, and their works are to be found all over Europe in the cabinets of persons who cannot afford to buy pictures.

Goldsmiths like Claude Balin and Pierre Germain well deserve to be ranked amongst the most celebrated artists for beauty of design and elegance of execution.

It is more difficult for a genius born with a fine taste for architecture to convince the world of his talents than for other artists. He cannot erect great monuments unless princes will order them. More than one good architect has found no work.



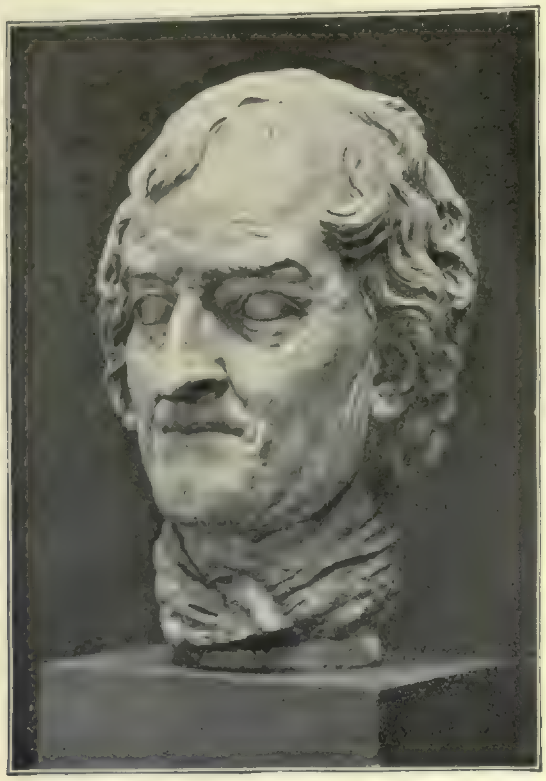
ANTOINE COYSEVOX.

(From]the portrait by G. Allou.—Musée de Versailles.)

Mansard (François) was one of the foremost architects in Europe. The château, or rather the palace of Maisons, near St. Germain, is a masterpiece, because he was quite free to follow the bent of his genius.

Mansard (Jules Hardouin), his nephew, made an immense fortune under Louis XIV. as Superintendent of Buildings to the King. The fine Chapel of the Invalides is from his designs. He was unable fully to display his ability in that of Versailles, because of the difficulties presented by the site, as he was obliged to retain the small château (that of Louis XIII.), which has been mentioned previously.

It is a reproach to the city of Paris that it possesses only two fine fountains: the old one by Jean Goujon, and the new by Bouchardon; both these are ill-placed. Complaint is also made that there is no fine theatre, except that of the Louvre, which is not used, and that the people assemble in tasteless, ill-proportioned, unadorned rooms, badly-placed and badly-built; while the provincial towns set examples to the capital which have not yet been followed.

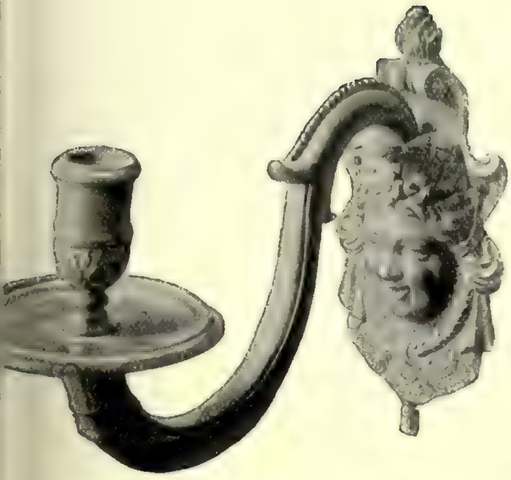


PIERRE PUGET, BY HIMSELF.
(Museum of Aix.)

France has other public buildings, works of much greater importance; vast hospitals, stone bridges, quays, river embankments, canals, locks, ports. The military architecture of the frontier forts admirably combines strength with beauty. The works executed from the designs of PERRAULT, LEVAU and DORBAY are well known.

The art of making gardens has been created and brought to perfection in the beautiful by LE NÔTRE, and in the useful by LA QUINTINIE. It is not true that Le Nôtre carried simplicity to the extent of familiarly embracing the King and the Pope. His pupil Collineau has assured me that the stories to this effect are false; but testimony is not really required to make us aware that a keeper of the royal gardens does not kiss popes and kings on both cheeks.

The engraving of gems and medals, and the casting of type for printing have all been advanced by the rapid progress of other arts.



CANDLE-BRACKET FROM THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES.

(Collection of M. Charles Rossigneux.)

Clockmakers, whom we may regard as physicists in practice, have shown great ability in their craft.

Stuffs, and even the gold that embellishes them, have been blended with such taste and skill that, apart from their use as articles of luxury, many deserve to be preserved as examples of industrial art.

In fact, the past century has enabled ours to embody and transmit the sciences and the arts, advanced as far as human industry has been able to go, to posterity: a society of learned men highly gifted with intelligence have wrought at this task. Their immense and immortal work (the Encyclopédie) seems to reproach the brevity of human life. It was begun by d'Alembert and Diderot; it has been crossed and persecuted by envy and ignorance, according to the destiny of all great enterprises. It would have been well if some foreign hands had not disfigured that important work by puerile declamation and feeble commonplace, which however do not injure the value of the remainder to the human race.

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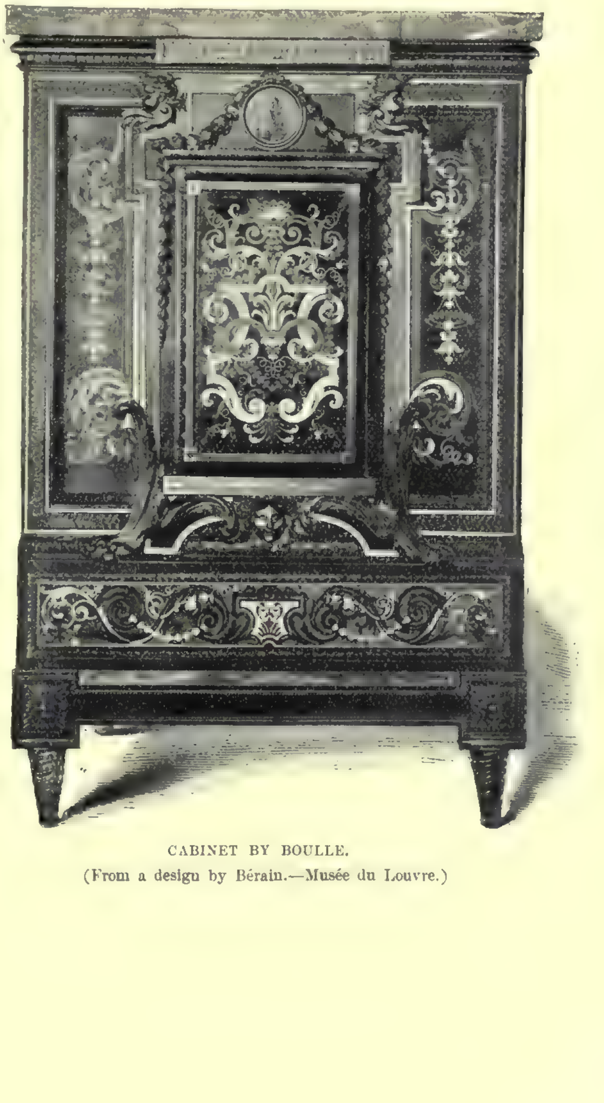
We should have wished to add the principal works of the artists who figure in the list drawn out by Voltaire, and even of very great ones who do not figure in it—for that list creates interest even by its omissions, and especially by the writer's surprising opinions. But the scope of the work did not permit us to do this.



CABINET BY BOULLE.

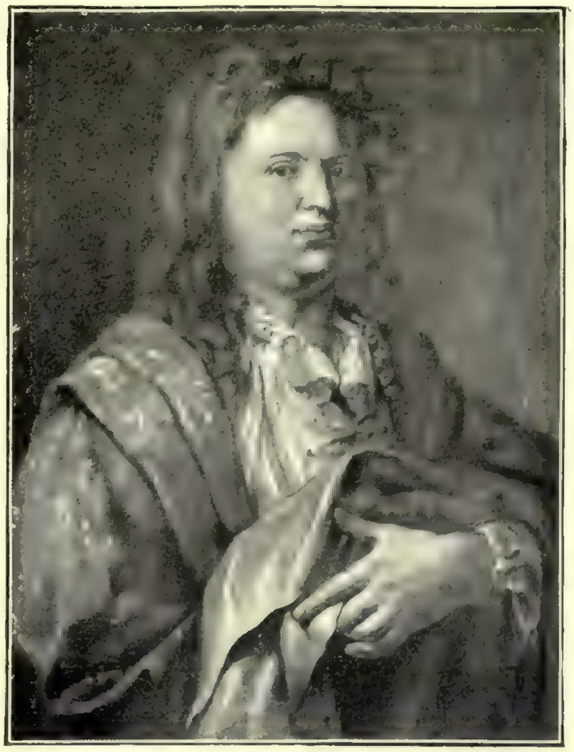
(From a design by Bérain.—Musée du Louvre.)

DOORWAY OF THE HÔTEL DE VILLE AT TOULON BY PIERRE PUGET.

We propose, however, to call the attention of our readers to the painters and sculptors whom Voltaire does not mention, or seems not to estimate at their true worth. Among the neglected painters is Philippe de Champagne, whose memory we recall by one of his finest paintings. Among the sculptors we have selected masterly works by Puget, Coysevox, and Van Clève, to all of whom, so devoted was he to the art of the seventeenth century, the author of "Le Siècle de Louis XIV." seems to prefer Girardon.

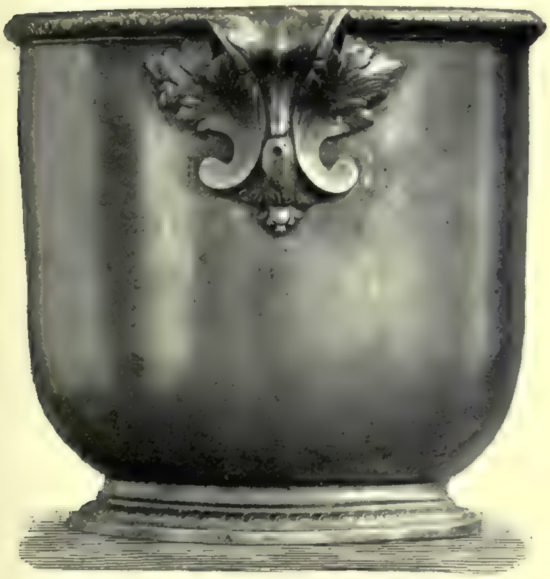
This book as a whole is a gallery of the art of the seventeenth century.

We have united the art, the life, and the thought of the Great Century in one picture, to make it more easily understood. The remarkable



JEAN VARIN.
(From a portrait attributed to Cl. Lefebvre.—Musée de Versailles.)

portraits of that epoch, regarded in relation to the judgments passed by Voltaire, Saint-Simon, and many others upon the King, his courtiers, and his ministers, account for the personages in the foreground. The social and ceremonial scenes rendered by our engravers and the authors of French or Dutch caricatures, by designers of fashion-plates or almanacs, explain and define the changes that were made under the eyes of Voltaire and La Bruyère in the France of the seventeenth century. A medal is often the best commentary on an event, or an institution commemorated by the contemporaries to whom we have to look for an explanation of it. A direct and striking impression, which is both real and æsthetic, may be gained by combining a written record of the past to which the historian has restored life and local colour, with a painting by an artist who understood the period that he illustrated. If there be an epoch that may be treated by this method with profit, surely it is the seventeenth century. Within its bounds everything tended to unity—manners, laws, art, thought, and beliefs; when Colbert gave commissions to Lebrun, by order of the King and under his eyes, and Lebrun to Coysevox. For those who prefer a separate study of the features of the



ICE-BOWL OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN CARVED COPPER.
(Collection of M. Edmond Guérin.)

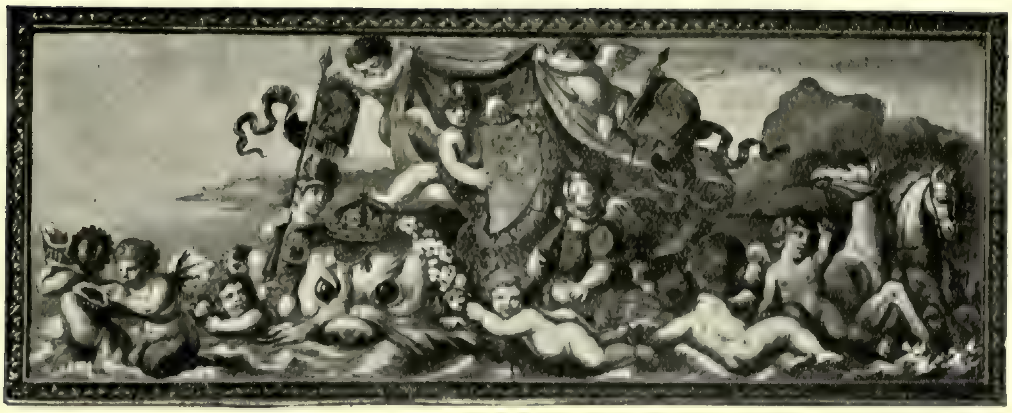
time, it is easy to find compositions by Lebrun; portraits by Lefebvre, Rigaud, and Mignard; busts by Warin, Coysevox, and Desjardins; medals by Legros; prints by Mellan, Audran, Sébastien Leclerc, Poilly, and Edelinck; furniture by Boulle; vases by Tuby and Ballin. The reader has only to refer to the table of illustrations at the end of the volume.

In a word, the subject of the fine arts is not confined to this present chapter; it forms our entire book, that picture of the Great Century itself, which we have endeavoured to reconstruct with the assistance of its contemporary writers and artists.

PORPHYRY VASE.

(Made by order of Louis XIV. after the melting-down of the gold and silver plate in 1709.)

(Musée de Versailles, Salle des Gardes de la Reine.)



THE ARMS OF THE DAUPHIN BORNE BY LOVES.

(Heading by Chauveau for the collection of *Courses de Têtes et de Bagues*, from the Imprimerie Royale.)
(From the illuminated copy in the Library of Versailles.)

# IV

# THE FINE ARTS IN EUROPE IN THE TIME OF LOUIS XIV.

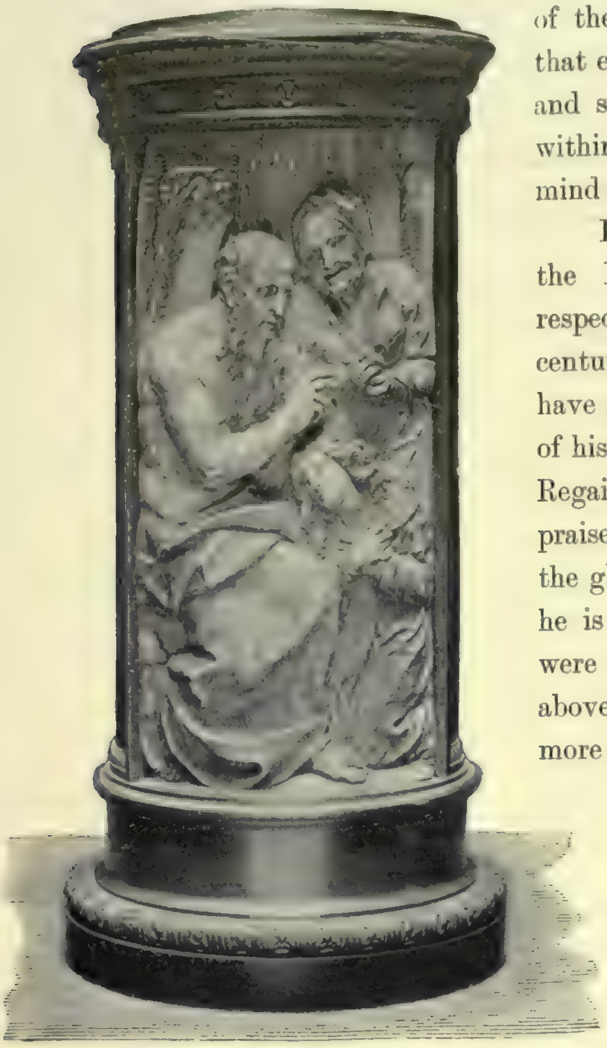
A L'IMMORTALITE

ORNAMENTAL LETTER IN HONOUR OF LOUIS XIV.
(By P. P. Sevin.)

WE have constantly implied in the course of this history that the almost unbroken succession of public disasters of which it is composed are now expunged from the register of time. The details and the schemes of politics fall into oblivion: the good laws, the institutions, the monuments of science and art last for ever.

The crowd of strangers who now flock to Rome, not as pilgrims, but as connoisseurs, take little heed of Gregory VII. or of Boniface VIII.; they admire the churches built by Bramante and Michael Angelo, the paintings of Rafaelle, the sculptures of Bernini; if they are men of intellect they read Tasso and Ariosto, and they respect the ashes of Galileo. In England there may be a passing mention of Cromwell; the Wars of the Roses are no longer discussed, but Newton's works form the study of years. No one is surprised to read in his epitaph that he was "decus humani generis," but everybody would be astonished to find such an inscription on the tomb of any statesman.

I wish I could do justice here to all the great men who, like him, have made their country illustrious during the great century. I have called it the Century of Louis XIV., not only because that monarch patronised the arts much more actively than all his contemporaries put together, but also because he outlived three generations of the princes of Europe. I have placed that epoch some years before Louis XIV. and some years after him; it is in fact within this space of time that the human mind has made its most signal progress.



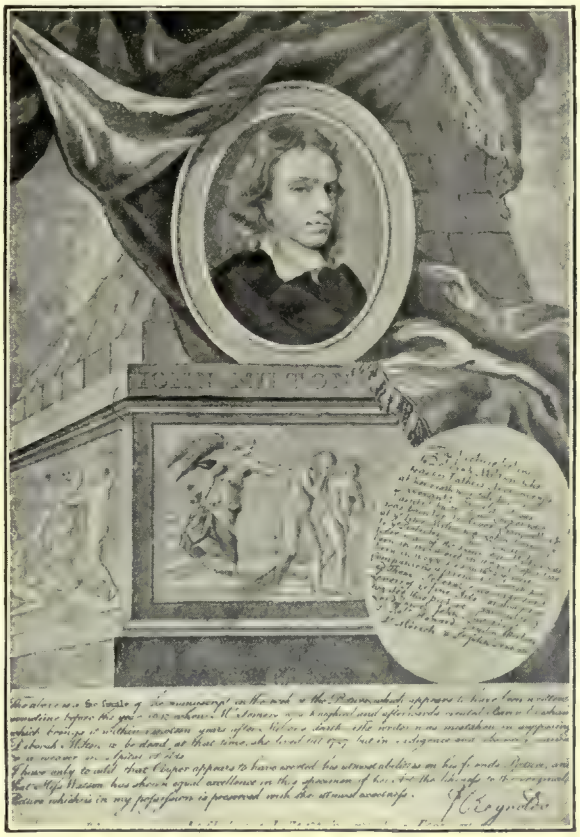
THE CHASTE SUSANNA.
(A carving in ivory attributed to Bernini.)
(Collection of Madame Moreau Nélaton.)

Between 1660 and our own days, the English have advanced in every respect more than in all the preceding centuries. I will not repeat here what I have said elsewhere of Milton. Criticism of his "Paradise Lost" and his "Paradise Regained" has exhausted itself, but his praise is not exhausted. Milton remains the glory and the admiration of England: he is compared to Homer, whose defects were equally great, and he is placed above Dante, whose conceptions are still more fantastic.

Among the large number of pleasing poets who adorned the reign of Charles II.—for instance, Waller, the Earls of Dorset and Rochester, the Duke of Buckingham, and others — the famous Dryden towers aloft. He excelled in every kind of poetry: his works abound in natural and, at the same time, brilliant, animated, bold, vigorous and passionate detail. In the latter quality he is unrivalled by any poet of his own country, and unsurpassed by the ancients. If Pope, who came after him, had not written his "Essay on Man" towards the close of his life, he could not come into the line of comparison with Dryden

The treatment of morals by the English poets is at once bold and thoughtful; this, it seems to me, is the chief merit of their verse.

There is another sort of serious literature, which requires talent of an even more cultivated and expansive order; such ability was Addison's. Not only has he immortalised himself by his "Cato," the only English tragedy written with elegance and in a lofty tone, but his other moral and critical works are models of good taste and good sense, adorned by imagination. His manner of writing is an excellent model for any country. In several of his productions Dean Swift has gone beyond the licence of the ancients; he has outdone Rabelais.



PORTRAIT OF JOHN MILTON.

(From an allegorical picture preserved by his family and engraved in the eighteenth century.)

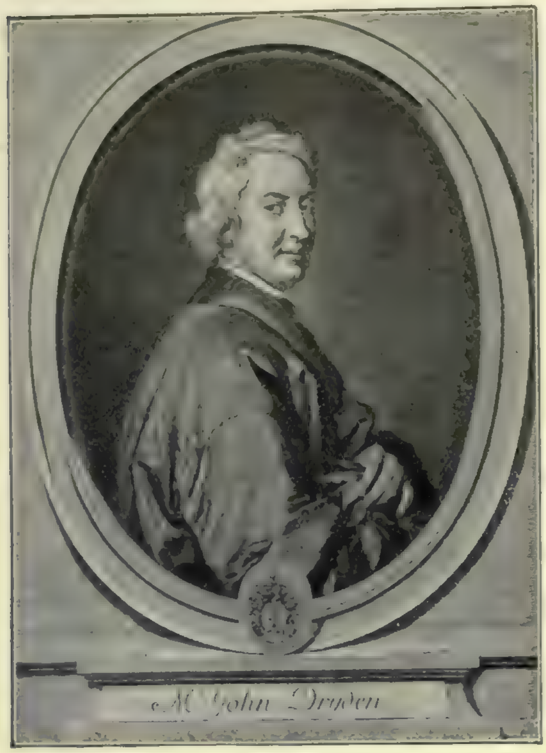
The English know nothing about funeral orations—it is not their custom to eulogise kings and queens in their churches—but pulpit eloquence, which was of a rude kind in London before Charles II., became suddenly polished. Bishop Burnet owns in his Memoirs that the change was due to the imitation of French preachers. The English clergy have surpassed their masters in one respect: their sermons are less formal, less affected, and less declamatory,

⁂

The tribute paid by Voltaire to the English writers is inspired by the estimate of them which he formed when he frequented their society in early life. It may almost be said, indeed, that it was in their school he learned to appreciate the great French century whose close he saw; and he very justly introduces an eulogium upon them into his essay on the

Century of Louis XIV. In his "Lettres sur l'Angleterre," which had appeared long before (in 1727), Voltaire made this eulogium more complete and explicit :—

"In England," he wrote, "people commonly think, and letters are more highly honoured than here. This is a necessary consequence of the form of their government. The whole nation is under the necessity of educating itself. Such is the respect of the people for talent that a man of merit always succeeds there. Go to Westminster Abbey; it is not the tombs of kings that are admired, it is the monuments raised by the gratitude of the nation to the great men who have contributed to the fame of the country. Their statues are to be seen in the Abbey, as those of Sophocles and Plato were to be seen at Athens."



JOHN DRYDEN.
(From the portrait by Kneller, engraved by Edelinck.)

Voltaire himself has raised a monument to those English writers in the finished form in which he commends them to the admiration of the French, as follows :—

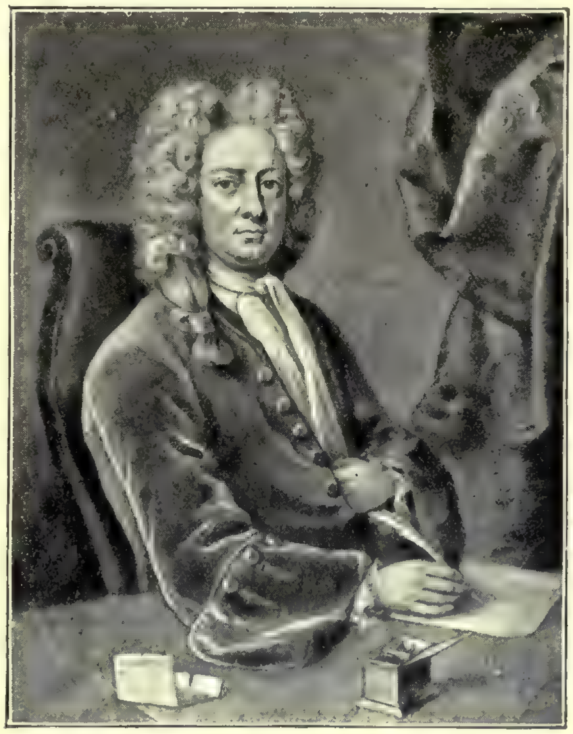
"Those who rise above the usages, the prejudices or the weaknesses of their own country, those who are of all time and every land, those who prefer the grandeur of philosophy to declarations of love, will find in Addison's 'Cato' a tragedy written from beginning to end with that bold and virile eloquence which abounds in the works of Corneille. The part of Cato I regard as one of the finest within the resources of the stage."

Among English writers of comedy the late Mr. Congreve is first and most famous. He wrote only a few plays, but they are all excellent of their kind, witty and well constructed. Vanbrugh's are the most lively, and Wycherley's the strongest.

A man of imagination, endowed with a tenth part of the sense of the comic that pervades Butler's "Hudibras," would still be very amusing, but he would be very difficult to translate. It is true that he has not the gaiety of our Curé de Meudon, but he has all the finesse, reason, discretion, judgment, choiceness and good taste in which Rabelais was deficient. His verses are written in a singular style—one hardly possible of imitation.

⁂

It is also remarkable that these islanders, separated from the rest of the world, and instructed so late, have acquired at least as full an acquaintance with antiquity as exists in Rome, which has been so long the centre of nations. Marsham has broken into the darkness of ancient Egypt, and no Persian knows the religion of Zoroaster as the learned Hyde knows it. The Turks were ignorant of the history of Mahomet and the times that preceded him, but it was explored by Sale, the Englishman who has travelled in Arabia to such good purpose.

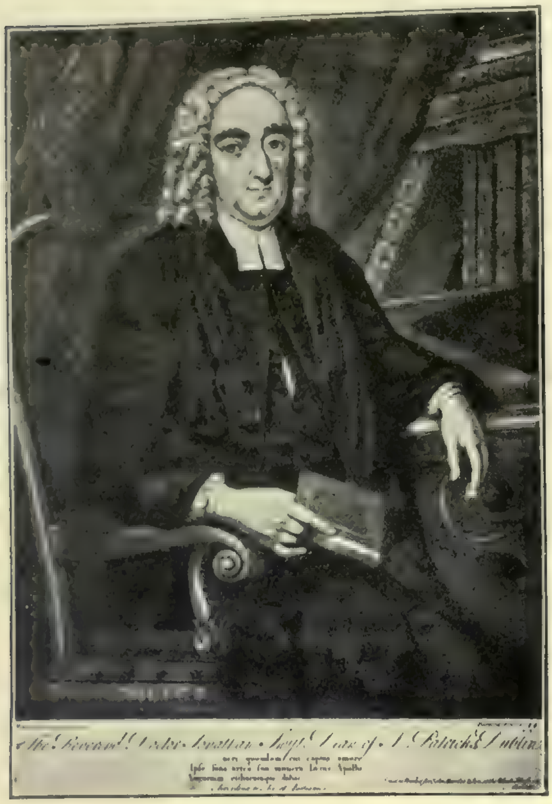


ADDISON.

(From the portrait by Dahl, engraved by Simon.)

In no country in the world has the Christian religion been so fiercely attacked and so learnedly defended as in England. From Henry VIII. to Cromwell, people disputed, and fought like the gladiators of old who entered the arena blindfold, scimitar in hand. Some slight differences in worship and in dogma led to terrible wars; but, after the Restoration down to our own days, although Christianity as a whole has been attacked year after year, these disputes have not occasioned the slightest disturbance; they have been answered by science alone, no longer by fire and sword.

In philosophy especially the English have been teachers of the other nations. Ingenious systems were no longer in question. The fables of the Greeks had long since disappeared, and modern fable was not to appear at all. Lord Bacon had begun by saying that Nature must be interrogated in a novel manner; that experiments must be made. Bayle passed his life in making them.



JONATHAN SWIFT.

(Painted from nature by Markham, engraved by Burford.)

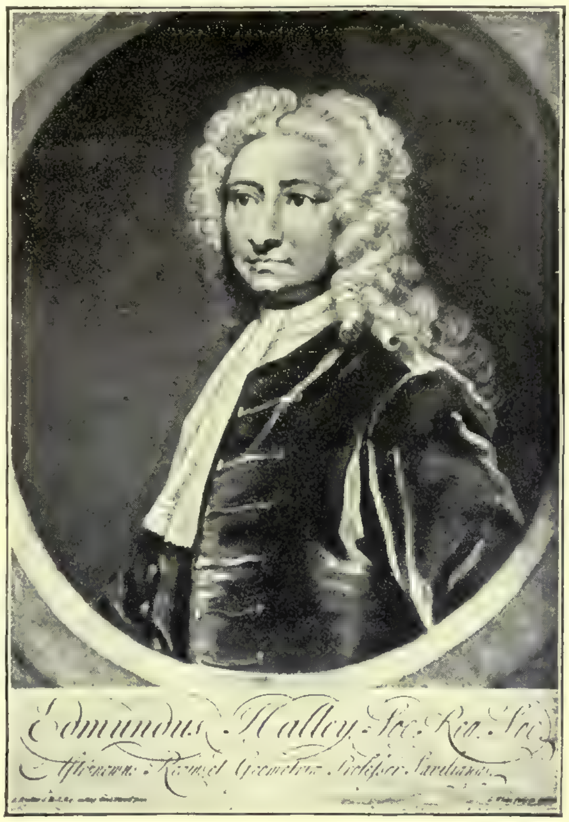
This is not the place for a dissertation on physics; suffice it to say that after three thousand years of vain research, Newton was the first to discover and to demonstrate the great natural law by which all the elements of matter are reciprocally attracted, the law by which all the stars are kept in their courses. He was the first who had, in fact, seen the light; before him it was hardly known.

His mathematical principles are founded on the discovery of the infinitesimal calculus, and that effort was made when he was twenty-four. It was this marvellous achievement that made the great Halley, another learned philosopher, say, "it is not permitted to a mortal to attain more nearly to the divine."

A number of geometricians and physicists were encouraged and inspired by his discoveries.

Halley, to whom I have just referred, was, though simply an astronomer, placed in command of a King's ship in 1698. On board his ship he determined the position of the stars of the antarctic pole, and marked the variations of the compass in every part of the known world. The voyage of the Argonauts was but the crossing of a river by a boat in comparison; yet Halley's voyage has hardly been spoken of in Europe.

Our indifference towards great things with which we are too familiar, and the admiration of the Greeks for little things, is a farther proof of the vast superiority of our age over the ancients. Boileau in France, and Sir William Temple in England, refused to recognise that superiority; they depreciated their age in order to put themselves above it. This dispute between ancients and moderns has been finally decided; at least in philosophy. No ancient natural philosopher now instructs the youth of any country.


Edmundus Halley. Soc. Reg. Soc.
Astronom. Regius et Geometriæ Professor Savilianus.

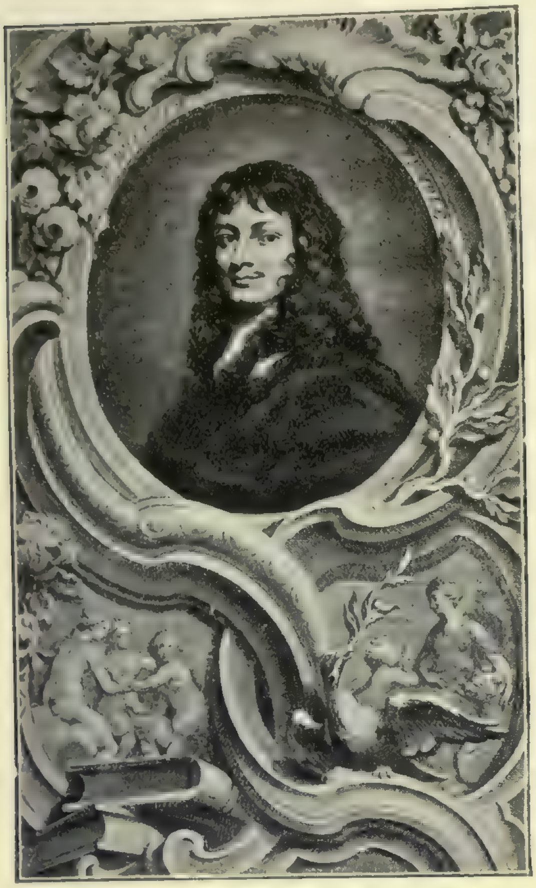
HALLEY.

(From the portrait by Kneller, engraved by White.)

Locke alone furnishes a great example of the advantage that our century possesses over the most illustrious ages of Greece. From the time of Plato to the time of Locke there is nothing; no one in that interval expounded the operations of mind; and a man who should know all Plato, but who should know nothing else but Plato, would know little, and know that little ill.

Plato was, indeed, an eloquent Greek; his "Phædo" is a great service rendered to the sages of all nations: it is only fair that it should be held in honour, because it rendered virtue in misfortune so worthy of respect, and its persecutors so odious. It was long believed that his beautiful moral code could not be accompanied by a bad metaphysic, and the latter was accepted on the faith of the former; but in the present age of science how would we regard a philosopher who should ask us to believe, on the authority of his teaching, that the world is a figure of twelve pentagons, and the other fantastic theories which he advances? Would the assertion that sleep comes from waking and waking from sleep, that death comes from life and life from death, be now accepted as a proof of the immortality and the metempsychoses of the soul? Such is the reasoning that was accepted for many centuries, and ideas still more extravagant have since been employed in the education of men.

Locke alone has developed the human understanding in a book that contains nothing but truths, and the work is rendered perfect by the lucidity of all those truths.



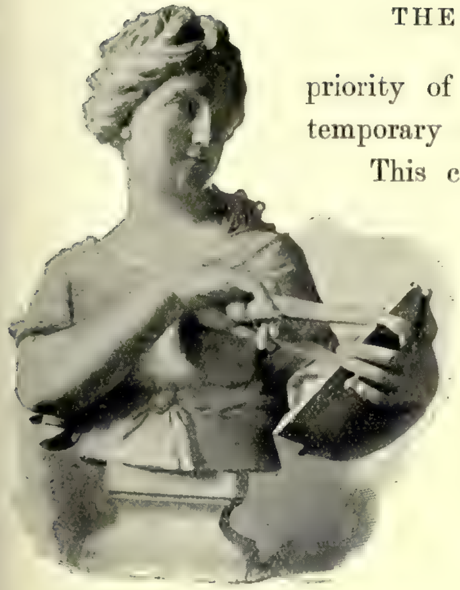
SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE.
(Portrait by Lely, engraved by Houbroken.)

If we would learn in what this last century has surpassed every other, we may glance at Germany and the North.

Hevelius at Dantzig was the first astronomer who really knew the moon; no man before him had so closely examined the heavens. Among the great men of the last century who afford proof that it was well and truly called the Century of Louis XIV. is Hevelius. He lost a great library by fire, and the French monarch compensated him for the loss by a present which exceeded it in value.

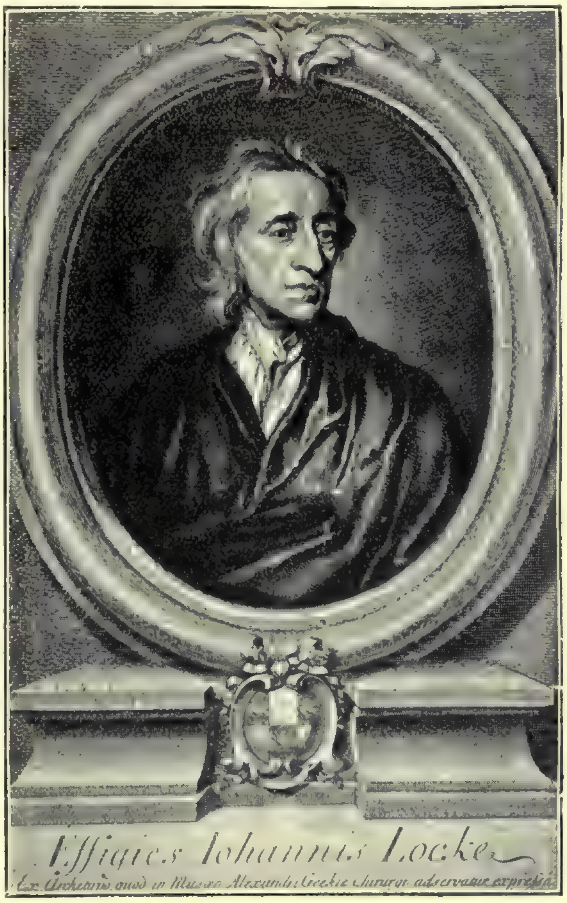
Mercator in Holstein was the forerunner of Newton, in geometry; the Bernoulli in Switzerland were disciples of that great man. Leibnitz was for some time regarded as his rival.

This famous Leibnitz was born at Leipsic, and died like a sage at Hanover; he, like Newton, worshipped a divine Being without consulting men. He was perhaps the most universal scholar in Europe: indefatigable in research as an historian; a profound jurist, explaining law by philosophy, foreign to the former as the latter seemed to be; a profound metaphysician who tried to reconcile metaphysics with theology; a Latin poet; and to crown all, a mathematician great enough to dispute the priority of the discovery of the infinitesimal calculus with temporary doubt of Newton's claim.



GEOMETRY.
(Marble bust by Legros.—Musée du Louvre.)

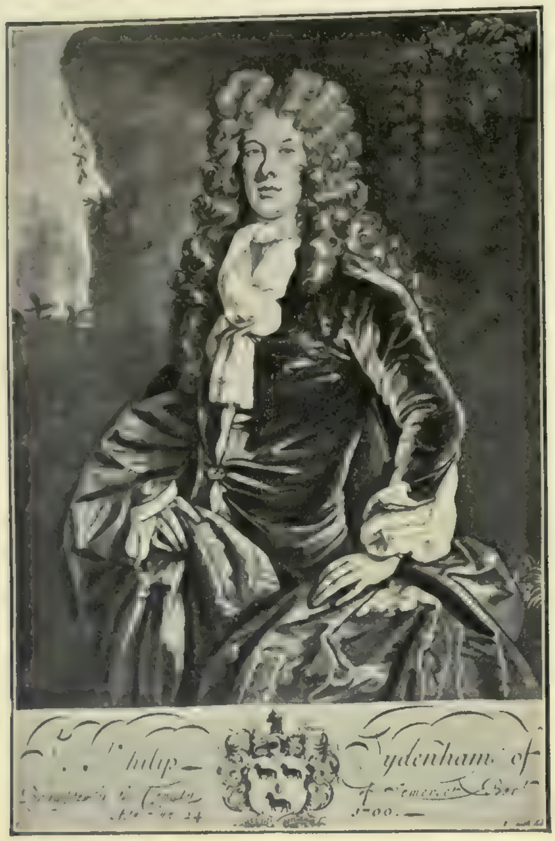
This century was also the age of geometry. Mathematicians often sent each other challenges, that is to say, problems to be solved, as it is said the ancient Egyptian and Asiatic kings interchanged riddles to be guessed. The problems proposed to each other by the geometricians were more difficult than those riddles; but not one of them remained unsolved in Germany, Italy, England or France. Never had the correspondence between philosophers been more universal; Leibnitz served to keep it alive. A republic of letters has been established in Europe, notwithstanding the wars and in spite of religious differences. All the sciences, all the arts have been reciprocally assisted; this republic has been formed by the Academies. Italy and Russia have been united by letters. Englishmen, Germans, and Frenchmen made their studies at Leyden. Boerhave, the famous physician, was consulted both by the Pope and by the Czar. His greatest pupils also attracted the attention of foreigners, and became the physicians of all countries; real *savants* in every branch of learning have drawn close the bonds of that great society of minds that exists everywhere and is everywhere independent. That correspondence still



JOHN LOCKE.
(From the portrait by Kneller, engraved by De Vertue.)

survives; it is one of the consolations for the evils that ambition and politics have spread throughout the world.

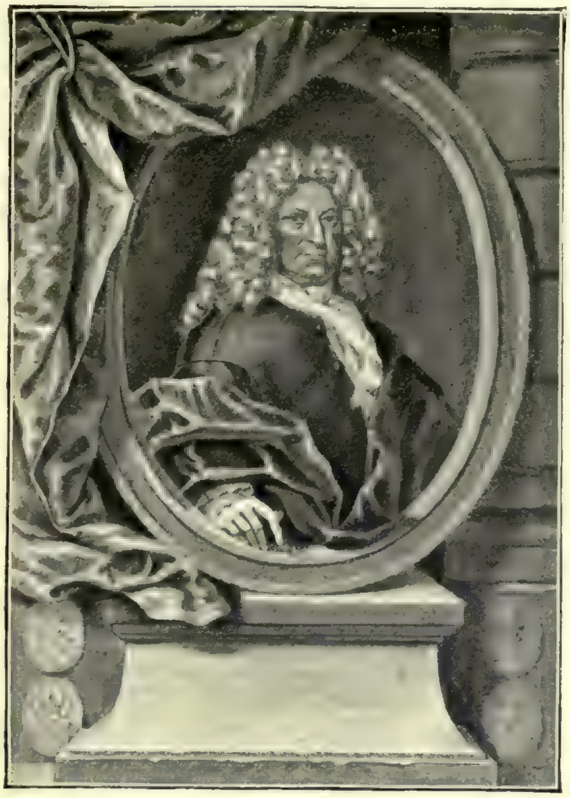
In this century Italy has maintained her former fame, though she has had no new Tasso, or new Rafaelle; it is enough to have produced them once. Chiabrera, Zappi, Filicaja have proved that refinement is the unfailing gift of their race. The "Mérope" of Maffei, and the dramatic works of Metastasio, are great productions of the century.



PHILIP SYDENHAM AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-FOUR.
(From the portrait by Hœse, engraved by Smith.)

The study of true physics, established by Galileo, has been maintained, notwithstanding the opposition of an ancient and cherished philosophy. Cassini, Viviani, Manfredi, Bianchini, Zanotti, and several others have shed over Italy the same light that illumined other countries; and although the chief rays of that light came from England, the Italian schools did not avert their gaze from it. All kinds of learning have been cultivated in that ancient home of the arts as well as elsewhere, except in matters where the freedom of thought of other countries gives greater scope to the mind. The century learned more of antiquity than all those that preceded it. Italy furnishes finer examples of the art of the old world than all Europe put together; and in proportion as these are disinterred, knowledge is extended.

This progress is due to certain men of genius who were scattered in small numbers over some parts of Europe. Almost all of these lived for a long time in obscurity, and were frequently persecuted, but they enlightened and consoled the world while war desolated it. Lists may be found elsewhere of those who have made Germany, Italy and England illustrious. A foreigner is hardly qualified to formulate an appreciation



LEIBNITZ.
(From an anonymous engraving of the period.)

of the merits of all these illustrious men. It is enough that I have made it plain that mankind from one end of Europe to the other in the last century has learned more than in all the preceding ages of the world.

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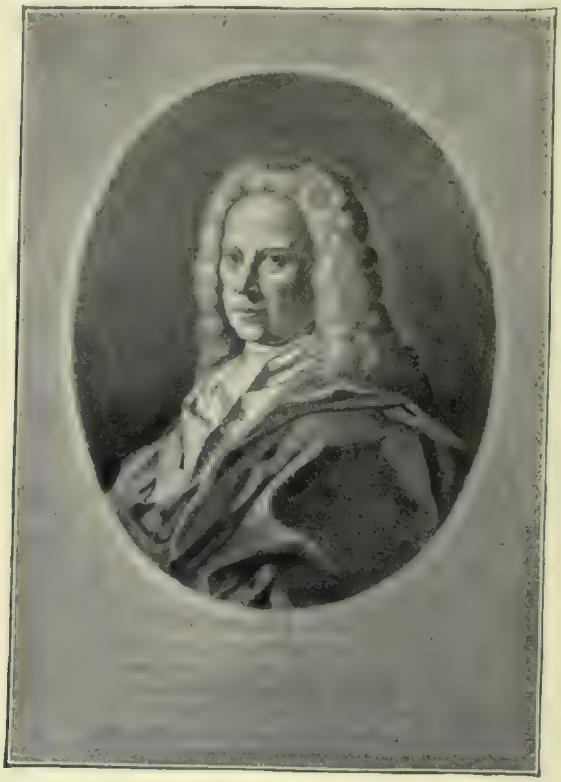
This picture of intellectual progress in the whole of Europe in the time of Louis XIV. embodies the idea which Voltaire had formed of the Great Century, the greatest since that of Leo X. Before the publication of his book the author had occasion to reply to one of his English friends, Lord Hervey, who blamed him for having ascribed all the renown of his age to Louis XIV. His explanation justifies him amply :—

"Do not be so angry with me because I call the last century the Century of Louis XIV. I am well aware that Louis XIV. had not the honour of being the sovereign and the patron of a Bayle, a Newton, a Halley, an Addison, or a Dryden; but did the Pope do everything in the age which is called the age of Leo X.? Were there not other princes who contributed to the growth of enlightenment and the refining of the human kind? Nevertheless, the name of Leo X. is foremost, because he,

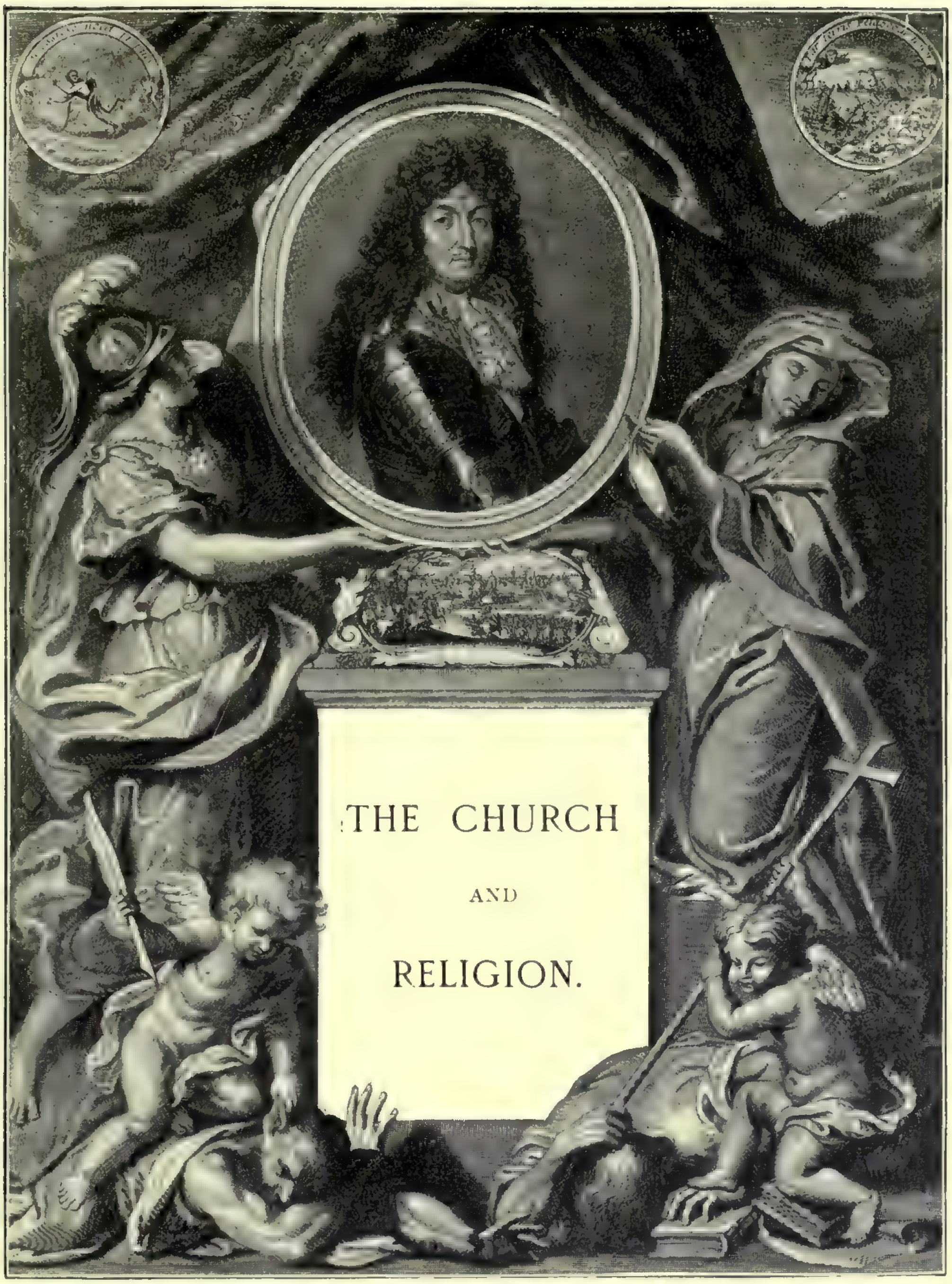
LOUIS XIV.
(Medal belonging to Baron Jérôme Pichon.)

beyond any other, encouraged the arts. Well then, what king has rendered greater services to humanity in that same way than Louis XIV.? Name me a sovereign who has drawn foreigners of genius and learning to his country as this King has drawn them. Have not the great writers of his time been your models? What prince was there who did not try to imitate Louis XIV.?"

It was the brightness of its shining in France that won for the Great Century the place it holds, and will ever hold, in history.



SCIPIO MAFFEI.
(From the drawing and engraving by Marcus Pitteri.)



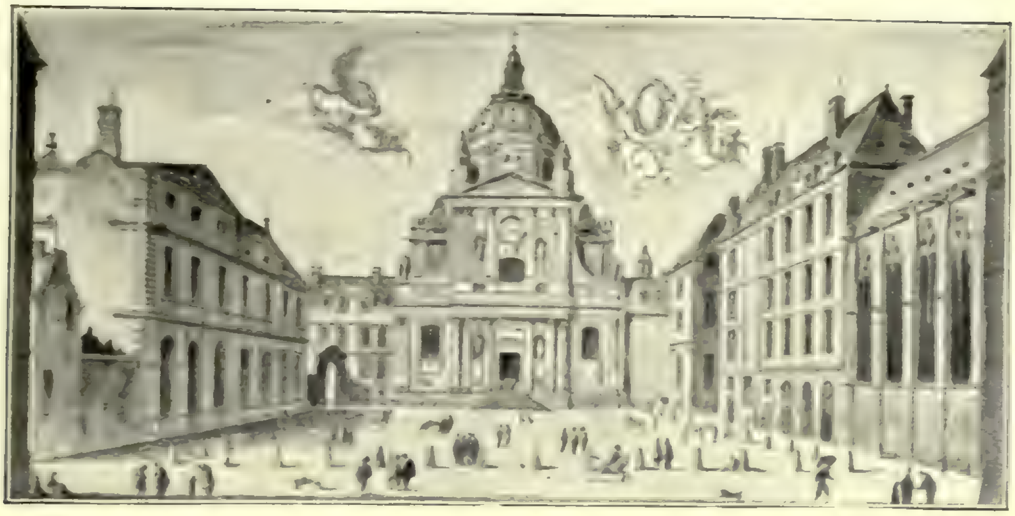
# THE CHURCH

AND

# RELIGION.

PORTRAIT OF LOUIS XIV. SUPPORTED BY WISDOM AND RELIGION.

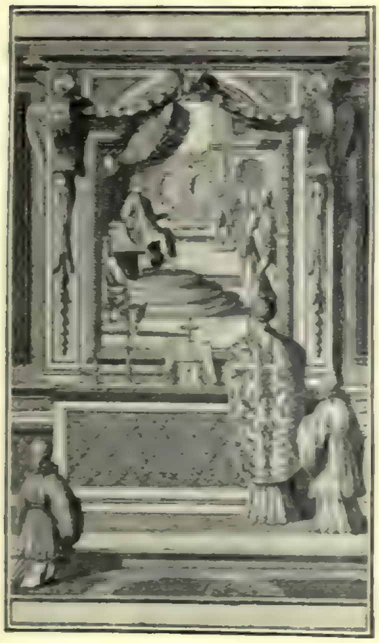
(From a frontispiece taken from the collection of Histories of France.)
(Cabinet of Engravings.—Bibliothèque Nationale.)



THE SORBONNE.
(From a print by Lepautre.)

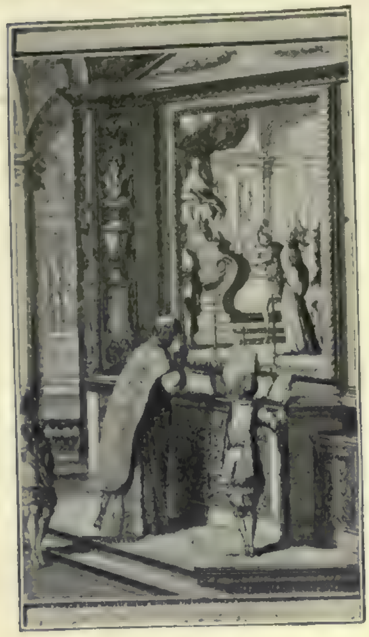
# I

## ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.—MEMORABLE DISPUTES.



MASS IN A CHURCH OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(Print by Lepautre.)

OF the three Estates of the Realm the clergy is the least numerous, and it is only in the kingdom of France that it has become an "Estate." As an Estate the clergy has always needed management on the part of the sovereign. To preserve union with the See of Rome, and at the same time to maintain the liberties of the Gallican, which are the rights of the ancient, Church; to make the Bishops obey as subjects without infringing the rights of the Episcopate; to subject them to secular jurisdiction, and yet to leave them free judgment in many things; to make them contribute to the needs of the State without violating their privileges, demanded dexterity and firmness. Louis XIV. was rarely deficient in either. The French clergy were gradually restored to the order and decorum which the civil wars and the licence of the times had disturbed. The King no longer suffered laymen to hold livings under the title of lay-vicars, or those who were not priests to have bishoprics, as in the case of Cardinal Mazarin, who held the bishopric of Metz, although he was not even a sub-deacon, and the Duc de Verneuil, also a layman, who had likewise held that bishopric.


MASS IN A CHURCH OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(From a print by Lepautre.)

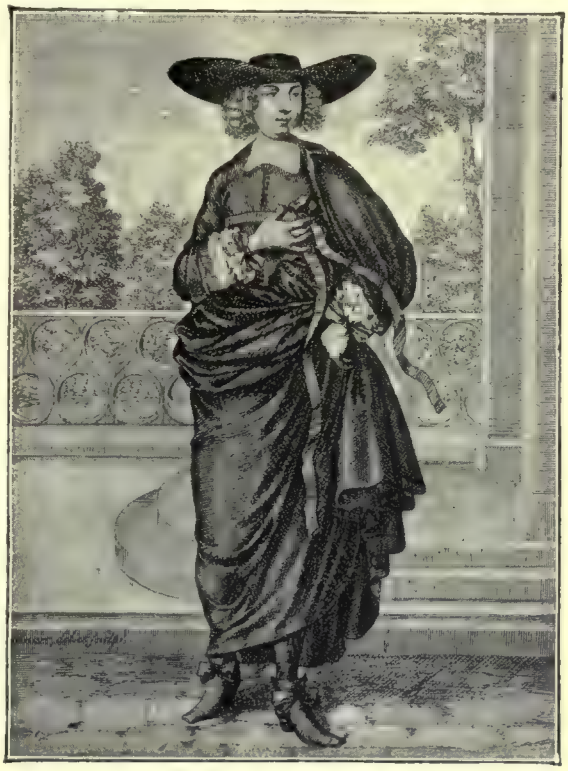
The revenue paid to the King by the French clergy and the conquered towns amounted, on an average, to two millions five hundred thousand livres a year; and at a later period, the value of money having increased, they assisted the State to the amount of four millions a year under the name of tithes, extraordinary subsidies, and free gifts. The name and privilege of "free gift" remain as a relic of the ancient usage by which the feudal lords made free gifts to the kings in times of State necessity. Bishops and abbots, although also feudal lords, had to supply soldiers at times of feudal anarchy only. Kings then possessed their domains only like other lords. Afterwards, though all besides was changed, the clergy continued to assist the State by "free gifts."

The Church, "whose goods are the goods of the poor," does not claim exemption from dues to the State from which it derives everything; for the kingdom, when in necessity, is first among the poor; but it asserts its own right to give voluntary aid only, and Louis XIV. always exacted this aid after an irresistible fashion.

In Europe and in France it has been a matter of surprise that the clergy pay so little, for their "Estate" is held to be a "third" of the realm. If the clergy possessed that third they ought undoubtedly to bear a third of the expenses; these, in an ordinary year, would amount to over fifty millions, apart from the taxes upon articles of consumption which they pay in common with the whole of the nation; but this is not the case.

The Church of France is the least wealthy of all the Catholic Churches. No French bishop had acquired possession of a great sovereignty like that of Rome, and no French abbots hold sovereign rights, as the Abbot of Monte Cassino and the German abbots do. As a rule, French bishoprics have but moderate revenues. Strasburg and Cambray are the most important sees; but they originally belonged to Germany, and the German Church was far more wealthy than the Empire.

Giannone states in his history of Naples that the Church possesses two-thirds of the revenue of the country. No such abuse exists in France. We say that the Church possesses one-third of the realm, just as we say there are a million inhabitants in Paris. If we were to compute the revenue of the bishoprics, we should find, on the evidence of the leases granted within fifty years, that the whole of the bishoprics then existing were valued at an annual revenue of four millions, and the abbacies in trust at four million five hundred thousand francs. It is true that this was one-third below the actual value, and, if the increase of revenues from land be added, the sum total of the income of the whole of the Consistorial livings would come to nearly sixteen millions. It must not be forgotten, however, that a considerable portion of this sum goes yearly to Rome as "first-fruits," never comes back, and is a dead loss to France. This liberality on the part of the King towards the Holy See deprives the State in a century of more than four hundred thousand silver marcs, and would, in course of time, impoverish the kingdom, did not commerce abundantly repair the loss.



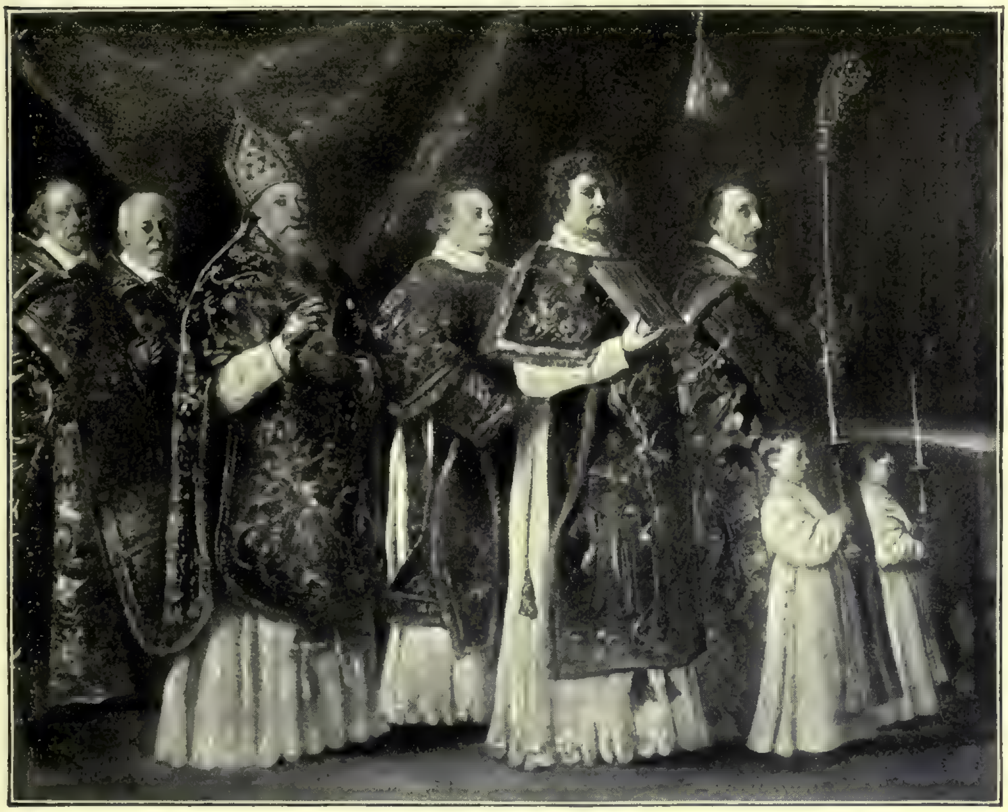
AN ABBÉ WEARING A CASSOCK.
(From an engraving by Bonnart.)

To these benefices which pay first-fruits to Rome we must add curacies, convents, collegiate churches, communities, and all the other ecclesiastical belongings, but, if these be valued at fifty millions per annum throughout the whole extent of the kingdom, the result will be found tolerably correct.

Persons who have looked carefully into this matter fail to make the revenues of the whole Gallican Church, secular and regular, exceed ninety millions. This is not an exorbitant sum for the maintenance of ninety thousand religious, and about one hundred and sixty thousand ecclesiastics, according to the reckoning in 1700. And of these ninety thousand monks more than a third were living on alms. Many cloistered monks do not cost their monasteries two hundred livres a year, while the revenues of each monastery may be two hundred thousand.

When the Clerical Estate of France makes a free gift (*don gratuit*) of several millions to the King in discharge of its obligations for a term of years, it borrows, and, having paid the interest, it reimburses its creditors in full; thus it pays twice over. It would have been more reasonable, and better for both the State and the clergy, had that body contributed to the funds of the country in defined proportion to the value of each living. But men are always attached to their old customs. The clergy, who assemble every five years, have never had a meeting place, or a piece of furniture belonging to them. It is evident that they could have more effectually assisted the King at less expense, and built a palace for themselves in Paris, which would have been a lasting ornament to the capital. The rules of the clergy of France in the minority of Louis XIV. were not yet entirely free from the taint of the League. In the youth of Louis XIII., and in the later meetings of the States in 1614, the majority of the nation, which is called the Third Estate, and is really the foundation of the State, demanded, in conjunction with the parliament, the laying down as a fundamental law "that no spiritual power can deprive kings of their sacred rights, which they hold from God alone, and that it is a crime of *lèse-majesté* in the highest degree to teach that kings may be deposed and killed."

This is the substance of the demand of the nation which was made just after the assassination of Henri IV. Cardinal Duperron, a Bishop of France, born in France, strongly opposed this demand under the pretext that it was not for the Third Estate to propose laws on that which concerns the Church. Why then did not he and the clergy do that which the Third Estate would have done? On the contrary, he declared that the power of the Pope was plenary, direct in spiritual matters, indirect in temporal matters, and he charged the clergy to announce that those who asserted that the Pope could not depose kings should be excommunicated." The nobility acquiesced, the Third Estate was silenced. The parliament renewed its former decrees by which the Crown was declared independent, and the person of kings sacred. The ecclesiastical court admitted that the person of kings was sacred, but persisted in maintaining that the Crown was dependent, showing the same spirit that had formerly led to the deposition of Louis le Débonnaire. That spirit now prevailed so strongly that the court was overruled, and obliged to imprison the printer who had published the decree of parliament under the title of "loi fondamentale." This was professedly done for the sake of peace, but it was really done to punish those who furnished the Crown with defensive arms.



CHURCH PROCESSION IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(From a painting by the brothers Le Nain.—Musée du Louvre.)

The beaten cause was so much that of all crowned heads that

James I., King of England, wrote against Cardinal Duperron, and that is the best thing he ever did. It was also the cause of the people, for whose peace it is necessary that their sovereigns shall not depend upon a foreign power. By degrees reason prevailed, and Louis XIV., supported by the weight of his power, procured a hearing for it. Antonio Perez had wished three things for Henri IV., "Rome, Counsel, Plenty." Louis XIV. was so well provided in the two latter that he had no need of the first. He was careful to preserve the custom of appeal against ecclesiastical ordinances to the parliament by writ of error in all cases where these ordinances affected the royal jurisdiction. The clergy sometimes complained of this, at other times approved it, for although on the one hand those appeals maintained the rights of the State against episcopal authority, on the other they made that very authority secure by supporting the privileges of the Gallican Church against the claims of the court of Rome. The Bishops regarded the parliaments as at once their adversaries and their defenders; and the Government took care that, religious quarrels notwithstanding, the easily-passed limits should be observed on both sides.

CHARITY.
(Marble bust by Legros in the Louvre.)

## OF THE LIBERTIES OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH.

THE word "liberties" assumes subjection. Liberties and privileges signify respectively exemption from a general servitude. The phrase should have been "the rights" and not "the liberties" of the Gallican Church. These rights are common to all former churches. The Bishops of Rome never had jurisdiction over the Christian societies of the empire of the East, but they invaded the whole of the ruined empire of the West. For a long time the Church of France was the only one that disputed with the See of Rome those ancient rights which each Bishop conferred upon himself when, after the first Council of Nice, ecclesiastical and purely spiritual administration was formed upon the model of the civil government.

It cannot reasonably be asserted that a Bishop of Rome possessed the right to send legates *a latere* to France with power to judge, reform, dispense and levy money from the people;

To command French prelates to go to Rome to plead their causes;

To impose taxes upon the benefices of the kingdom under the name of vacancies, successions, transfers, incompatibilities, commissions, ninths, tithes, first-fruits;

To excommunicate the King's officers, and so prevent the discharge of their business;

To render bastards capable of succession;

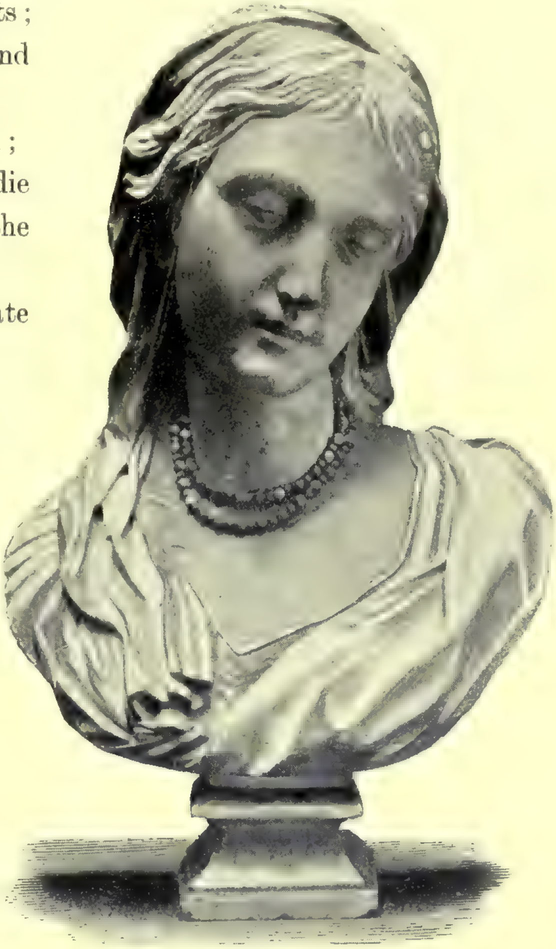
To break the wills of those who die without giving a portion of their goods to the Church;

To permit French ecclesiastics to alienate their landed property;

To delegate judges to ascertain the legitimacy of marriages.

In short, more than seventy assumed rights, against which the parliaments of the kingdom have always maintained the inherent liberty of the nation and the dignity of the Crown, are enumerated.

The Jesuits were held in high esteem under Louis XIV., and that the monarch curbed the remonstrances of the parliaments sharply is clear, seeing that he reigned solely by himself: however, neither of those important bodies neglected any opportunity of repressing the claims of the Court of Rome, and the King always approved of their vigilance, because in that matter the essential rights of the nation were the rights of the sovereign.



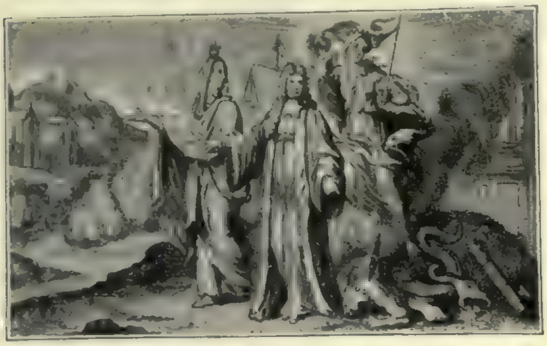
BUST OF THE VIRGIN.

(Attributed to Sarrasin. From the Collection of Madame Moreau-Nélaton.)

The most important and delicate affair of this kind was the matter of the regalia. This is a right of the kings of France to appoint to all the sinecures of a diocese during the vacancy of the see, and to dispose of the revenues of the bishopric at their pleasure. That prerogative is now peculiar to the kings of France, but each State has its own customs.

The kings of Portugal enjoy one-third of the revenues of the bishops of their kingdom. The Emperor has a right to the first prayers; he has always conferred all the first livings that fall vacant. The kings of Naples and Sicily have still greater rights; those of Rome are for the most part founded upon usage rather than upon primitive title.

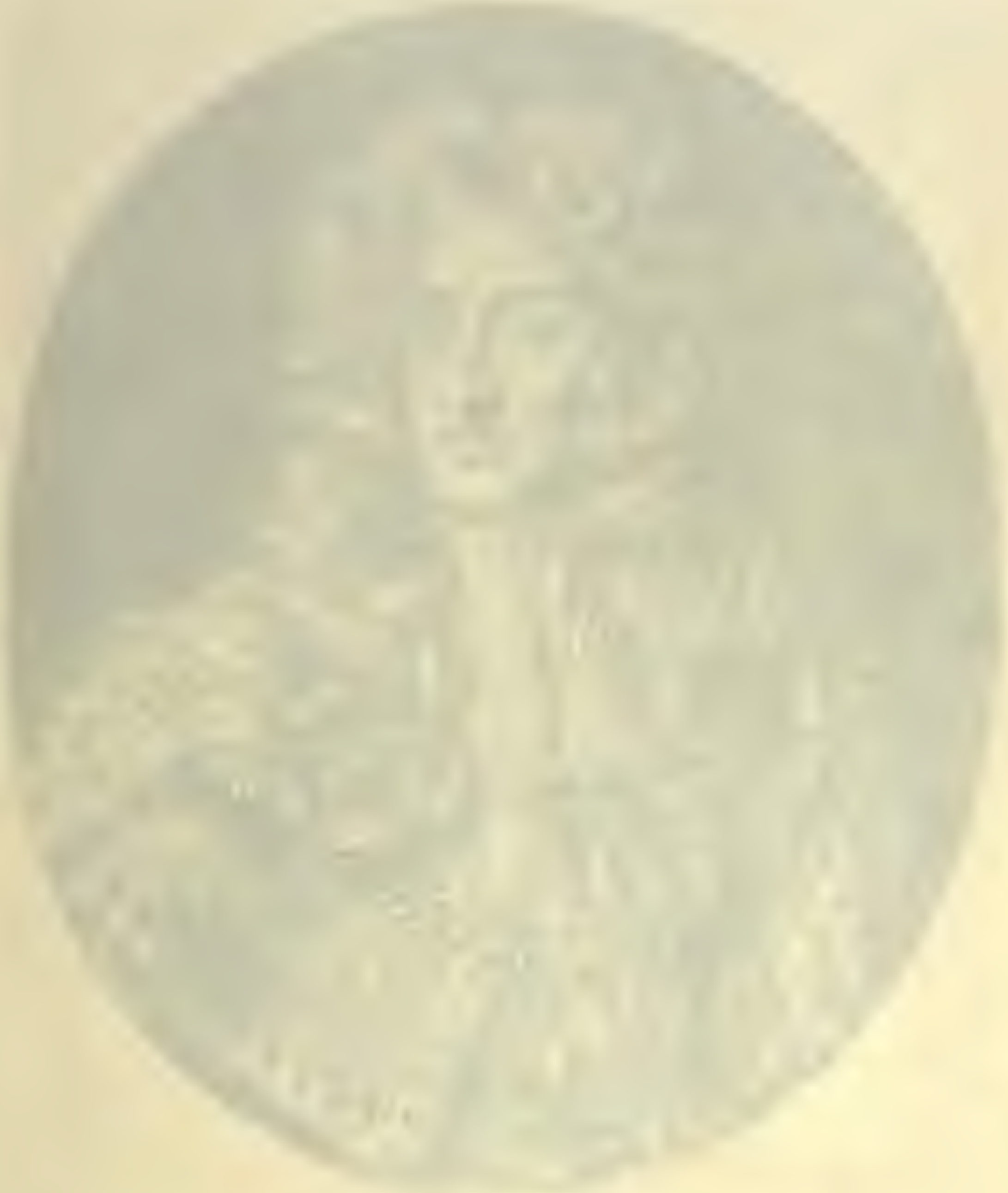
The Merovingian kings conferred bishoprics and all prelacies by their sole authority. In 742 Carloman created that same Boniface who afterwards crowned Pepin, as a mark of his gratitude, Archbishop of Mayence. Many monuments of the power the kings had to dispose of these important places still remain: the more important, the more ought they to be dependent upon the chief of the State. The incoming of a foreign bishop appeared dangerous; the nomination reserved for that bishop had often meant an usurpation still more dangerous, and had more than once caused civil war. Since kings conferred bishoprics, it seemed just that they should preserve the small privilege of disposing of the revenue and appointing to sinecures during the short period that intervenes between the death of a bishop and the enthronement of his successor. Several bishops of the Crown, under the third race (of kings), refused to recognise this right, which some individuals among the seignorial class were not strong enough to insist upon. The Popes declared for the bishops, and these claims remained always in a mist. In 1608 the parliament under Henri IV. declared that the regalia prevailed over the entire kingdom. The clergy complained, and the king, dealing cautiously with the bishops and with Rome, handed over the matter to his Council, and took good care not to settle it himself.

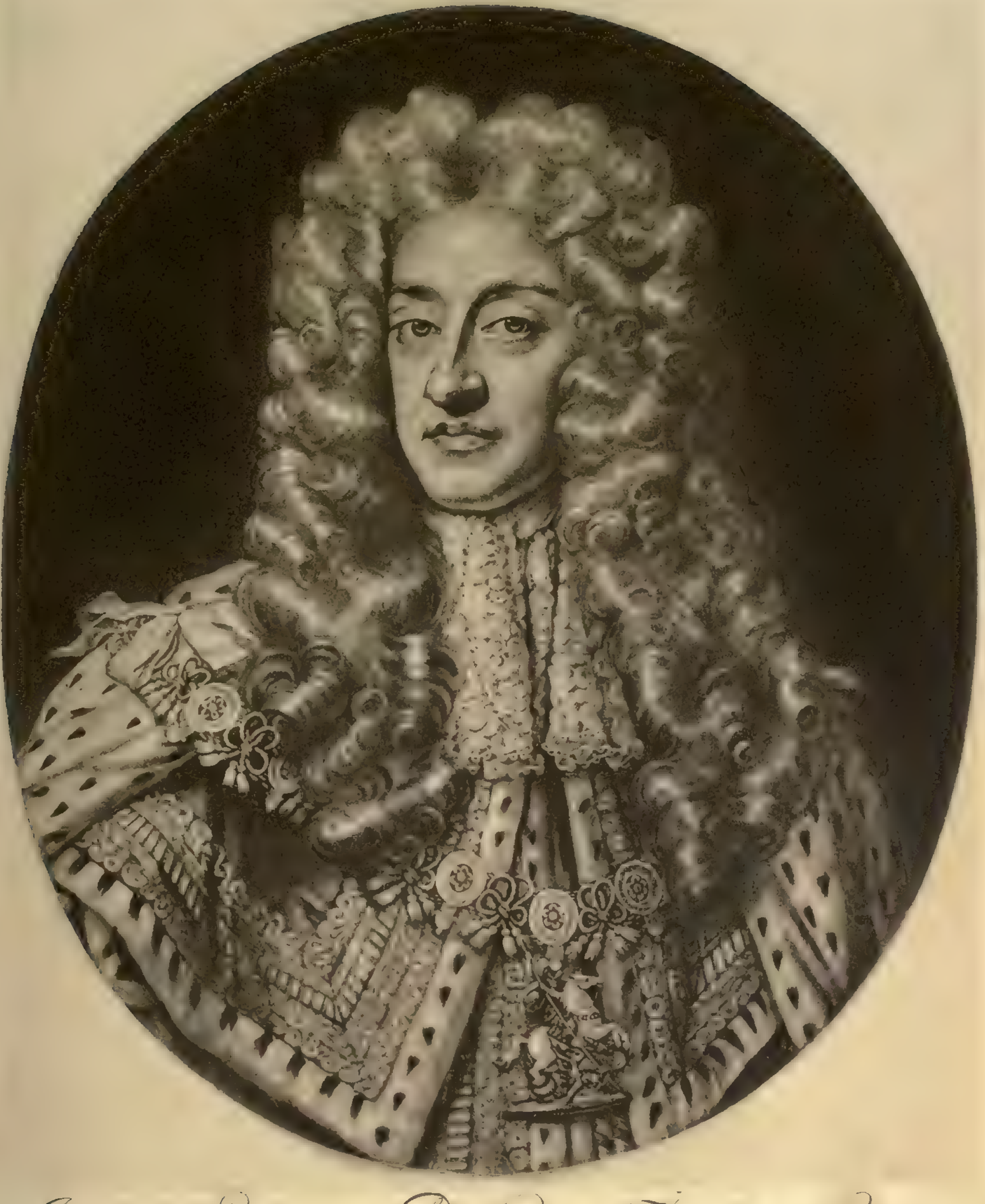

CHANCELLOR D'ALIGRE ENFORCING RESPECT TO THE KING'S JUSTICE (1674).

(From a print of the time.)

Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin had several decrees for the showing of their titles by the bishops who declared themselves exempt made by the Council. Nothing had been decided in 1673; the king did not then venture to give a single living during the vacancy of a See in any of the dioceses situated beyond the Loire.

At length, in 1673, the Chancellor, Étienne d'Aligre, sealed an edict



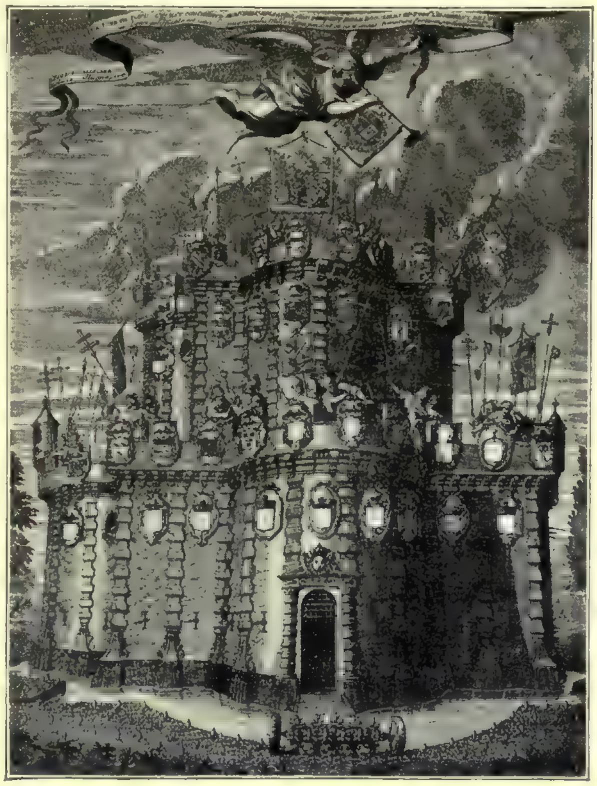


Jacobus Secundus Dei Gratia. Angliæ, Scotiæ,
Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex.) &ct

[illegible] by I Smith at the [illegible] and Crown in [illegible]

by which all the bishoprics of the kingdom were subject to the regalia. Two bishops, Pavillon, Bishop of Aleth, and Caulet, Bishop of Pamiers, among the most estimable men in the kingdom, obstinately refused to submit. They defended themselves at first by plausible reasons, which, however, were met by reasons equally strong. When well-informed men dispute for long it is most likely the question is not clear: this was indeed very obscure, but it was evident that neither religion nor the cause of order was to be served by preventing a king from doing in two dioceses what he did in all the others. However, the two Bishops were inflexible. Neither the one nor the other had registered his oath of fidelity, and the King held it as his right to appoint to the canonries of their churches.

The two prelates excommunicated the canons appointed by regalia. They were both suspected of Jansenism. Innocent X. had been against them, but when they declared against the claims of the King, they had Innocent XI. (Odescalchi) on their side. The Pope, who was as estimable and as obstinate as themselves, took their part strongly.



ALLEGORICAL PRINT ON THE AFFAIR OF THE REGALIA, 1682.
(Anonymous engraving in the Gallery of Engravings.)

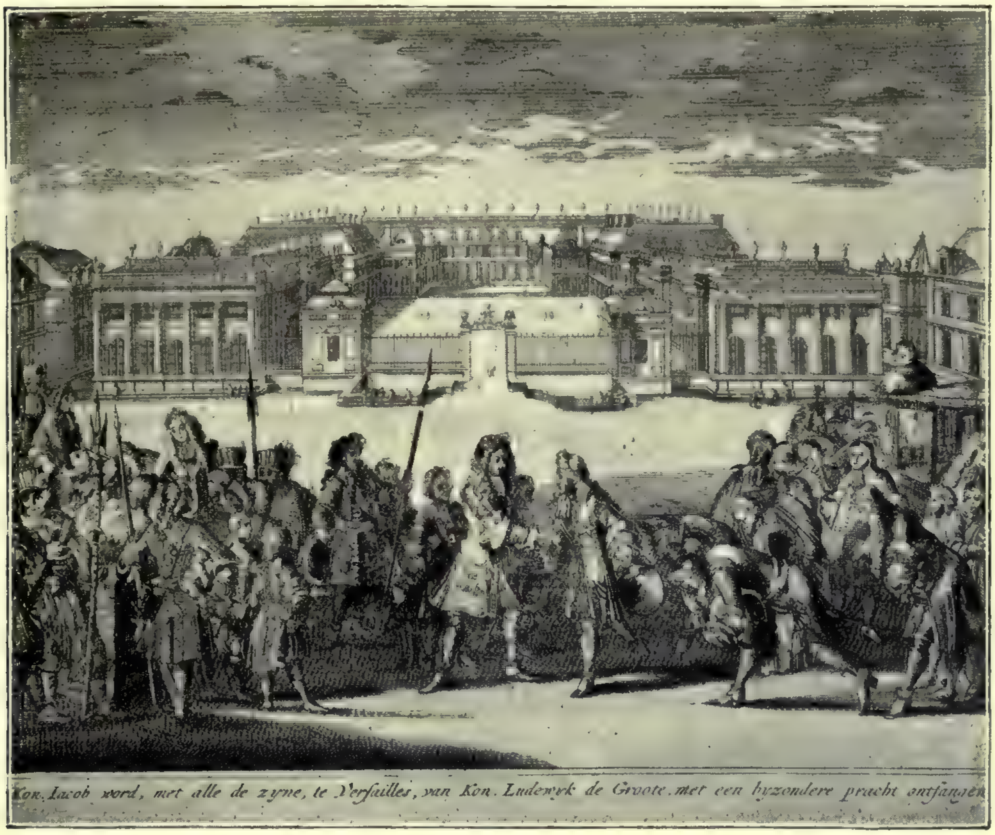
The King contented himself at first with exiling the chief officers of the two Bishops. He showed more moderation than did they who piqued themselves on sanctity. The great age of the Bishop of Aleth was respected; he was suffered to die in peace. The Bishop of Pamiers remained alone and unshaken. He redoubled his excommunications, and persisted all the more in not registering his oath of fidelity, because he believed that by the terms of that oath the Church was too much subjected to the monarchy. The King seized his temporalities. The

Pope and the Jansenists made good the loss; he gained by being deprived of his revenues, and died in 1680 convinced that he had maintained the cause of God against the King. The quarrel did not terminate with his death. Canons, named by the King, went to take possession; some religious, who claimed to be canons and grand-vicaires, forced them to leave the church, and excommunicated them. The metropolitan, Montpezat, Archbishop of Toulouse, in whose jurisdiction the matter lay, gave judgment in vain against these claimants to authority. They appealed to Rome, according to the custom of carrying all ecclesiastical cases brought to judgment before the Archbishops of France to the Court of Rome: this custom is opposed to the Gallican liberties; but every human government by man is contradictory. Decrees were passed in parliament. A monk, named Cerle, who was one of these grand-vicaires, annulled both the judgment of the metropolitan and the decrees of the parliament. That tribunal condemned him, in default, to forfeit his head, and to be dragged on a hurdle. He was executed in effigy. From his retreat he defied both the Archbishop and the King, and the Pope supported him. The Pontiff indeed did more; persuaded, like the Bishop of Pamiers, that the right of regalia was a wrong to the Church, and that the King had no rights in Pamiers, he annulled the ordinances of the Archbishop of Toulouse, excommunicated the new grand-vicaires nominated by that prelate, with all priests appointed by the King "in regalia," and their abettors.

The King convoked an Assembly of the Clergy, composed of thirty-five bishops and as many deputies of the second order. The Jansenists for the first time went over to the Pope, and the Pope, an enemy of the King's, favoured them without liking them. He always prided himself on resisting Louis XIV. on every occasion, and afterwards, in 1689, he joined with the Allies against King James because Louis XIV. protected that prince: it was, in fact, a saying of the time that, in order to put an end to the troubles of Europe and the Church, King James would have to turn Huguenot and the Pope Catholic.

Meanwhile the Assemblies of the Clergy of 1681 and 1682 unanimously declared for the King. Another little quarrel had now become important: the election to a priory in a faubourg of Paris committed the King and the Pope alike. The Roman Pontiff had quashed an ordinance of the Archbishop of Paris and annulled his nomination to the priory.

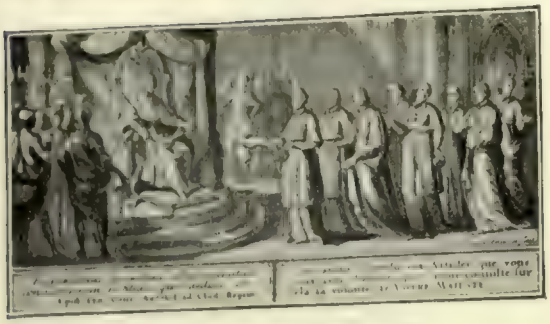
The parliament had condemned the action of Rome. The Pope had ordered by a bull that the Inquisition should have the judgment of the parliament burned, and the parliament had ordered the suppression of the bull. These conflicts have long been the usual and inevitable effect of the contradiction between a people's natural liberty of governing itself in its own land, and submission to a foreign power.


Kon. Iacob word, met alle de zyne, te Versailles, van Kon. Ludewyk de Groote. met een byzondere pracht ontfangen

LOUIS XIV. FAVOURS CATHOLICISM BY RECEIVING KING JAMES AT VERSAILLES.
(From a Dutch print in the Hennin Collection.)

The Assembly of the Clergy took a part which shows that wise men may yield with dignity to their sovereign without the intervention of another power. The clergy consented to the extension of the right of regalia to the whole kingdom ; but this was a concession on the part of the clergy, who remitted their claims from gratitude to their patron, as much as it was a formal avowal of the absolute rights of the Crown.

The Assembly justified itself to the Pope by a letter containing a passage which ought to be regarded as an invariable precept in all

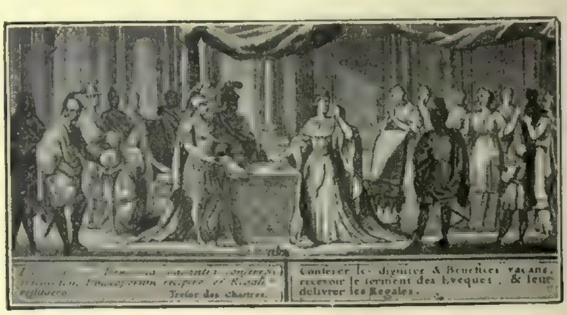


THE RIGHTS OF THE "REGALIA."
(From a print by Lepautre.)

disputes. It is this: "It is better to sacrifice some part of one's rights than to trouble the peace." The King, the Gallican Church, and the two parliaments were content. The Jansenists published some libels. The Pope was inflexible; he annulled all the resolutions of the Assembly by a brief, and summoned the bishops to retract. This was matter enough to separate the Church of France from that of Rome. Under Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin there had been talk of making a patriarch. The desire of all the magistrates was that the tribute of first-fruits should no longer be paid to Rome; that Rome should no longer nominate to livings in Brittany for six months out of the year; that French bishops should no longer call themselves bishops "by permission of the Holy See." If the King had desired this, he would only have had to say one word; he was Master of the Assembly of the Clergy; he had the nation with him. Rome would have lost all by the inflexibility of an excellent Pontiff, who could not accommodate himself to the times: in this respect he differed from every other Pope of the century. But these are ancient landmarks which are not to be removed without trouble and danger. Higher interests, deeper passions, greater effervescence of the public mind, were needed to break all at once with Rome; and it was very difficult to make that division, while the extirpation of Calvinism was welcome. It was regarded as a bold stroke when the four famous decisions of the same Assembly of Clergy were published in 1682. The substance of these was as follows:—

1. No power, either direct or indirect, over things temporal was given by God to Peter.

2. The Gallican Church approves the Council of Constance, which declares the General Councils superior to the Pope in things spiritual.


Treſor des Chartres.
Conferer les dignitez & Benefices vacans. recevoir le serment des Eveques, & leur delivrer les Regales.

RIGHTS OF THE "REGALIA."
(From a print by Lepautre.)

3. The received rules,

customs, and practices throughout the kingdom and in the Gallican Church must remain immutable.

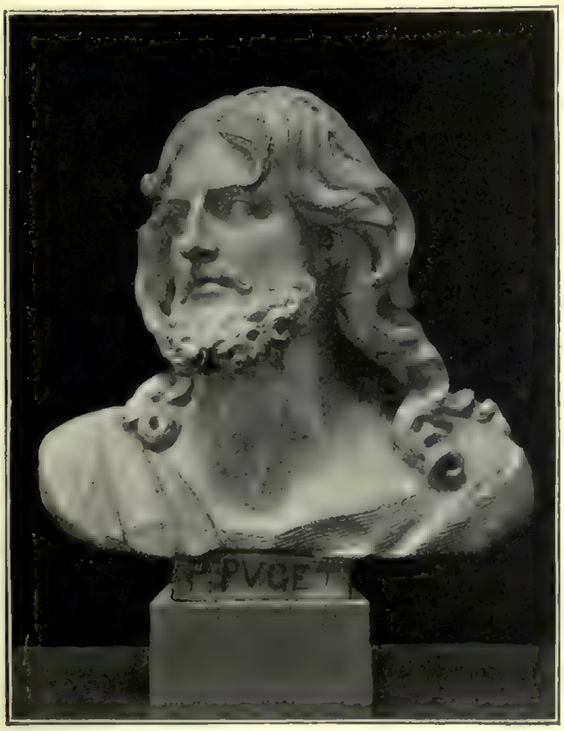
4. The decisions of the Pope in matters of faith are not final until after the Church has accepted them.

All the tribunals and all the theological faculties registered these four propositions *in extenso*, and the teaching of anything contrary to them was forbidden by an edict. This resolute stand was regarded at Rome as a rebellious act, and by all the protestants in Europe as a futile effort by a free-born Church, which had broken only four links of her chain.

BRONZE VESSEL FOR HOLY WATER USED BY LOUIS XIV., SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(The King's Chamber.—Château de Versailles.)

These propositions were at first supported by the people with enthusiasm, but afterwards less warmly. Towards the end of the reign of Louis XIV. they became problematic, and Cardinal de Fleury afterwards caused them to be partly disavowed by an Assembly of the Clergy. This withdrawal did not cause any remark, because men's minds were not yet inflamed, and also because nothing did make a stir during the ministry of Cardinal Fleury.

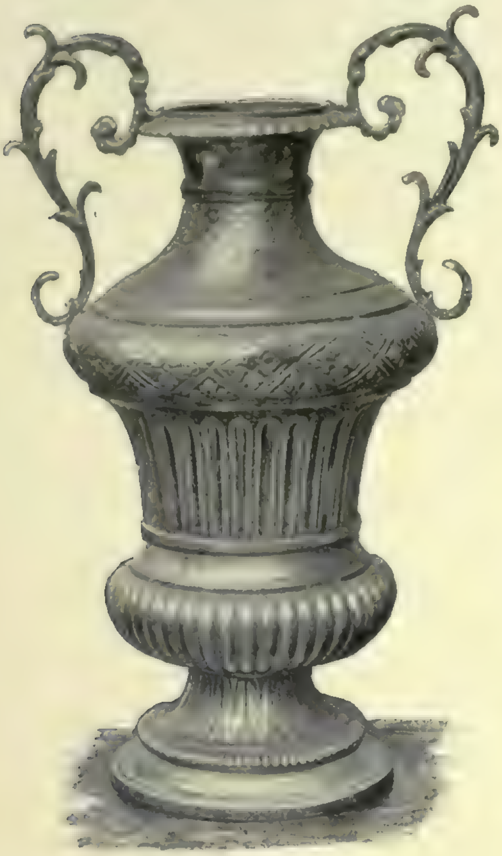


CHRIST.

(Bust by Pierre Puget.—Musee de Marseilles.)

Meanwhile Innocent XI. refused bulls to all the bishops and commendatory abbés nominated by the King, so that at the death of the Pope, in 1689, there were twenty-nine dioceses in France without bishops.

These prelates received their revenues, but they did not venture to demand consecration or to perform episcopal functions. The idea of creating a patriarch was revived. The quarrel respecting the privileges of the Ambassadors at Rome complicated the situation, and made men think that at last the time had come to establish a Catholic Apostolic Church in France which should not be Roman. The Public Prosecutor, De Harlay, and the Attorney-General, Talon, made this sufficiently understood when, in 1687, they appealed by writ of error from the bull, and denounced the obstinacy of the Pope in leaving so many Churches without pastors. The King positively refused his consent to this proceeding, which was in reality more easy than appeared from its boldness.


ALTAR VASE.
(Collection of Baron Jerôme Pichon.)

The cause of Pope Innocent XI. became the cause of the Holy See. The four propositions of the clergy of France attacked the phantom of Infallibility (not believed but upheld at Rome) and the real power attaching to that phantom. Alexander VII. and Innocent XII. took the same course as the proud Odescalchi, although in a milder manner. They confirmed the condemnation pronounced upon the Assembly of the Clergy; they refused bulls to the bishops; in short, they did too much because Louis XIV. had done too little. The bishops had had enough of the King's sole nomination and of remaining without duties to discharge, and they asked permission of the Court of France to appease the Court of Rome.

The King on his side was tired of holding out, and gave leave. Each of them wrote separately that he was "grievously afflicted by the proceedings of the Assembly;" each declared in his letter that he did not receive its decisions as decisions or its decrees as decrees. Innocent XII.

[Pignatelli], more conciliatory than Odescalchi, was satisfied with their action. The four propositions were taught in France from time to time nevertheless; but arms grow rusty when the fighting is over, and the dispute remained in abeyance, without being decided—a not uncommon occurrence in a State which has not invariable and recognised principles on these matters.

Louis XIV. had no other ecclesiastical contest with Rome, and he encountered no opposition from the clergy in temporal affairs.

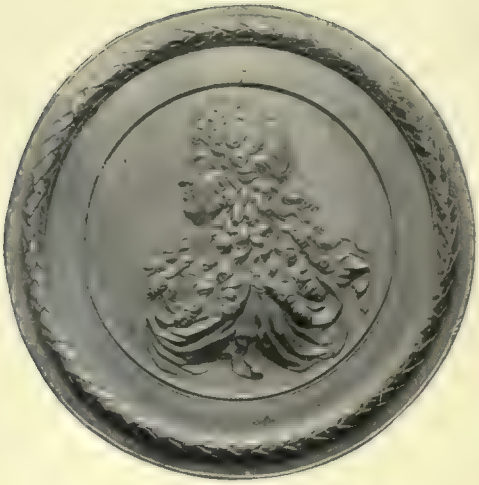
Under him the clergy earned public respect by decorum unknown in the barbarism of the two first races (of kings), in the still more barbarous times of the feudal government, and also unknown during the civil wars and in the agitation of the reign of Louis XIII., but especially during the Fronde, with a few exceptions.

It was only then that the eyes of the people began to be opened to the superstition which they always mixed up with their religion. Despite the parliament of Aix, and the Carmelites, it became lawful to assert that Lazarus and Mary of Magdala never had visited Provence, that Denis the Areopagite never had governed the Church of Paris. Mythical saints, false miracles and false relics began to be discredited.

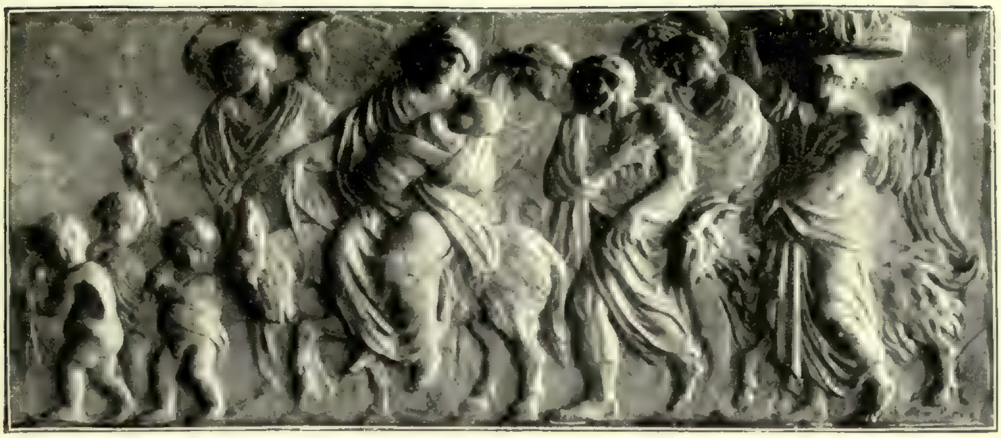
Gaston-Louis de Noailles, Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne, and brother of the Cardinal, who was equally pious and enlightened, took an exemplary part in effecting the clearance of superstitious notions and practices that marked this period.

Some superstitions, attached to time-honoured customs, still remained, and afforded a cause of triumph to the sects, but the latter have been obliged to admit that in no Catholic community are these abuses less common and more despised than in the Church of France.

The truly philosophical spirit, which did not prevail until the middle of the century, did not extinguish theological quarrels old or new: it had nothing to do with them. These dissensions are to be dealt with presently.



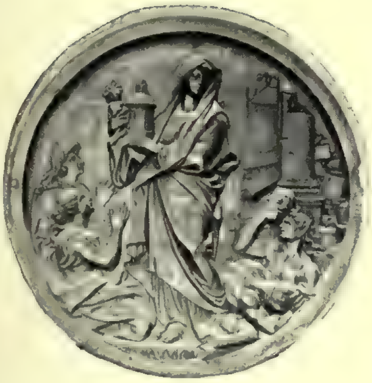
MEDALLION OF LOUIS XIV. BY BERTINETTI.
(Collection of Baron Jérôme Pichon.)



THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT.
(Bas-relief by Sarrasin.—Musée de Versailles.)

# II

## CALVINISM IN THE TIME OF LOUIS XIV



HERESY DESTROYED.
(Medallion by Desjardins.—Musée du Louvre.)

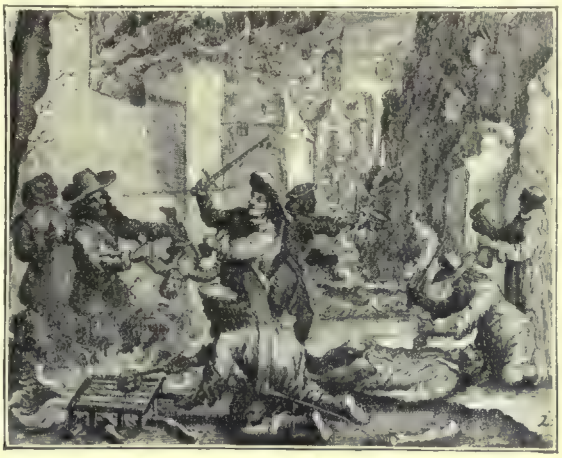
IT is a grievous fact that the Christian Church has always been rent by dissensions, and that blood has been shed throughout its history by hands consecrated to the service of the God of Peace. Passion of this kind was unknown to paganism. It did indeed cover the earth with darkness, but sprinkled it with the blood of animals only; and, although among Jews and pagans human victims were sometimes consigned to death, those sacrifices, horrible as they were, did not give rise to civil wars.

It was the dogmatic spirit that led to the Wars of Religion. I have endeavoured to discover how and why this dogmatic spirit, which divided the schools of pagan antiquity without creating any disturbance, brought such turmoil upon us. Fanaticism alone is not the cause; for Gymnosophists and Brahmins, who are the most fanatical of men, never harmed any but themselves. Is not the origin of this new plague which has ravaged the earth to be found in the natural conflict between the republican spirit of the Early Churches, and the principle of authority, which hates resistance of any kind? The secret assemblies braved the laws of Roman Emperors in their grottos and caves, gradually formed a state within a State, and became a hidden republic in the midst of an Empire. Constantine released that republic from underground to place it beside the throne. The authority attached to the great sees soon found itself in opposition to the popular spirit which had hitherto inspired all the assemblies of the Christians. All authority is secretly distasteful to man, the more so because authority of every kind is always encroaching and seeking its own aggrandisement; so that men readily make a duty of revolt when a pretext believed to be sacred can be found for resisting it. Thus one party become persecutors, the others become rebels, and both take God to witness of the justice of the cause of each.

There was not much dissension in the Latin Church of the early centuries. Continual invasion by barbarian foes virtually prohibited internal dissension; and few dogmas were sufficiently developed to define and fix universal faith. Nearly the whole of the west rejected the worship of images in the time of Charlemagne. Claude, Bishop of Turin, proscribed that worship, and retained certain dogmas which now form the foundation of protestantism. These were perpetuated in the valleys of Piedmont, Dauphiné, Provence and Languedoc; they came into evidence in the twelfth century, they produced the war of the Albigenses; and passing into the University of Prague afterwards, they gave rise to the war of the Hussites. An interval of hardly one hundred years elapsed between the end of the troubles which arose from the ashes of John Huss and Jérôme of Prague, and those which were produced by the sale of Indulgences. The ancient dogmas embraced by the Vaudois, the Albigenses, and the Hussites, which were renewed but differently expounded by Luther and Zwinglius, were received with avidity in Germany, as a pretext for seizing upon the lands of which the bishops and abbots had taken possession, and for resistance to the emperors, who were then making rapid strides towards despotic power. These dogmas triumphed in Sweden and Denmark: in both countries the people had kings, but were free.

The English, who have the spirit of independence by nature, first adopted the dogmas, then modified them, and finally made a religion for themselves out of them. Presbyterianism established a kind of republic in Scotland in the troubled times; its pedantry and austerity were much more intolerable than the severity of the climate and the tyranny of the bishops. It continued to be dangerous in Scotland until it was put down by reason, law, and force. "The Reform" penetrated to Poland, and made great progress in cities whose people are not enslaved. The largest and wealthiest portion of the Swiss Republic embraced it readily. For the same reason it was on the point of being established in Venice, and would have taken root there had not Venice been too near to Rome, and, probably, had not the Government been afraid of democracy, to which the people of every Republic naturally aspire, and which was then the chief aim of most of the preachers. The Dutch did not adopt the reform until after they had thrown off the yoke of Spain. Geneva, on becoming Calvinist, became an entirely republican State.

The House of Austria kept these sects out of its States as much as possible. They took hardly any hold in Spain, and had been extirpated by sword and fire in the States of the Duke of Savoy, their cradle. The inhabitants of the Piedmontese valleys suffered, in 1655, as the people of Mérindol and Cabrières suffered in France under François I. The autocrat Duke of Savoy exterminated "the sect" so soon as he deemed it dangerous; only a few scattered members now linger unnoticed among the rocks which shelter them. We do not find that the Lutherans and the Calvinists caused much trouble under the firm government of François I. and Henri II.; but under their successors religious quarrels waxed fierce. The jealousy of Condé and Coligny, who had become Calvinist because the Guises were Catholic, disturbed the State. The levity and impetuosity of the people, with their enthusiasm and craving for novelty, turned the most polite of nations into barbarians for a space of forty years.


CRUELTIES COMMITTED UPON THE VAUDOIS.
(A Dutch satire, from a contemporary print.)

Henri IV., who was born in that particular sect, and liked it, but was not strongly prejudiced in favour of any, could not reign in

France, notwithstanding his victories and his virtues, without renouncing Calvinism. He had become a Catholic, but he was not so ungrateful as to be willing to destroy the party to whom, in a measure, he owed his crown, although that party was inimical to kings; besides, had he been willing to quell Calvinist faction, he could not have done so. He petted, protected, and kept it down.

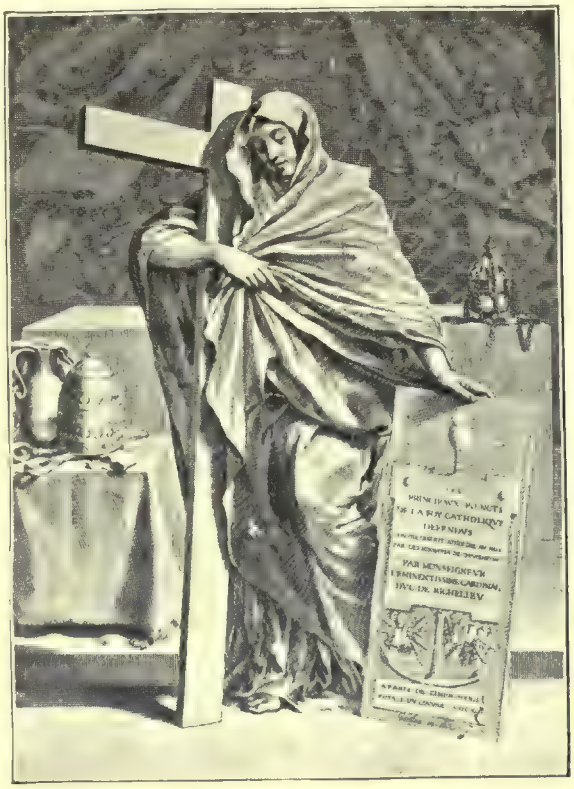
The Huguenots in France formed nearly a twelfth part of the nation at that time. Among them were powerful nobles; and entire towns were protestant. They had made war on kings, whom they had constrained to give them places of safety. Henri III. had granted them fourteen towns in Dauphiné alone; Montauban and Nîmes in Languedoc, Saumur, and especially La Rochelle, which was a Republic in itself, and might be made a power by its commerce and the favour of England. At length, in 1598, Henri IV. acted in accordance with his inclination, his policy, and even his duty by granting the celebrated Edict of Nantes to the party. This Edict was, in fact, only the confirmation of the privileges which the protestants of France had wrested by force of arms from the preceding kings, but Henri IV., whose throne was now secure, allowed them to retain those privileges of his own good pleasure.

By this Edict of Nantes, more famous than all the others because it bears the name of Henri IV., every seigneur with feudal rights of "high justice" (*seigneur de fief haut justicier*) was entitled to the full exercise of the reformed religion; every seigneur not possessed of those rights was entitled to admit thirty persons to a meeting-house. The complete exercise of "La Religion" was authorised in all places immediately under the jurisdiction of a parliament.

Calvinists were allowed to have all their books printed in the towns in which their religion was permitted, without the ordinary imprimatur, *permissu superiorum.* They were declared capable of holding any of the offices and dignities of State, as it immediately appeared, since the King made the "seigneurs" La Tremouille and Rosny dukes and peers.

A special Court, composed of a president and sixteen councillors, was created in the parliament of Paris to try all the reform cases, not only in the immense district under the Paris jurisdiction, but also in Normandy and Brittany. This was called the Court of the Edict. As a fact, only one Calvinist was ever admitted of right among the councillors of that jurisdiction; but, as it was destined to prevent the injustice complained of by the party, and as men always pique themselves upon strict fulfilment of a duty that brings them distinction, the Court, although composed of Catholics, invariably rendered entirely impartial justice to the Huguenots, as the latter admitted.

They had a sort of small parliament at Castres, independent of that of Toulouse. At Grenoble and Bordeaux there were courts, partly Catholic and partly Calvinist. Their Churches, like the Gallican Church, assembled in Synods. These privileges and many others incorporated the Calvinists with the rest of the nation; it was indeed only the binding together of enemies, but the authority, the kindliness, and the tact of the great King kept them down during his time.



PRINCIPAL POINTS OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH.

(Frontispiece by Mellan for the Treatise by Cardinal de Richelieu so entitled.)

After the terrible and deplorable death of Henri IV., under the disadvantages of the king's minority and a divided Court, the republican spirit of the reformed party led it to abuse its privileges, and the Court, weak as it was, had to try to restrain it. The Huguenots had already established clubs (*cercles*) in France, in imitation of Germany. The delegates of these clubs were often seditious, and there were many ambitious men among the party of the nobles. The Duc de Bouillon, and especially the Duc de Rohan, the highest in repute of the Huguenot chiefs, soon threw the restless spirit of the preachers and the blind zeal of the people into revolt. In 1615, the General Assembly of the party presented a memorial to the Court which demanded, among other insolent articles, that the King's Council should be reformed. In 1616, they took up arms in some places, and the audacity of the Huguenots being added to the dissensions of the Court,

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the popular dislike of the favourites, and the prevalent uneasiness in the country, trouble destined to long continuance ensued. The history of the movement is marked by sedition, intrigue, threats, the taking up of arms, peace made in a hurry and as hastily broken. This state of things caused the celebrated Cardinal Bentivoglio, then Papal Nuncio in France, to say that he had seen nothing but storms there.

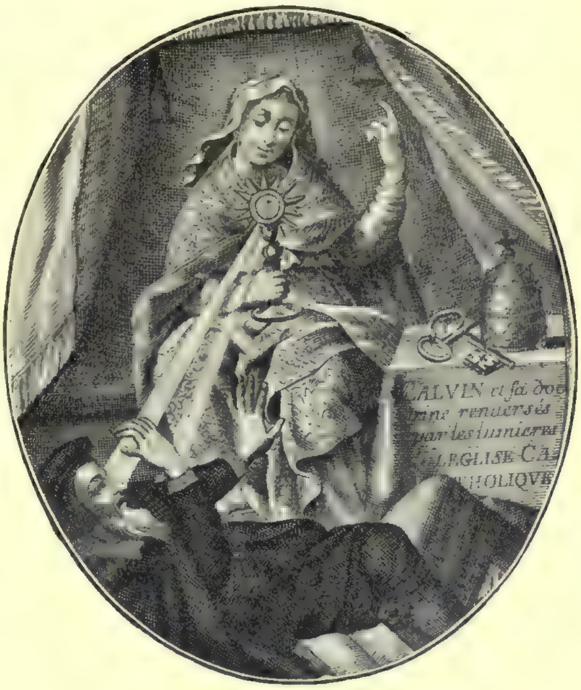
In the year 1621, the reformed Churches of France offered the command of their armies to the Duc de Lesdiguières, who was afterwards Constable of France, with a hundred thousand crowns a month. But Lesdiguières, who was wiser in his ambition than they in their spirit of faction, and who knew them because he had already commanded them, preferred to fight them instead, and replied to their offer by becoming a Catholic. The Huguenots then applied to the Maréchal Duc de Bouillon, who replied that he was too old. Finally they gave the unlucky post to the Duc de Rohan, who, in conjunction with his brother, the Duc de Soubise, actually made war upon the King of France.

That same year, the Constable de Luynes conducted Louis XIII. from province to province. He subdued more than fifty towns without resistance, but he failed before Montauban, and the King had to endure the mortification of retreat. La Rochelle was besieged in vain. The town held out, a triumph which was partly due to its own valour and partly to the assistance of England. The Duc de Rohan, who was guilty of the crime of high treason, made a treaty of peace with his sovereign, in almost a sovereign attitude.

After this peace, and after the death of the Constable de Luynes, the war was resumed, and La Rochelle, still leagued with England and the Calvinists against its sovereign, was besieged anew. A woman (she was the mother of the Duc de Rohan) held the town for a whole year against the King's army, against the political action of Cardinal de Richelieu, and against the valour of Louis XIII., who more than once faced death during the siege. The town suffered the extremity of famine, and the surrender of the fortress was solely due to a dyke, five hundred feet in length, which, like Alexander's before Tyre, had been constructed by order of Cardinal de Richelieu. The dyke defied the sea, and conquered the defenders of La Rochelle. Guiton, the Mayor, who would fain have buried himself in the ruins of the town, had the boldness, after he had surrendered at discretion, to appear with his guards before Cardinal de

Richelieu. The mayors of the principal Huguenot towns had guards. Guiton was deprived of his, and the town of its privileges. The Duc de Rohan, the chief of the rebel heretics, still carried on the war for his party, and, being abandoned by the protestant English, leagued himself with the Catholic Spaniards. But the inflexibility of Cardinal de Richelieu forced the Huguenots, who were beaten on every side, to submit.

All the edicts which had been granted to them hitherto had been treaties with kings. Richelieu insisted that the Edict now to be issued should be called the "Edict of Grace." In it the King spoke as the sovereign who pardons. The right of practising the new religion was taken away from La Rochelle, the Île de Ré, Oléron, Privas, and Pamiers. The Edict of Nantes, always regarded by the Calvinists as their fundamental law, was allowed to stand.



CALVIN OVERTHROWN BY TRUE RELIGION.
(Fragment of an Almanac.)

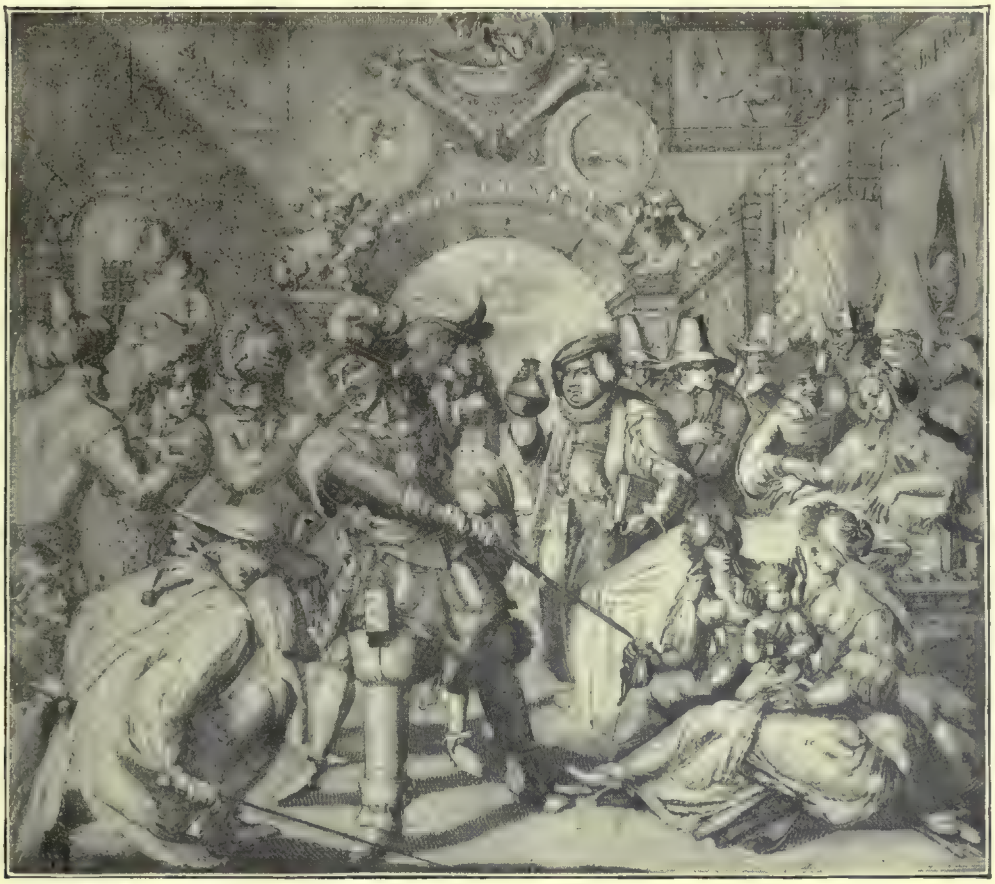
It seems strange that Cardinal de Richelieu, absolute and daring as he was, should not have abolished this famous edict; but he was then cherishing another project, more difficult of accomplishment perhaps, but not less consistent with the vastness of his ambition and the loftiness of his ideas. He aspired to govern men's minds, and believed that he could do this by his genius, his power and his policy. His project was to gain over some of the preachers whom the sects styled ministers, and who are now styled pastors, to make them in the first place acknowledge that the Catholic cult was not a crime before God, afterwards to lead them on by degrees, to grant them some unimportant points, while appearing to the Court of Rome to have granted them nothing. He reckoned on dazzling one party among the reformed sects, and tempting the other, by gifts and favours; in short, on appearing to have re-united them to the Church, leaving time to do the rest. His mind was fixed on the fame that would accrue to him from having done or projected this great work, and passing for having executed it. The famous Capuchin monk Joseph, on the one hand ("l'Éminence Grise" of history and romance), and two ministers whom he had secured on the other, opened this negotiation. But it appeared that Cardinal de Richelieu had presumed too far, and that it is more difficult to make theologians agree than to stop the sea with a dyke.

Richelieu, being foiled, resolved to crush the Calvinists, but he was hindered by other cares. He had to contend with the nobles, the royal princes, the House of Austria, and frequently Louis XIII. himself. He died prematurely in the midst of all this turmoil, leaving his purposes unfulfilled, and a name more brilliant than it was beloved and revered.

After the taking of La Rochelle and the Edict of Grace, the civil wars ceased, and only disputes remained. Big volumes, which are no longer read, were published on both sides. The clergy, and especially the Jesuits, endeavoured to convert the Huguenots. Huguenot ministers endeavoured to bring Catholics to their way of thinking. The King's Council was occupied in issuing decrees concerning a village cemetery in dispute between the two religions, a place of worship built upon ground that had formerly belonged to the Church, schools, manorial rights, burials, bells, etc., and the reformers rarely gained their causes. Of all the past devastation and plunder, nothing but these minor vexations remained. The Huguenots had no longer a leader after the Duc de Rohan forsook them, and the house of Bouillon had no longer Sedan. They even took credit to themselves for remaining quiet in the midst of the factions of the Fronde and the civil wars brought about by princes, parliaments and bishops, on the pretext of serving the King against Cardinal Mazarin.

Religion was hardly in question during the lifetime of that minister. He made no difficulty about giving the post of Comptroller-General of Finance to a foreign Calvinist named Hervart. Many members of the "sects" got places under the farmers-general of the revenue, the sub-farmers and their subordinates.

Colbert, who revived national industry, and who may be regarded as the founder of commerce, employed numbers of Huguenots in arts, manufactures, and the navy. These useful occupations subdued the epidemic rage of controversy by gradually giving them employment, while the halo which encircled Louis XIV. for fifty years, his power, his firm and vigorous rule, quelled every idea of resistance in the party of reform, as well as in all the other orders of the State. The magnificent *fêtes* of a gallant Court cast ridicule upon the pedantry of the Huguenots. As a taste for fine music grew, the psalms of Marot and Bèze could not fail to inspire dislike. They had charmed the courtiers of François II., but were fit only for the populace under Louis XIV. The sound philosophy which was emerging into view in the middle of the seventeenth century was certain in course of time, to deter sensible people from the disputes of controversy.



HYPOCHONDRIACS.

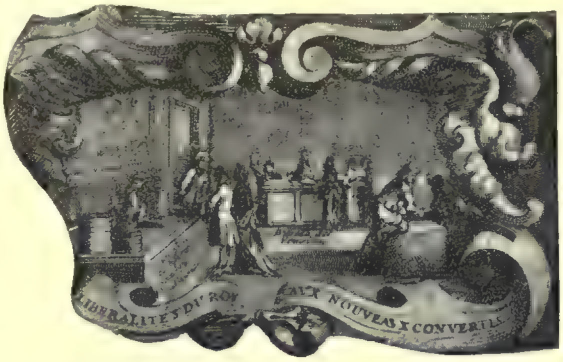
(Satirical Dutch print against the sovereigns, defenders of the Catholic Faith.)

But, until reason should gradually assert itself, this very spirit of dispute might aid in maintaining the tranquillity of the State; for the Jansenists, who appeared on the scene at that time with some repute, began to receive the support of those who cared for the subtleties of controversy. They wrote against the Jesuits and against the Huguenots; the latter replied to the Jansenists and to the Jesuits, the Lutherans of the province of Alsace wrote against them all. A war of the pen among so many parties, while the State was busy with great affairs, and the Government was all-powerful, must necessarily become an occupation for idle persons only after a time, and this state of things would degenerate sooner or later into indifference.

Louis XIV. was irritated against the sects by the continual remonstrances of his clergy, by the insinuations of the Jesuits, by the Court of Rome, and finally by Le Tellier the Chancellor, and Louvois, both enemies of Colbert, who wanted to brand the sects as rebels because Colbert regarded them as useful subjects. Louis XIV., who knew nothing about the grounds of their doctrines, looked upon them, not without some reason, as former insurgents who had been put down with difficulty. He applied himself at first to gradually undermining the edifice of their religion on all sides. The slightest pretext was used for depriving them of a place of worship; they were forbidden to marry Catholic girls: the policy of this prohibition was doubtful, for the Court was well aware that it ignored a powerful influence. The intendants and the bishops endeavoured to take the children of the Huguenots from them by the most plausible means. Colbert was ordered (in 1681) no longer to give any man of that religion a post in the State farmers' offices. They were excluded as far as possible from the corporations of arts and crafts. The King, however, while he kept them under the yoke, forbore to make it too heavy. All violence against them was forbidden by decree. Severity was judiciously tempered by persuasion.

A method of conversion frequently found efficacious was employed: this was money; but insufficient use was made of that resource. Pellisson was entrusted with this secret service: he was the same Pellisson who had been a Calvinist for so long, was so well known by his works, for his fluent eloquence, and for his attachment to Fouquet, whose head clerk, favourite, and victim he had been. He was fortunate enough to change his religion at a time when the change might lead him to dignity and wealth. He took orders, and obtained preferment, also the post of Master of Requests. The King entrusted him with the revenue of the abbeys of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and Cluny, about the year 1677, together with the revenues of the third of the stewardships, for distribution to those who were willing to be converted. Cardinal Le Camus, Bishop of Grenoble, had already employed that method. Pellisson, being charged with this department, sent the money into the provinces, where great efforts were made to obtain many conversions for little outlay. Small sums, distributed to poor people, swelled the list which Pellisson presented to the King every three months, while persuading him that everything in the world yielded to his power or to his favour.

The Council, encouraged by these small successes, which time might have rendered more important, ventured to declare in 1681 that children might be admitted as converts at the age of seven, and in support of this declaration many children in the provinces were taken away to make them abjure, and soldiers were billeted on the parents.



BUREAU DE CHARITÉ WHERE AID WAS DISTRIBUTED TO CONVERTED PROTESTANTS.

(Fragment of Almanac of 1686.)

The injudicious haste of Chancellor Le Tellier and Louvois, caused several families from Poitou and La Saintonge to desert the country in 1681. Foreigners hastened to profit by the expatriation movement.

The Kings of England and Denmark, and especially the town of Amsterdam, invited the Calvinists of France to take refuge in their states, and assured them of support. Amsterdam even undertook to build a thousand houses for the refugees.

The Council perceived the dangerous consequences of the too hasty use of authority, and tried to remedy them by that very same authority. Artisans were wanting in a country where trade was flourishing, and sailors at a time when a powerful navy was in formation. The penalty of the galleys was decreed against artisans or seamen who should attempt to escape.

It was observed that several Calvinist families were selling their lands. A decree was immediately issued by which all these lands were to be confiscated should the vendors leave the kingdom within one year. Ministers of the sects were treated with increased severity, and their places of worship were interdicted on the slightest offence. All moneys left by will to the consistories were applied to the use of the hospitals of the kingdom.

Calvinist schoolmasters were forbidden to receive boarders. Ministers were taxed: protestant mayors were deprived of nobility. Officers of the King's household, and secretaries of the King, who were protestants, were ordered to resign their places. Men of "the religion" were no longer admitted as notaries, advocates, or even procurators.

The clergy were enjoined to make proselytes, but ministers of the sects were forbidden to do so under pain of perpetual banishment. These decrees were publicly solicited by the clergy of France; but they were, after all, only the children of the house refusing to share with strangers who had come in by force.

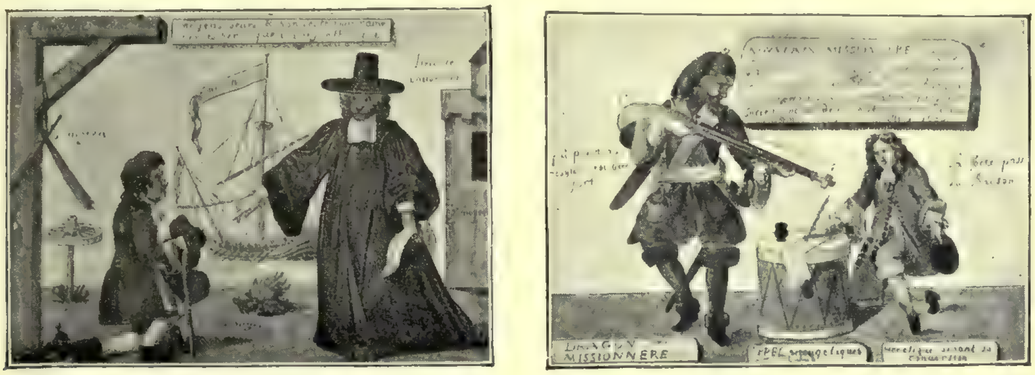
Pellisson continued to purchase converts; but Madame Hervart, widow of the Comptroller-General of Finance, inspired by that religious zeal for which women have always been remarkable, gave as much money to hinder conversions as Pellisson gave for the making of converts.

(1682.) At last the Huguenots in certain places ventured to disobey. They assembled in Vivarais and in Dauphiné, near the places where their meeting-houses had been demolished. They were attacked and they resisted; but this was only a small spark of the flame of the former civil wars. Two or three hundred unhappy wretches, without a leader, and even without plans, were dispersed in a quarter of an hour. Punishment followed their defeat. The Intendant of Dauphiné had the grandson of Pastor Chamier, who had drawn up the Edict of Nantes, broken on the wheel. He ranks among the most famous martyrs of the sect, and his name has long been held in veneration among protestants.

(1683.) The Intendant of Languedoc had Chomel the preacher broken *alive* upon the wheel. Three others were condemned to the same punishment, ten to hanging. The latter had, however, taken to timely flight, and were only executed in effigy.

All this inspired terror, but at the same time increased the stubbornness of the Calvinists, for men cling to their religion in proportion as they have to suffer for it.

The King was persuaded that, having sent missionaries into all the provinces, he ought to follow them up with dragoons. This measure was the result of the conviction which reigned at Court, that everything must give way before the name of Louis XIV. It was forgotten that the Huguenots were no longer the men of Jarnac, Montcontour, and Coutras; that the passions of the civil wars were extinct; that the acute malady had sunk into decline; that everything human lasts for its own day only; that although the fathers had been rebels under Louis XIII., the children were submissive subjects of Louis XIV. In England, Holland and Germany various sects who had slaughtered each other in the past century were now living peacefully in the same towns. These facts implied that an absolute sovereign might be served equally well by Catholics and by Huguenots; the Lutherans of Alsace were living proofs of the truth of this. It appeared, in short, that Queen Christina had been right when she said in one of her letters concerning these proceedings and the emigration: "I look upon France as a sick man whose arms and legs are being cut off, by way of treatment of a disease which gentleness and patience would have completely cured."

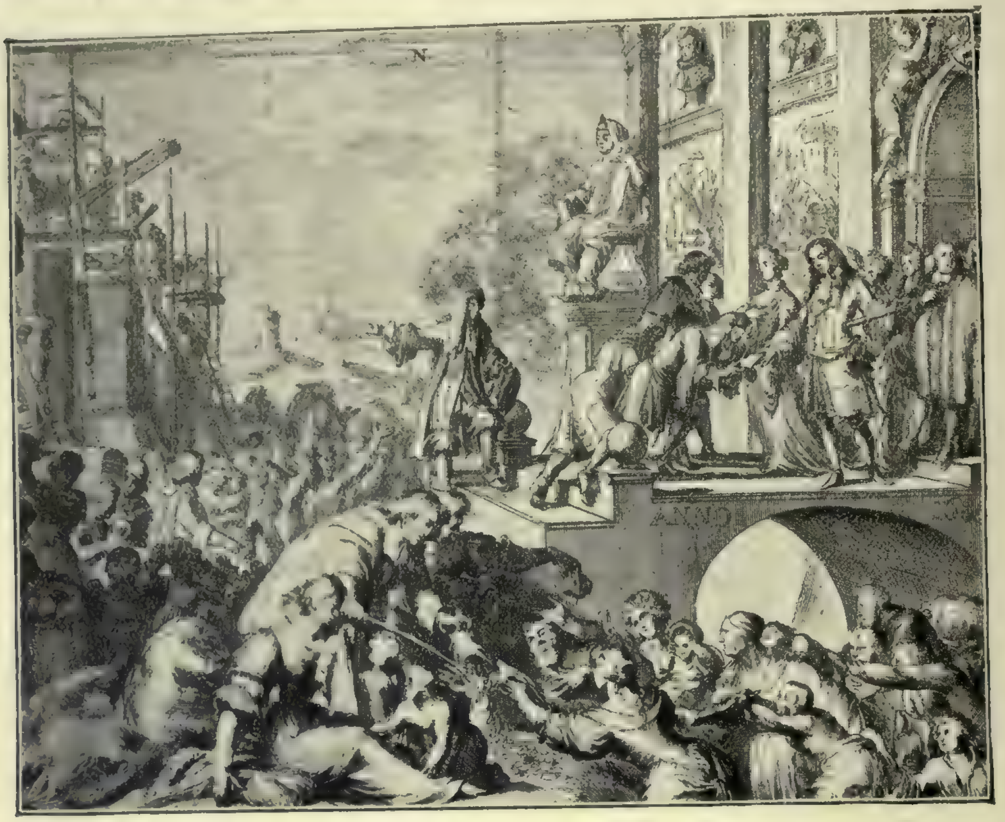


SATIRICAL COLOURED PRINTS ON SURE AND PROPER MEANS OF BRINGING BACK PROTESTANTS TO THE TRUE FAITH: DRAGONNADES, THE GALLEYS, PRISONS, THE WHEEL AND THE STAKE.

(Cabinet of Engravings.)

Louis XIV., on taking possession of Strasburg in 1681, had protected Lutheranism there, and might have tolerated Calvinism in his States: time would probably have abolished it, as time is now diminishing the number of Lutherans in Alsace. Was it not evident that by forcing the consciences of a great number of his subjects, he would lose a much greater number, in spite of edicts and soldiers, who would fly from treatment which they regarded as horrible persecution? And why cause over a million of men to hate the dear and precious name of him whom Calvinists and Catholics, Frenchmen and foreigners alike called Louis the Great? Mere policy ought to have made him retain the Calvinists in France for the purpose of placing them in opposition to the claims of the Court of Rome. At this time the King had broken openly with Innocent XI., the enemy of France. But Louis XIV., combining the interests of his religion with those of his pride and his grandeur, was resolved to humiliate the Pope with one hand and to crush Calvinism with the other.

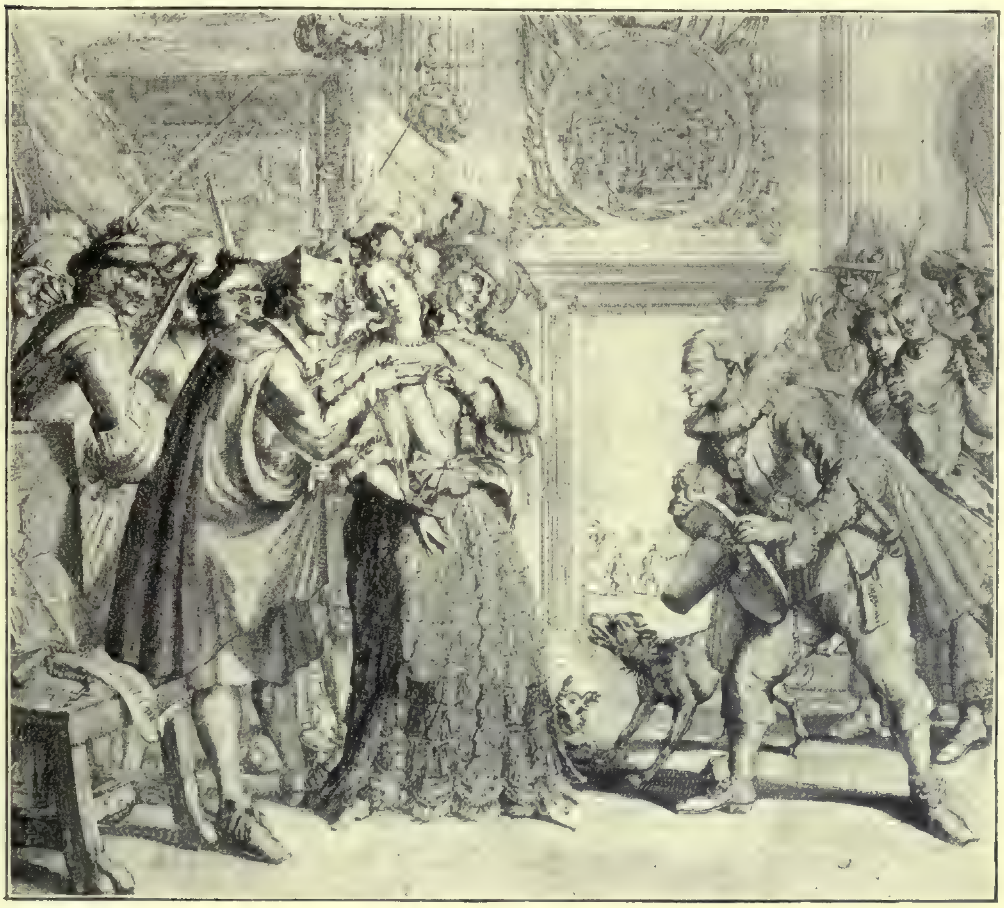
These two enterprises afforded him an opportunity for getting more of that glory which was his eternal aim. The bishops, several intendants, and the whole of his Council persuaded him that by merely showing themselves his troops would finish the work that had been begun by the royal bounties and missions. The King meant only to use authority, but those to whom that authority was committed used it with extreme severity.



DUTCH SATIRICAL COLOURED PRINT ON SURE AND HONEST MEANS FOR BRINGING PROTESTANTS BACK TO THE TRUE FAITH: DRAGONNADES, GALLEYS, PRISONS, WHEELS AND STAKES.

Towards the end of 1684, and in the beginning of 1685, when Louis XIV., "a strong man armed," feared none of his neighbours, troops were sent into all the towns where the greater number of protestants were, and to all the châteaux, and as the greatest excesses were committed by the dragoons, ill-disciplined enough in those times, the ruthless raid was called "la dragonnade."

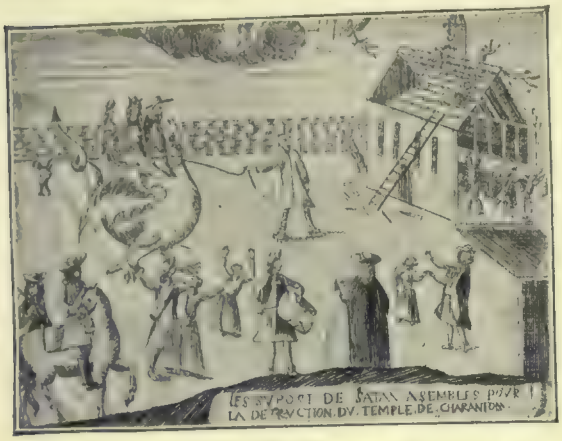
The frontiers were guarded as carefully as possible to prevent the escape of those who were to be forcibly reconciled with the Church, and what was really a sort of hunt within a vast enclosure took place.



THE FAIR CONSTANCE "DRAGOONED" BY ARLEQUIN DÉODAT (LOUIS XIV.).
(Dutch allegory and satire upon the persecution of the protestants.)

A bishop, an intendant, a sub-delegate, a curé, or some other authorised person marched at the head of the soldiers. The principal Calvinist families, especially those who were supposed to be most persuadable, were collected together; they renounced their religion in the name of the others, and the obstinate ones were delivered over to the soldiers, who had every licence, except leave to kill. Several persons, however, were so cruelly maltreated that they died. The children of refugees in foreign lands still speak with horror of the persecution of their fathers, and compare it with the worst of the persecutions inflicted upon the Church in the first era of Christianity.

And it was from a voluptuous Court, where gentle ways, grace, refinement, and all the charms of society reigned, that commands so hard and pitiless were issued. The Marquis de Louvois exhibited the implacability of his character in this matter—the same mind that would fain have buried Holland beneath the waters, and actually did reduce the Palatinate to ashes. Letters written by him in 1685 still exist, which contain the following: "His Majesty commands that the utmost rigour be used with all such as will not reconcile themselves to his religion, and those who shall be so foolish as to desire to remain (of that mind) are to be pushed to the uttermost extremity."


LES SVPOST DE SATAN ASEMBLES PVR
LA DESTRVCTION DV TEMPLE DE CHARANTON

SATIRICAL FRENCH ENGRAVING OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCH AT CHARENTON.

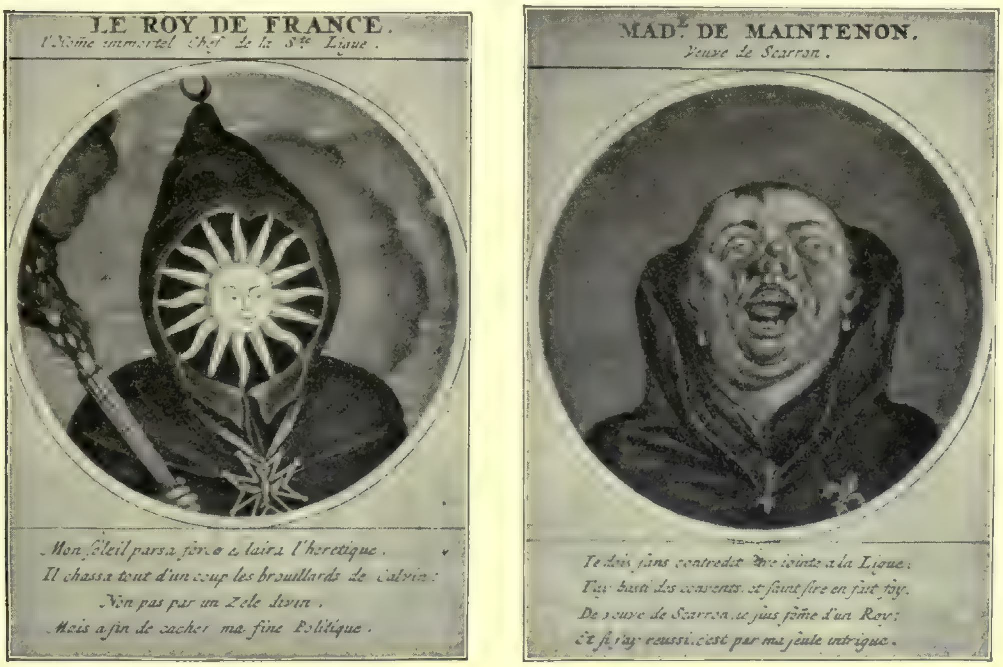
(Cabinet of Prints.)

Paris was not exposed to these horrors: the victims' cries would have come too near the throne.

(1685.) While protestant churches were being everywhere demolished, and abjurations were exacted by force of arms, the Edict of Nantes was revoked in the month of October, 1685, and the final ruin of the edifice, which was mined in every part, was achieved.

The Court of the Edict had already been suppressed. Calvinist counsellors of the parliament were commanded to resign their posts. A number of decrees of the Council for the extirpation of the proscribed religion were issued in succession. The most fatal of these was an order that the children of members of the sect were to be taken away, and placed in the hands of their nearest Catholic relatives—but Nature cried out so loudly against this order that it was not executed.

The famous edict which revoked that of Nantes was, however, destined to bring about an event in direct contradiction to its proposed aim, the reunion of Calvinists to the Church. Gourville, the financier and diplomatist whom Louvois consulted, had suggested that all the ministers should be imprisoned, and only those released who, being privately promised pensions, should abjure in public, and would thus serve the cause of reunion better than the missionaries and the soldiers. Instead of adopting this politic measure, the Edict ordered all the ministers who refused to be converted to leave the kingdom within fifteen days. Only wilful blindness could fail to perceive that to drive away the pastors was to ensure their being followed by a great part of the flock. Only the pride of power, and ignorance of human nature could have prevented its being evident that wounded hearts, and imaginations excited by the idea of martyrdom, especially in the southern lands of France, would not hesitate at anything, so that they might get away to proclaim their fidelity and to glory in their exile among the many nations, all envious of Louis XIV., who were holding out their arms to the fugitive multitude.

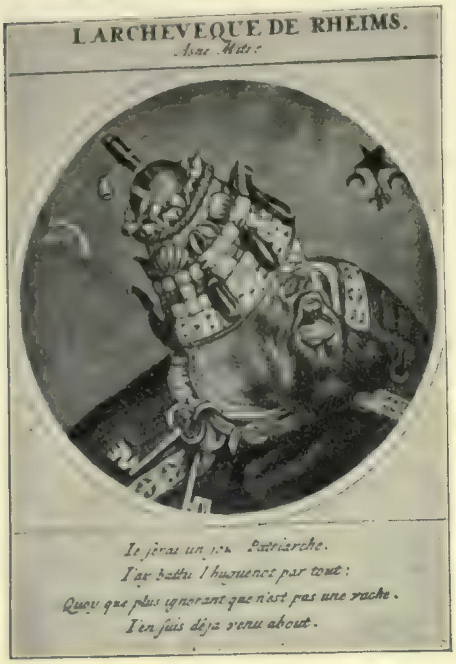

LE ROY DE FRANCE.
l'Homme immortel Chef de la Ste Ligue.
Mon soleil par sa force a claire l'heretique.
Il chassa tout d'un coup les brouillards de Calvin:
Non pas par un Zele divin.
Mais afin de cacher ma fine Politique.
MADE DE MAINTENON.
Veuve de Scarron.
Je dois sans contredit être jointe a la Ligue:
J'ay basti des convents. et saint Cire en fait foy.
De veuve de Scarron. je suis feme d'un Roy;
Et si j'ay reussi. c'est par ma seule intrigue.

CARICATURES IN BLACK OF THE KING AND MADAME DE MAINTENON, PERSECUTORS OF PROTESTANTISM.

(Published by Peters.)

The old Chancellor Le Tellier cried in the joy of his heart on signing the Edict: "Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, . . . quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum." He did not know that he was setting his hand to the sanction of one of the fatal errors and great misfortunes of France.

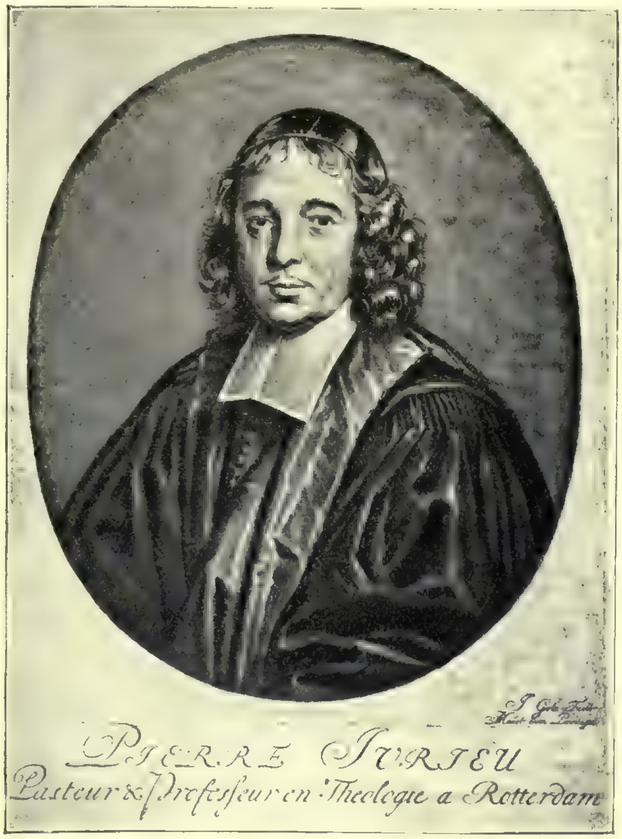
Louvois also was mistaken in supposing that an order from his hand would suffice to guard all the frontiers and coasts against those who regarded flight as their duty. A few bribed guards were sufficient to favour the flight of the refugees. Within three years, more than fifty thousand families had left the kingdom, to be followed in time by many more. They went, bearing with them to other countries arts, manufactures and wealth. The aspect of almost all the North of Germany, then an agricultural country destitute of industries, was transfigured by the transplanted multitude. They peopled whole towns. Stuffs, gold and silver lace, hats, and stockings, that had hitherto been purchased from France, were manufactured by the refugees. One entire district of London (Spitalfields) was peopled by French silk weavers; others imported the art of perfecting glass, which was thus lost to France. French gold, circulated by those refugees, is still frequently to be met with in Germany. Thus were lost to France nearly five hundred thousand inhabitants, an immense amount of money, and, above all, the arts by which her enemies are enriched. Holland gained excellent officers and soldiers; the Prince of Orange and the Duke of Savoy had regiments composed entirely of refugees. Those same sovereigns of Piedmont and Savoy, who had inflicted such cruelties on the protestants of their own countries, paid French protestants to be their soldiers; and it was certainly not religious zeal that induced the Prince of Orange to enrol them. Some went so far as the Cape of Good Hope; the nephew of the celebrated Duquesne, lieutenant-general of the navy, founded a little colony at that extremity of the earth. It has not prospered; those who embarked in it perished for the most part, but remains of it still exist in the vicinity of the Hottentots. The French have been dispersed more widely than the Jews.


L ARCHEVEQUE DE RHEIMS.
Ie serai un jour Patriarche.
I'ai battu l'huguenot par tout ;
Quoy que plus ignorant que n'est pas une vache.
I'en suis deja venu about.

CARICATURE IN BLACK OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF RHEIMS, PERSECUTOR OF PROTESTANTISM.

(Published by Peters.)

In vain were prisons and galleys filled with those who were arrested in their flight. What was to be done with so many unfortunate persons whose faith was only strengthened by suffering? How were lawyers and infirm old men to be kept at the galleys? Some hundreds were made to embark for America. At last it occurred to the Council that, if leaving the country were no longer forbidden, the exodus, having lost the charm of disobedience, would not be so serious. This proved to be a fresh disappointment; the ports and frontiers were opened, but only to be closed a second time, and again in vain.


Pierre Jurieu
Pasteur & Professeur en Theologie a Rotterdam

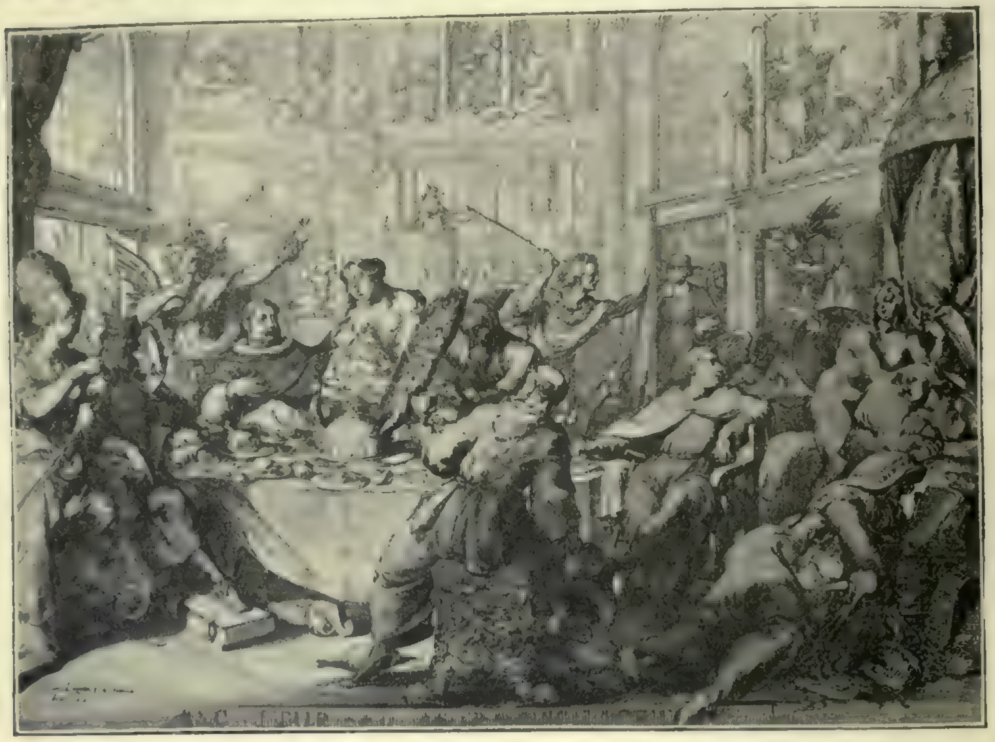
PIERRE JURIEU, PASTOR AND PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY.
(From the portrait by Gole, engraved by Marot.)

In 1685, Calvinists were forbidden to have Catholic servants, lest the masters should pervert their domestics: a year later a second edict commanded them to discharge Huguenot servants, in order that the latter might be arrested as vagabonds.

All the temples being destroyed and the ministers banished, the next question was how to retain converts who had changed their faith from persuasion or fear in the Roman communion. More than four hundred thousand of these converts remained in the kingdom. They were forced to go to Mass and to receive Holy Communion. Some who rejected the Host after having received it, were condemned to be burned alive. The bodies of those who would not receive the last sacraments were dragged on hurdles and cast into the common sewer.

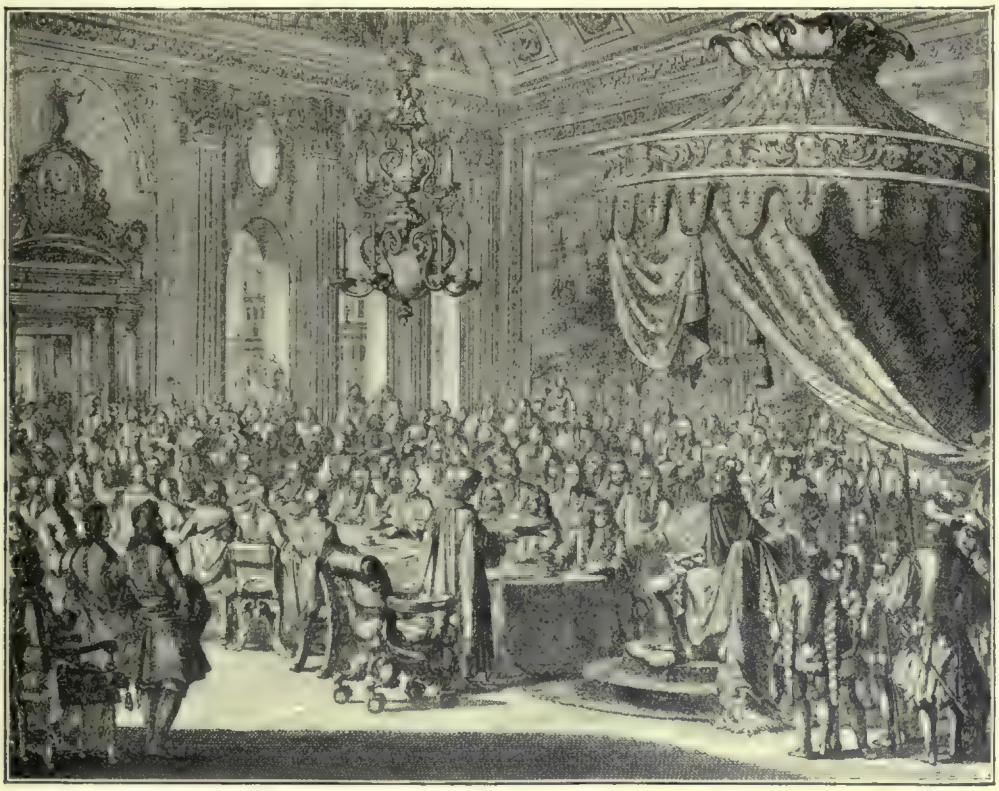
All persecution makes proselytes when it strikes during the fervour of enthusiasm. The Calvinists assembled everywhere to sing their psalms, despite the death penalty attendant on such meetings. Ministers were forbidden under pain of death to re-enter the kingdom, and a reward of five hundred livres was offered to any who would denounce them. Nevertheless, several ministers came back and were hanged or broken on the wheel.

The "sect" still lived, although it seemed to be crushed. During the war of 1689 a vain hope was entertained that King William III. of England, having dethroned his Catholic father-in-law, would uphold Calvinism in France. But during the war of 1701 rebellion and fanaticism broke out in Languedoc and the neighbouring regions. That rebellion was excited by prophecies. In all ages predictions have been used as a means to entice simple and to inflame fanatical minds. Let fortune bring about one single event out of a hundred that knavery has predicted, and the others will be forgotten, while that one will be regarded as a pledge of divine favour and the proof of a prodigy. If none of the hundred predictions be fulfilled, they are invested with a different meaning, which is adopted by enthusiasts and believed by fools.



"SIC ITUR AD ASTRA,"—"CAPPA OMNIA TEGIT."
(After a satirical Dutch print.)

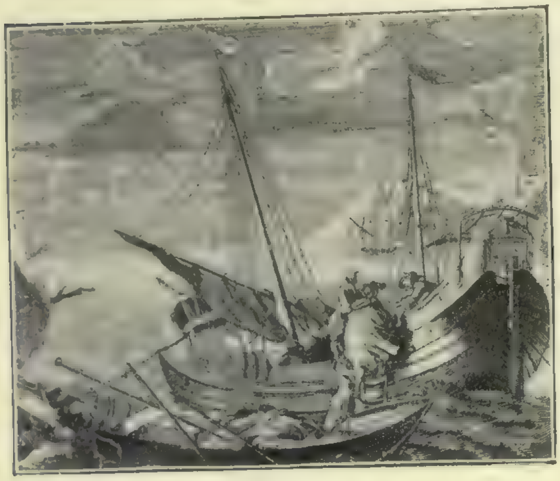
The Calvinist minister, Jurieu, was one of the leading prophets. He began by rating himself higher than a number of famous persons whom he regarded as inspired by God, and he then went on to place himself almost on a level with the author of the Apocalypse and with Saint Paul. His partisans, or rather his enemies, had a medal struck in Holland with the inscription, "Jurius Propheta." For eight whole years he prophesied the deliverance of the people of God. His schools of prophecy were established in the mountains of Dauphiné, Le Vivarais, and the Cévennes, in places inhabited by ignorant and excitable people, who were inflamed by the heat of the climate, and still more by their preachers.



THE REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES: PROCLAMED BY LOUIS XIV. BEFORE THE CLERGY OF FRANCE.

(Dutch picture.)

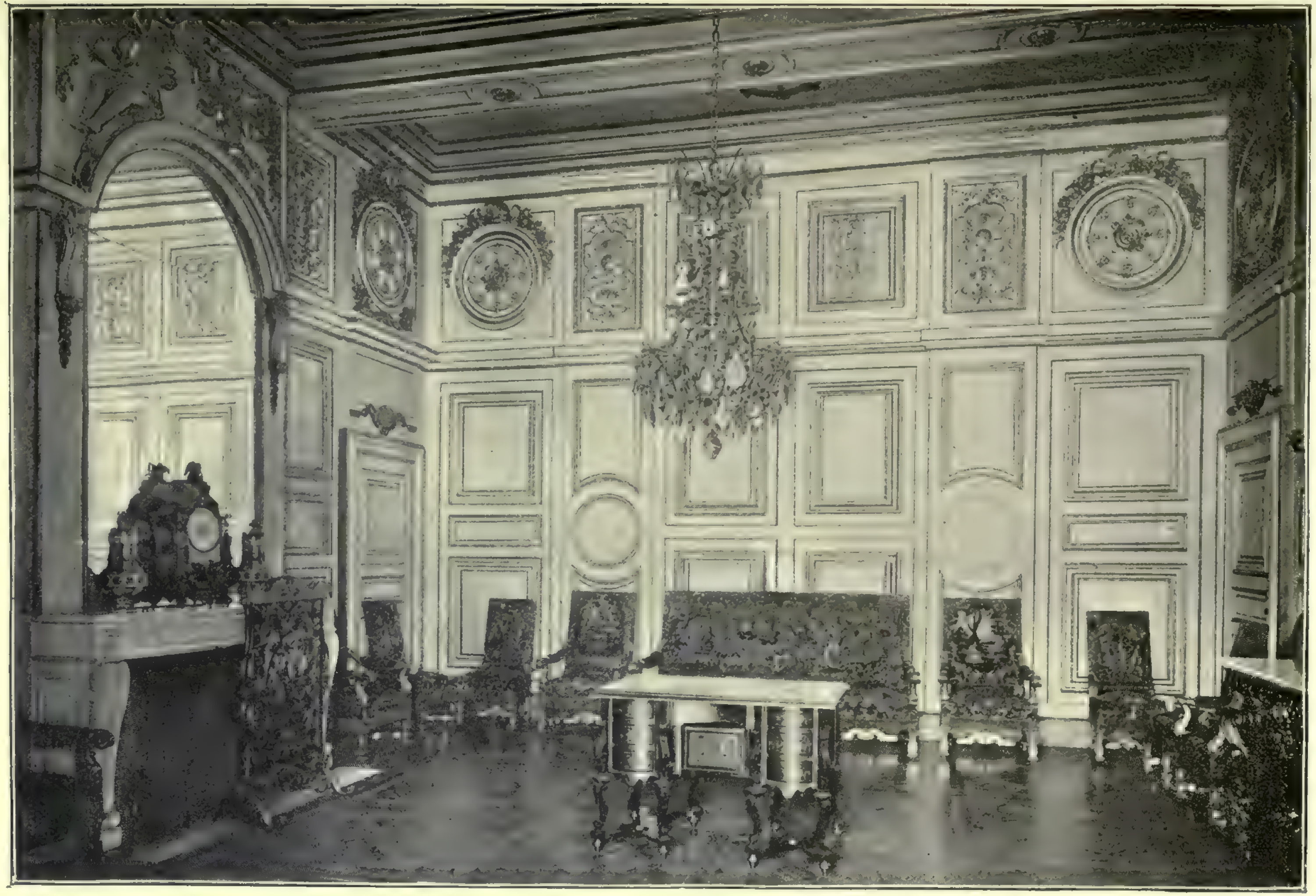
The first school of prophecy was established in some glass works on a hill in Dauphiné called Peira. An old Huguenot, named De Serre, announced the ruin of Babylon, and the restoration of Jerusalem. He would show the children these words in the Scriptures: "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst"; and tell them that with a grain of faith mountains may be removed. Then he received the Spirit: it was conferred on him by breathing into his mouth, because it is said in the Gospel of St. Matthew that Jesus breathed on His disciples before His death. De Serre worked in convulsions, his voice was changed, he remained motionless, wild, his hair standing on end, according to the ancient custom of all nations and to those indications of madness that have been handed down from generation to generation. Children too received the gift of prophecy; and if they did not remove mountains, it was because they had sufficient faith to receive the Spirit, but not enough to work miracles. They prayed with redoubled fervour to obtain this last, greatest gift.



THE FLIGHT OF JAMES II.
(From a print of the time, done in Holland.)
(Cabinet of Engravings.)

While the Cévennes were thus burning with zeal and devotion, ministers who were called "apostles" returned secretly to preach to the people.

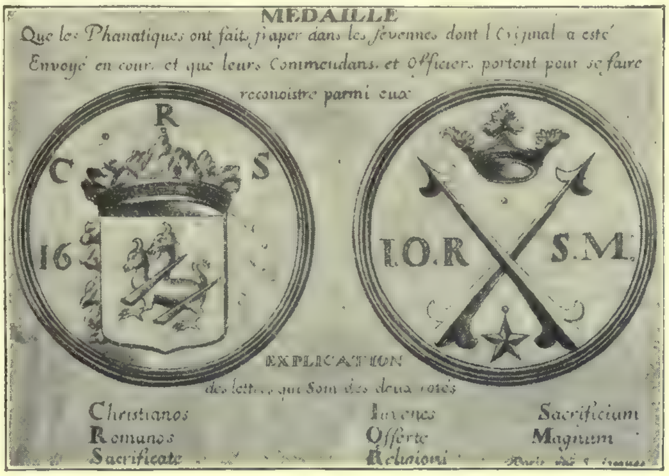
Claude Brousson, a man of high family at Nîmes, eloquent, full of zeal, much esteemed in foreign countries, who had returned to his native land in 1698, was convicted not only of persevering in his ministry despite the edicts, but of having carried on a correspondence with enemies of the State ten years previously. In fact, he had formed a plan for introducing English and Savoyard troops into Languedoc. Particulars of this project in his own handwriting, addressed to the Duc de Schomberg, had been intercepted, and the document was in the hands of the intendant of the province. Brousson, wandering from town to town, was seized at Oléron and transferred to the citadel of Montpellier. Being interrogated by the intendant and the judges, he replied that he was the apostle of Jesus Christ, that he had received the Holy Ghost, that he must not betray the faith confided to him, that his duty was to distribute the bread of the Word among his brethren. He was asked whether the apostles had set their hand to revolutionary plans, was shown his fatal script, and unanimously condemned by the judges to be broken alive on the wheel (1698). He died as the first martyr died. The whole sect, far from looking upon



THE SALON OF MADAME DE MAINTENON AND LOUIS XIV, AT FONTAINEBLEAU, WHERE THE EDICT OF 1685 AGAINST THE PROTESTANTS WAS SIGNED.

him as an offender against the State, regarded him as a saint who had sealed his faith with his blood, and they published "Le Martyre de Brousson."

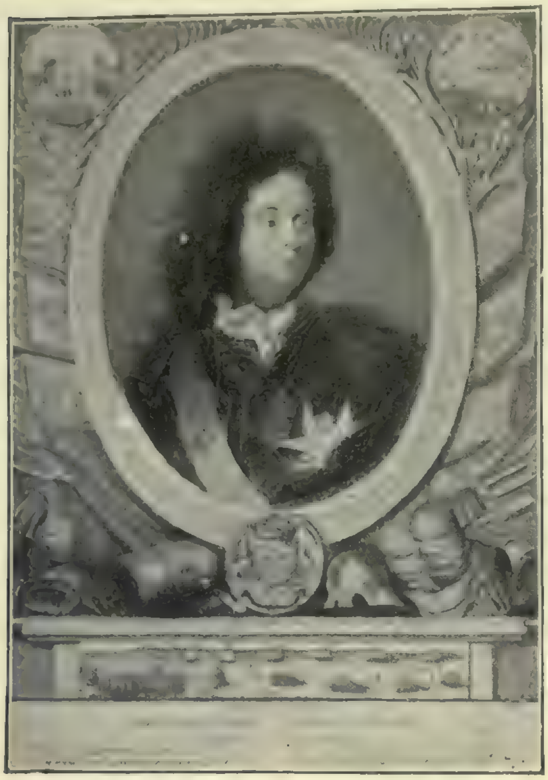
Prophets became more numerous, and the spirit of fanaticism grew in strength. It was an unfortunate circumstance that in 1703 a certain Abbé du Chaila, inspector of missions, obtained an order from the Court to place two daughters of a recently converted gentleman in a convent. Instead of taking them to the convent, he took them first to his own château. The Calvinists assembled, burst in the doors, and rescued the two girls with other prisoners. The rioters, seized the Abbé du Chaila, and offered him his life if he would accept their religion. He refused. One of the prophets exclaimed: "Die then, the Spirit condemns thee, thy sin is against thee!" The Abbé was shot dead. They then seized the collectors of the capitation tax, and hung them with their papers round their necks; after this they fell on the priests and massacred them. The rioters were pursued, but they found shelter in the woods and among the rocks. Their number increased, their prophets and prophetesses announced in God's name the re-establishment of Jerusalem and the fall of Babylon. A certain Abbé de la Bourlie appeared suddenly among them in their wild retreat, bringing them money and arms.


MEDAILLE
Que les Phanatiques ont fait frapper dans les Sevennes dont l'Orignal a esté
Envoyé en cour, et que leurs Commendans et Officiers portent pour se faire
reconoistre parmi eux
R
C
S
16
I.O.R
S.M.
EXPLICATION
des lettres qui Sont des deux cotés
Christianos
Romanos
Sacrificate
Iuvenes
Offerte
Religioni
Sacrificium
Magnum

MEDAL STRUCK BY THE PROTESTANTS OF THE CÉVENNES.

He was the son of the Marquis de Guiscard, one of the wisest men in the kingdom, and "under-governor" to the King. The son was unworthy of such a father. He had fled to Holland, having committed a crime, and endeavoured to incite the Cévennes to revolt. Some time afterwards he was found in London where he was arrested (in 1711) for having betrayed the English ministry after he had betrayed his own country. When before the council, he snatched up a long penknife and struck the Chancellor, Robert Harley, afterwards Earl of Oxford. He was taken to prison in fetters, and forestalled his inevitable sentence by committing suicide. This was the man who, in the name of England, the Dutch, and the Duke of Savoy, had appeared among the fanatics, and promised them substantial aid.

(1703.) A considerable portion of the country was secretly on the side of the "sect." Their war-cry was: "No taxation and liberty of conscience"—a cry which attracts the populace everywhere. The resolution of Louis XIV. to extirpate Calvinism was justified in the eyes of the people generally by this turbulence, but if the Edict of Nantes had not been revoked, there would have been no turbulence.

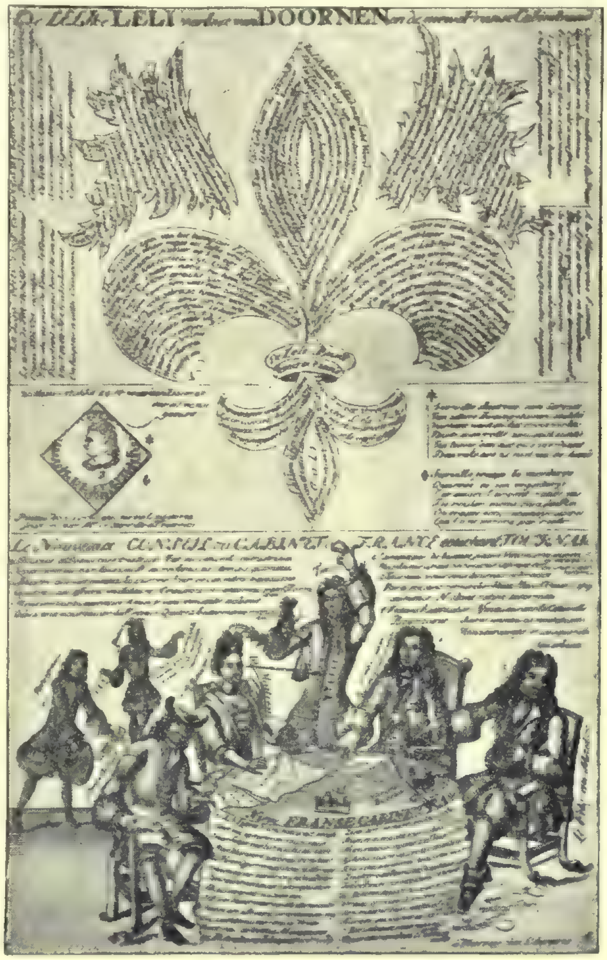


LE MARÉCHAL DE VILLARS.
(From a print by Rochefort.)

The King sent the Maréchal de Montrevel with some troops to the Cévennes. He made war upon the fanatics with a barbarity surpassing their own. Prisoners were broken on the wheel or burned; and the soldiers who fell into the hands of the insurgents also perished by cruel deaths. The King, being at war everywhere, could only send a few troops to fight them. It was difficult to surprise them in the then almost inaccessible rocks, in the caverns, in the woods, whither they betook themselves by uncleared ways, and from whence they came down suddenly like wild beasts. They even defeated some of the King's troops in a pitched battle. Three Marshals of France were employed against them successively.

In 1704 the Maréchal de Villars succeeded the Maréchal de Montrevel. As it was even more difficult for him to find the rebels than to beat them, Villars proposed an amnesty to them after he had taught them to fear him. Some of their number consented to this, being undeceived regarding the promises of the Duke of Savoy, who, after the example of other sovereigns, persecuted them in his own dominions, and would have patronised them in an enemy's country.

Jean Cavalier was the only one of their leaders seriously worthy of mention. I saw him afterwards in Holland and in England. He was a small fair man, of mild and pleasant countenance. By his party he was called David. Originally a journeyman baker, at the age of three-and-twenty he had become the leader of a large following, by the force of his own courage, and the aid of a prophetess who bade the fanatics acknowledge his authority by an express command of the Holy Ghost. He was at the head of eight hundred men, whom he was forming into regiments, when the amnesty was proposed to him. He demanded hostages; they were given him. Followed by one of the chiefs he went to Nîmes where he treated with the Maréchal de Villars.



DUTCH CARICATURE UPON THE EVIL INFLUENCE OF MADAME DE MAINTENON DURING THE LAST YEARS OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.

(1704.) Cavalier promised to form four regiments of the insurgents, who should serve the King under four colonels, himself to be the first, and to name the other three. These regiments were to have the free exercise of their religion, as the foreign troops in the pay of France had; but that exercise was not to be permitted elsewhere. These conditions had been accepted when emissaries from Holland came to prevent the effect of them with money and promises. The emissaries detached the principal fanatics from Cavalier; but, having given his word to the Maréchal de Villars, he determined to keep it. He accepted the colonel's commission, and began to form his regiment with a hundred and thirty men who were attached to him.

I have heard from Villars himself, that he asked young Cavalier how he could have had so much authority over such fierce, undisciplined men at his age. He replied that, when any of them disobeyed him, his prophetess, whom they called *La Grande Marie*, became straightway inspired, and condemned the defaulters to death; they were then shot without argument. I afterwards put the same question to Cavalier myself, and I received the same answer.

This singular negotiation took place after the battle of Hochstedt. Louis XIV., who had proscribed Calvinism so severely, now made peace, under the name of amnesty, with a journeyman baker, and the Maréchal de Villars presented him with a colonel's commission, and a pension of twelve hundred livres.

The new colonel went to Versailles; there he received the orders of the Minister of War.

The King saw him and shrugged his shoulders. Cavalier, being kept under observation by the Ministry, took alarm, and retired to Piedmont. From thence he passed into Holland and England. He fought in the Spanish war, and commanded a regiment of the French refugees in the battle of Almanza.

The fate of this regiment goes to prove the ferocity of civil warfare. Cavalier's troop found themselves face to face with a French regiment. No sooner did they recognise the fact, than they rushed upon each other with the bayonet without firing. It has been already remarked that the bayonet does little in battle. The bearing of the first line, composed of three ranks, after they have fired, decides the fate of the day, but in this case rage effected that which valour hardly ever accomplishes. Not three hundred men remained out of the two regiments. The Maréchal de Berwick often related this incident with astonishment.

Cavalier died a general officer, and Governor of the Island of Jersey, with a great reputation for valour, having retained nothing of his former ferocity, save its courage, and having substituted prudence for a fanaticism that was no longer sustained by example.

The Maréchal de Villars was recalled from Languedoc, and replaced by the Maréchal de Berwick. The ill-fortune of the King's foreign wars gave heart to the fanatics of Languedoc, who hoped for help from Heaven, and received it from the allies. Money reached them by way of Geneva. They expected officers to be sent them from Holland and England, and had sources of information in all the towns of the province.

Among the greatest of conspiracies we may rank the plot formed by the fanatics to seize the Duc de Berwick and Intendant Bâville at Nîmes, and to rise in Languedoc and Dauphiné and bring in the enemy. The secret was kept by over a thousand conspirators. The indiscretion of one revealed everything. More than two hundred persons were put to cruel deaths. The Maréchal de Berwick had every one of the unfortunate men who were taken executed. Some died fighting, others on the wheel or in the flames. Some of the rebels, more given to prophecy than to arms, found means of going to Holland. There the French refugees received them as celestial messengers: they walked before them, singing psalms and strewing their path with green foliage. Many of these prophets went to England, but as they regarded the Church of England as too much like the Church of Rome, they resolved to make their own dominant. So implicit and full was their conviction of the wonder-working power of faith that they undertook to resuscitate a dead man—any corpse which might be chosen. The people are ignorant everywhere. Who would believe that Fatio Duiller, one of the greatest European geometricians, and an accomplished man of letters, Daudé by name, were at the head of these demoniacs? But fanaticism can make even science its accomplice.

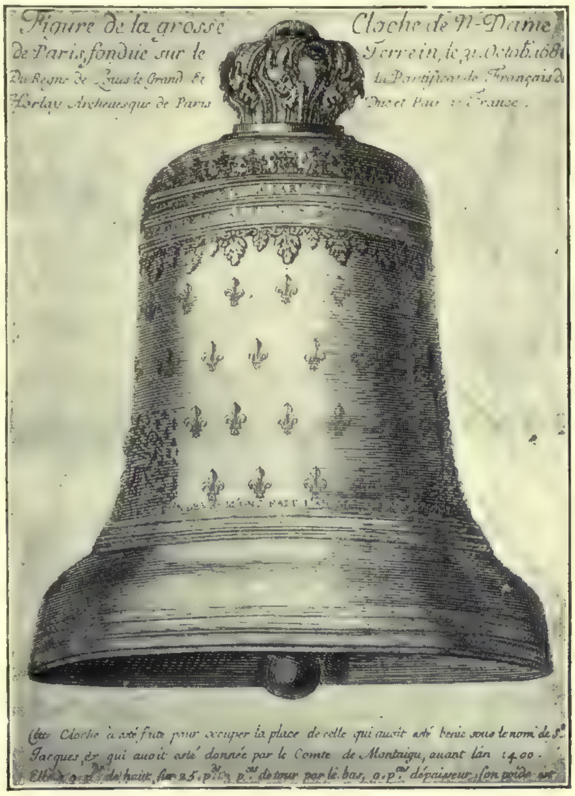


Figure de la grosse Cloche de N-Dame
de Paris, fondüe sur le Terrein, le 31. Octob. 168[illegible]
Du Regne de Louis le Grand Et la Parroisse de François de
Harlay Archevesque de Paris Duc et Pair de France.
Cette Cloche à esté faite pour occuper la place de celle qui avoit esté benie sous le nom de S.t
Jacques, et qui avoit esté donnée par le Comte de Montaigu, avant l'an 1400.
[illegible] de haut, sur 25. p[illegible] de tour par le bas, [illegible] d'epaisseur, son poids est

THE GREAT BELL OF NÔTRE DAME DE PARIS.

The English Government took the course that ought always to be adopted with pretenders to miraculous powers. They were permitted to disinter a corpse from the graveyard of a cathedral. The place was surrounded with soldiers. Everything was done judicially. The scene ended with the appearance of the prophets in the pillory.

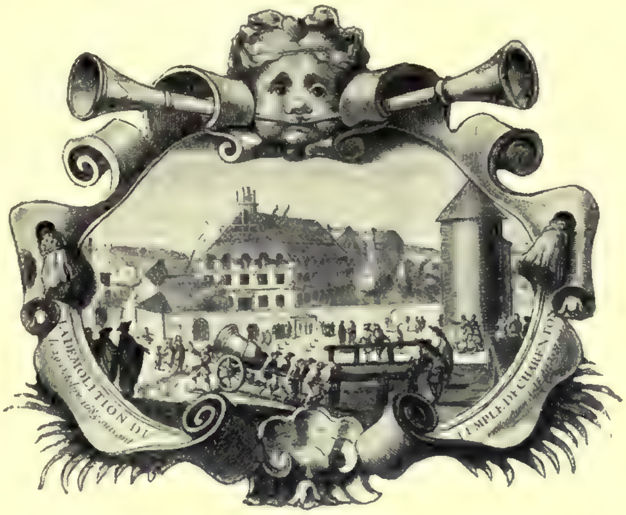
This excess of fanaticism could not succeed in England, where philosophy was beginning to reign. The fanatics no longer troubled Germany, where the three religions, Catholic, Evangelical and Reformed, were equally protected by the Treaty of Westphalia. The United Provinces, with politic toleration, admitted all religions into their territory. In fact, at the close of the century, France only was exposed to serious ecclesiastical quarrels. Reason, which makes its way so slowly among the learned, had hardly reached the doctors, to say nothing of the common herd. Reason must first be established in the principal heads; it comes down to the others by degrees. It finally governs even the people, who do not know it, but who learn to be moderate from seeing that their superiors are so. This is one of the great works of Time. The hour had not yet come.

⁂

Voltaire is very hard on the Camisards (White Shirts), whose revolt was partly the effect of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which he has strongly condemned. Saint-Simon is more indulgent and more equitable.

"This name of *Phanatiques* had been given them," he says, "because each band of the rebellious Protestants was accompanied by a so-called prophet or prophetess, who claimed to be inspired, and acting in complicity with the leaders, led these people whithersoever they would. Languedoc had suffered for many years from the tyranny of the Intendent Bâville. He was a man of ability, very active, and a very hard worker. He was also cunning, artful, and implacable; he knew how to serve his friends, and how to secure 'creatures,' above all he had a masterful way with him, which broke down all resistance, and was not checked by any scruple as to the means of attaining his ends. This man of great, luminous, and imperious mind was dreaded by the ministers, who would not let him approach the Court, and in order to keep him in Languedoc left him full powers, which he abused without stint. *Less Intendant than King*, he resolved, together with Broglio his brother-in-law, to keep up his importance, and harassed the non-converted, or the half-converted, into rioting."

Saint-Simon adds : "Had they not maltreated anyone except within the bounds of legitimate warfare; had they merely demanded liberty of conscience and lighter taxation; many Catholics would have joined them, and under their protection thrown off the mask which fear and the hope that these troubles would lead to some relief in the general condition made them wear. Then the Camisards would have been in a majority. The country has reason to thank the access of fanaticism that made them commit the worst excesses in sacrilege, in murder, and in the torture of priests and monks."

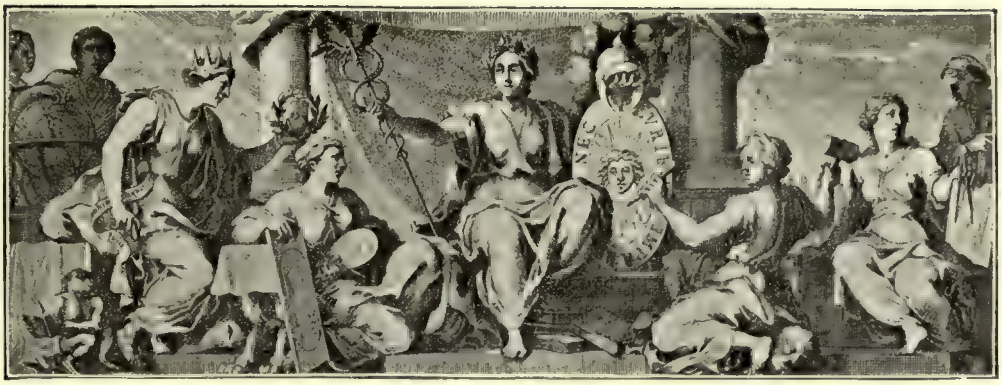

DEMOLITION DU TEMPLE DE CHARENTON

THE DEMOLITION OF THE TEMPLE AT CHARENTON.

It is curious to find a Catholic like Saint-Simon more just than a philosopher such as Voltaire. The whole truth is all there: the effects of the religious policy of the Ministers of Louis XIV. in the provinces according to the "mot d'ordre" given in 1685, so evident that for a whole year Madame de Maintenon hid the first troubles in the Cévennes from the King, the zeal of the Catholics, and especially the ecclesiastics against the "sect," *the principal cause*, says Saint Hilaire, the general discontent in Languedoc had far more to do with the sedition than had the spirit of revolt and fanaticism among the Protestants. But the Government was too glad of their excesses, which enabled it to conceal its own mistakes, and to throw the whole responsibility upon them. The avowal, made by Saint-Simon, is precious. It explains, on the other hand, how, thirty years later, Voltaire was led to judge the Camisards so severely. In the opinion of all the subjects of Louis XIV. and in his own, a revolt against the King's authority, accompanied by the sanguinary excesses of an unrestrained populace, condemned the

Protestants of the Cévennes absolutely. As a philosopher, in short, Voltaire considered their fanaticism unpardonable and their prophecies ridiculous. Although we may explain the conclusion at which he arrived on these grounds, we cannot but think that Saint-Simon reaches a sounder one respecting the deplorable strife between Louis XIV. and the French Calvinists.

TAILPIECE ENGRAVED BY SÉBASTIEN LECLERC.



COMPOSITION BY LEBRUN IN HONOUR OF LOUIS XIV.

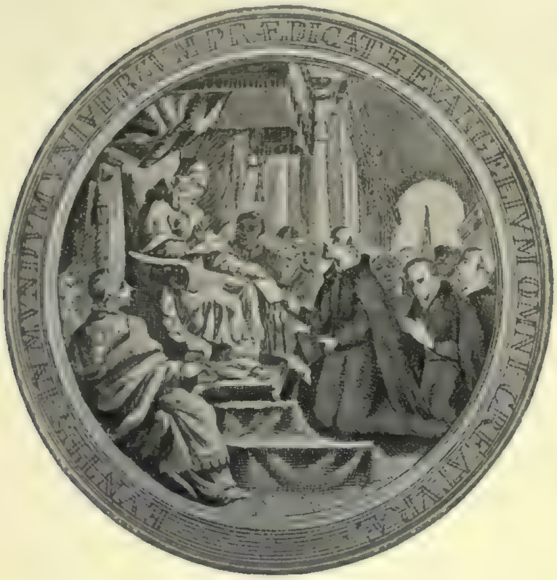
(Engraved by S. Leclerc.)

## III

## JANSENISM.

IT was inevitable that Calvinism should give rise to civil wars, and shake the foundations of States. Jansenism could excite only theological quarrels, and wars of the pen; for, the reformers of the sixteenth century having burst the bonds by which the Roman Church held men; having treated as idolatrous all that she held most sacred; having opened the doors of her cloisters, and given her treasures into secular hands; one of the two parties must needs be destroyed by the other. In fact, wherever the religion of Calvin and of Luther has appeared, it has given rise to persecution and war. But the Jansenists, who did not attack the Church, did not object to its fundamental dogmas, or its worldly wealth, and who wrote upon abstract questions against the reformed sects, and against the constitutions of the Popes, had no influence anywhere after a while, and their sect was despised throughout almost the whole of Europe, although it had possessed many adherents of ability and high character.

At the same time that the Huguenots were attracting serious attention, Jansenism was causing more disquiet than concern in France. These disputes, like many others, were not home-made. About 1552, a learned doctor of Louvain, named Michel Bay, or Baïus, according to the pedantic fashion of those times, thought proper to assert certain propositions respecting grace and predestination. This question leads into the labyrinth of fatality and liberty of will, in which all antiquity lost its way, and to which man holds not the clue. The spirit of curiosity given by God to man, the impulsion necessary for our instruction, carries us beyond the goal, like all the other impulses of our mind, which, if they could not push us too far, would perhaps never excite us sufficiently. And so men have disputed on that which they do know, and that which they do not know; but the disputes of the philosophers of antiquity were always peaceable, while those of theologians have often been sanguinary, and always turbulent.



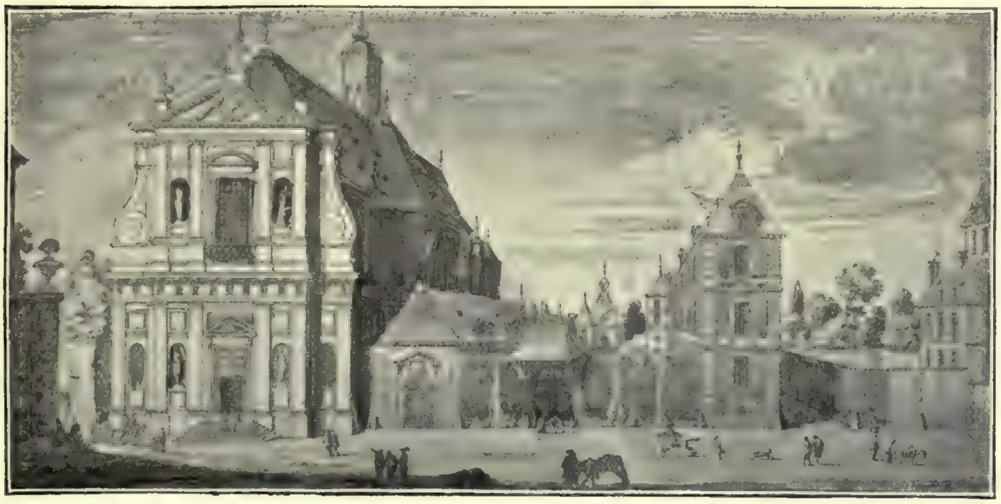
THE POPE CONFIDES.

Certain Franciscans, who understood these questions no more than did Michel Baïus, believed free will to be denied, and the doctrine of Duns Scotus imperilled. Being angry besides with Baïus on the subject of a quarrel of a somewhat similar nature, they tendered seventy-six propositions of his to Pope Pius V. It was Sixtus V., then General of the Franciscans, who drew up the bull of condemnation in 1567.

The seventy-six propositions were condemned wholesale, as heretical, breathing heresy, offensive and rash; but the judgment specified nothing, and entered into no detail.

Such a method attaches to supreme power, and leaves little matter for dispute. The learned doctors of Louvain were greatly embarrassed on receiving the bull, especially by a phrase in which a comma put one way condemned, but put another way tolerated, certain opinions of Michel Baïus. The University sent a deputation to Rome to learn from the Holy Father where the comma was to be placed. The Court of Rome, having other affairs on hand, for an answer sent the Flemish *savants* a copy of the bull on which the comma did not appear at all. This was deposited in the archives. Morillon, the Grand Vicaire, said that the papal bull must be received *even though there should be errors in it.* Morillon was right in his policy, for it is certainly better to receive a hundred eroneous bulls than to burn a hundred towns, which was done by the Huguenots and their adversaries. Baïus acted on what Morillon said, and made his retractation quietly.

Some years later, Spain, always fertile in scholastic writers, though so barren of philosophers, produced Molinos the Jesuit, who believed he had discovered precisely how God acts upon creatures, and how creatures resist Him. He made a distinction between the natural order and the supernatural order, predestination to grace and predestination to glory, grace prevenient and grace co-operative. He was the inventor of concomitant concurrence, medium knowledge (*science moyenne*) and congruism. The two latter especially were strange ideas. God by His medium knowledge (*science moyenne*) consults a man's will in order to know what that man will do when he shall have grace; and then, according to that use of free will which He divines, He makes His arrangements to influence the man; and these arrangements are congruism.

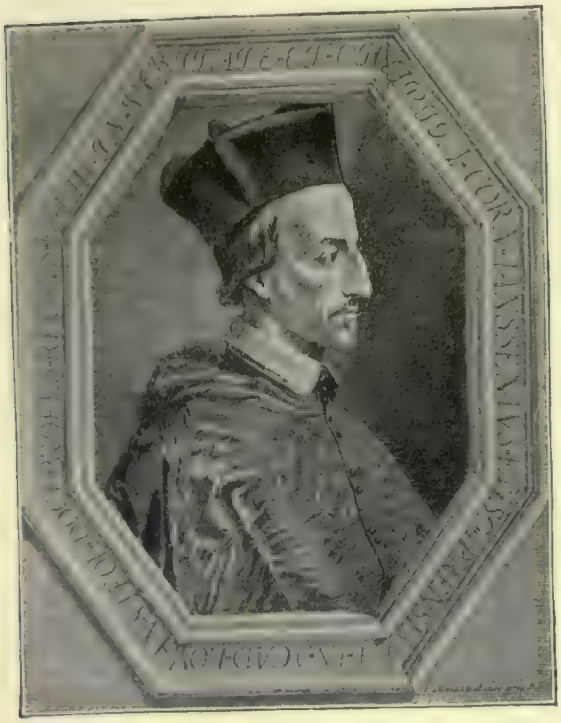


THE NOVITIATE AND THE HOUSE OF THE JESUIT PROFESSORS AT ST. GERMAIN-DES-PRÉS.
(From a print by Lepautre and Van Merlen.)

The Spanish Dominicans, who no more understood this explanation than did the Jesuits, but who were jealous of them, wrote that the book of Molinos *was the precursor of Antichrist.*

The Court of Rome took cognizance of the dispute, which was already in the hands of the Grand Inquisitors, and with much wisdom enjoined silence on both parties, neither of whom heeded the injunction. At length the case was seriously pleaded before Clement VIII., and all Rome took part in the suit. The proceedings were tedious, incomprehensible and inconclusive.

Clement VIII. died before he had been able to elucidate the arguments on either side. Paul V. resumed the suit, but, as he himself was engaged in a more important one with the Republic of Venice, he put a stop to all the meetings, then and still called *de auxiliis.* Paul V. ended by calling on both parties to live in peace.


CORNEILLE JANSEN, ÉVÊQUE D'YPRES.
(From a print by Morin.)

While the Jesuits were establishing their *science moyenne* and their congruism, Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, was reviving some of the ideas of Baïus in a large book on St. Augustine, which was not printed until after his death. Thus he became the head of a sect without ever knowing it. His book, which has caused so much disturbance, had hardly any readers, but Duverger de Hauranne, Abbé de Saint-Cyran, a friend of Jansen, who was as ardent in his opinion as he was diffuse and obscure in his writings, came to Paris and persuaded young doctors and a few old women. The Jesuits demanded the condemnation of Jansen's book, as a sequel to that of Baïus, and obtained this in 1641. But in Paris, the Faculty of Theology and all reasoning folk were divided. There was not much to gain in thinking with Jansen that God commands impossible things; that is neither philosophic nor consoling; but the secret satisfaction of belonging to a party, the enmity

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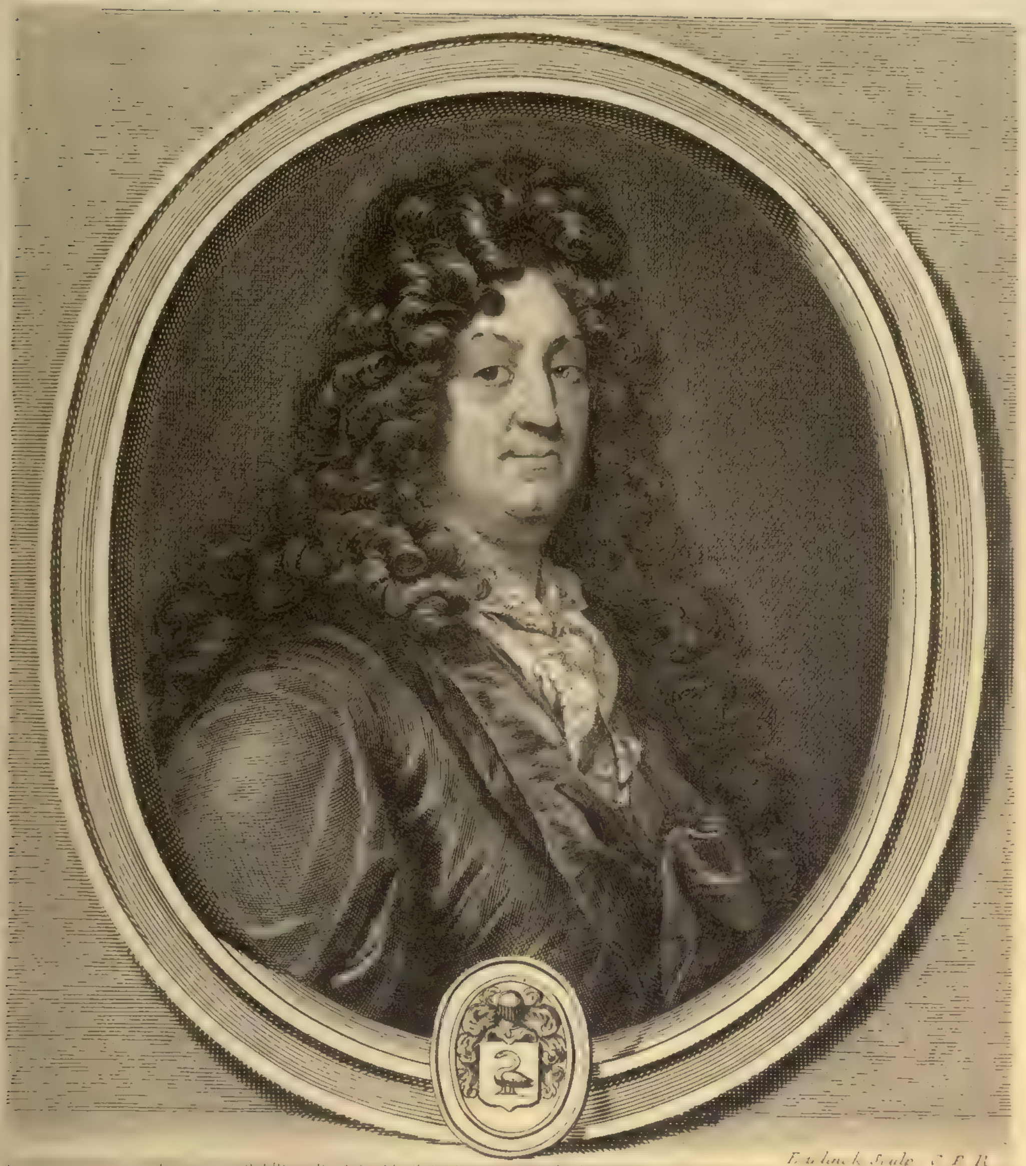

Edelinck Sculp. C. P. R.

Jean Racine
de l'Accademie Francoise

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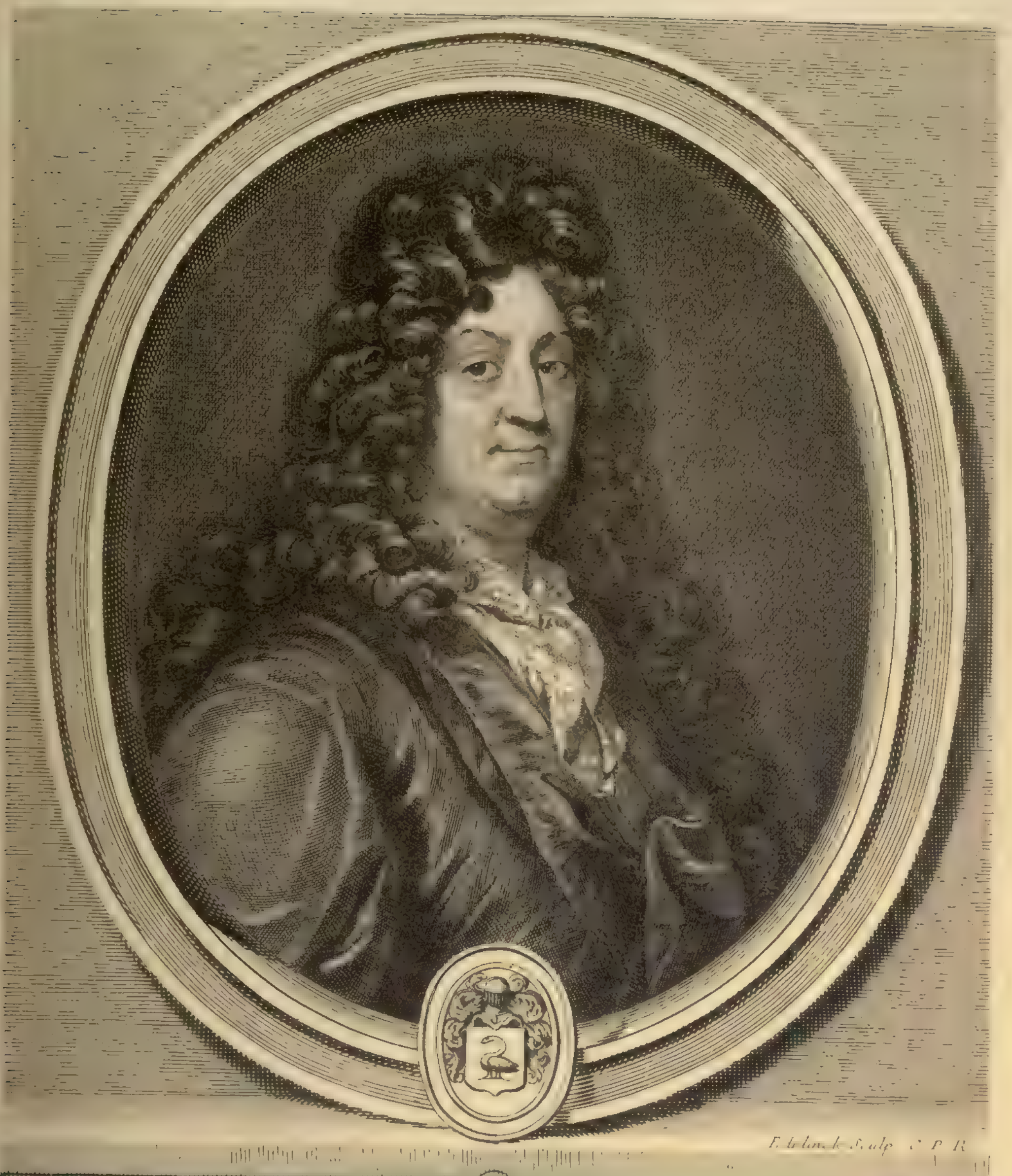
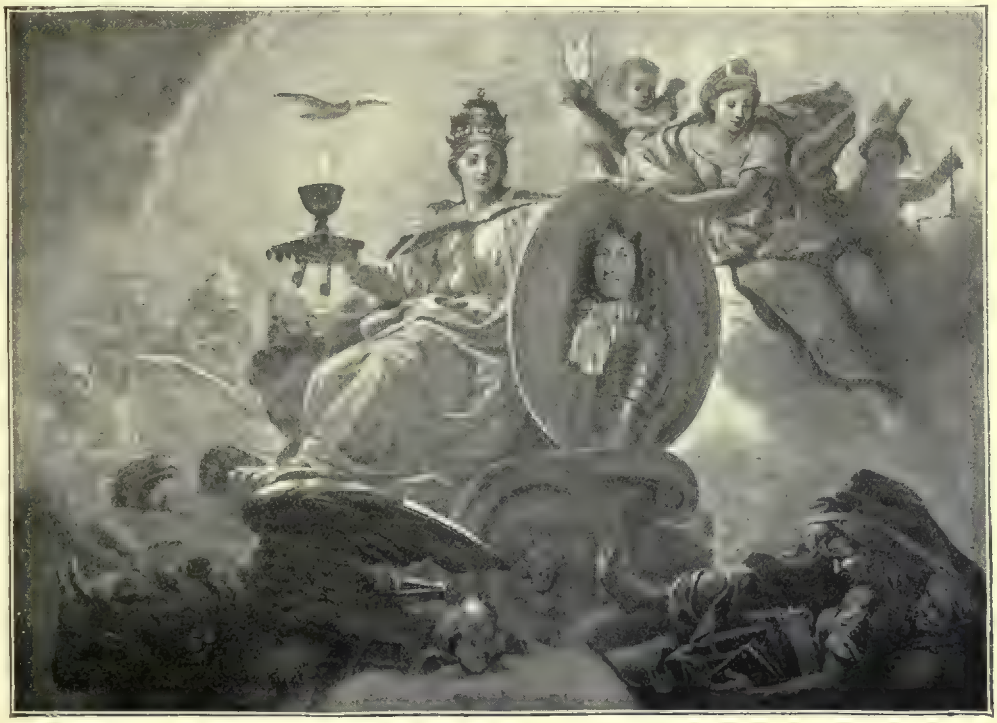


F. Edelinck Sculp. C. P. R.

Jean Racine
de l'Accademie Francoise

inspired by the Jesuits, the love of cheating and excitement, created a sect. The Faculty condemned five propositions of Jansen's. These were taken from the book quite faithfully, as to the sense, but not as to the exact words. Sixty doctors appealed against the condemnation, and ordered the parties to appear before the Court.

The parties to the suit did not appear; but, on one side, a doctor, named Habert, attacked Jansen; on the other, the famous Arnauld, a disciple of Saint-Cyran, defended Jansenism. He hated the Jesuits even more than he loved efficacious grace; and he was disliked by them as the son of a father who had pleaded strongly at the bar with the University against their establishment. His kinsmen were of good repute, both in the law and in the army. His talent, and the circumstances in which he was placed, gave him a taste for literary warfare, and his ambition to become the leader of a party absorbed every other. He disputed with Jesuits and protestants impartially until he was eighty years of age. We have four hundred volumes from his pen. Hardly one of

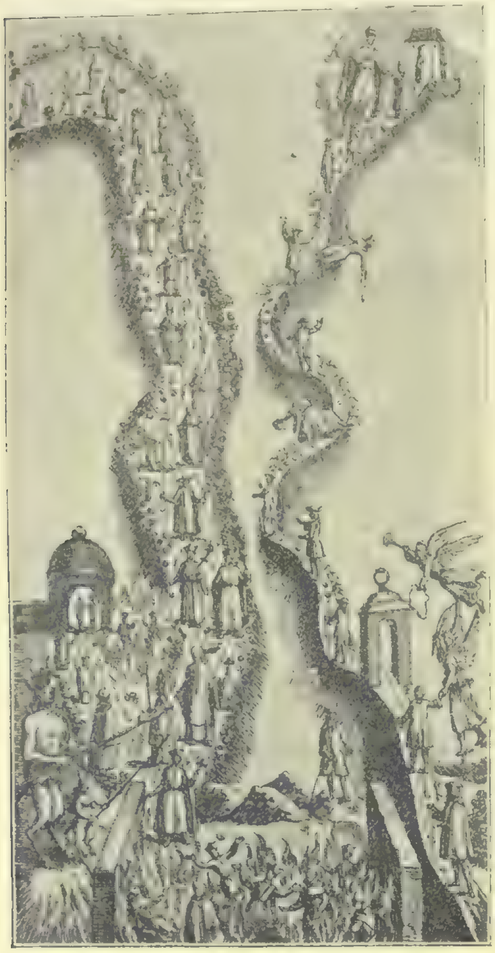


TRUE RELIGION TRIUMPHANT UNDER LOUIS XIV.

(Picture by Lebrun, engraved by Edelinck.)

these can rank with the classic literature that does honour to the century of Louis XIV., and is included in the libraries of every country.

The works of Arnauld had great influence in his day, on account of the renown of the author and the heat of the debate. That warmth has cooled down: the books have been forgotten. These only remain: "La Géométrie," "La Grammaire raisonnée," and "La Logique." Arnauld's mind was essentially philosophic, but his philosophy was tainted by party spirit and obstinacy; for sixty years these diverted a great intellect from its true purpose, which was the enlightenment of mankind.



THE ROAD TO HEAVEN.

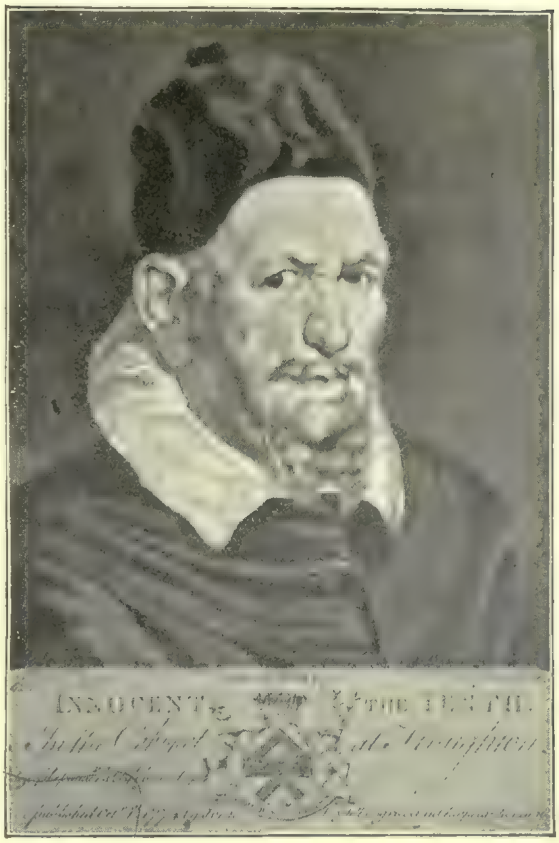
(A popular print of the Jansenist party, showing, on the right, the road to Paradise for the elect, on the left, the road to Hell for the Jesuits and their partisans.)

The University was divided upon these five famous propositions, and the bishops also were of two opinions. Eighty-eight French bishops wrote collectively to Innocent X. begging for his decision, and eleven others wrote begging him to do nothing. Innocent X. gave judgment; he condemned each of the five propositions severally, but without quoting the pages from which they were taken, those which preceded or those which followed them.

This omission, which could not have occurred in a civil suit in any court, was made by the Sorbonne, the Jansenists, the Jesuits, and the Sovereign Pontiff. The ground of the five condemned propositions is evidently in Jansen. In the third volume, page 138, of the Paris edition of 1641, the following passage is to be found, word for word:—

"All this demonstrates plainly and evidently that there is nothing more certain and more fundamental in the doctrine of Saint Augustine than that certain commandments are impossible, not only to unbelievers, the blind, and the impenitent, but to the faithful and the just, in spite of their good will and their efforts, according to the strength they possess; and that the grace which can make these commandments possible is wanting in them." On page 165 are these words :—"That Jesus Christ, according to Saint Augustine, did not die for all men."

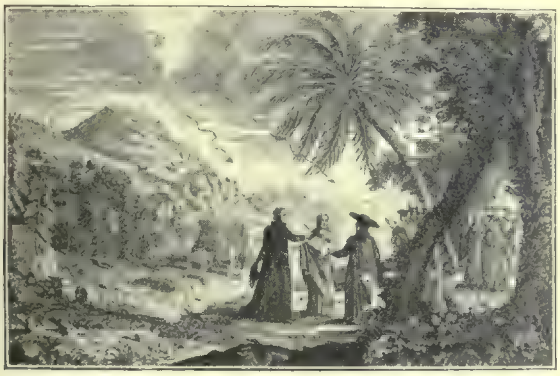
Cardinal Mazarin caused the Pope's Bull to be unanimously received by the Assembly of the Clergy. He was then on good terms with the Pope; he did not like the Jansenists, and he justly disliked factions.


INNOCENT THE TENTH.

POPE INNOCENT X.

(From the portrait by Velasquez, preserved in England, engraved by Green.)

Peace seemed to be restored to the Church of France; but the Jansenists wrote so many letters; Saint Augustine was so much quoted; so many women were set to work, that after the Bull had been accepted there were more Jansenists than ever.

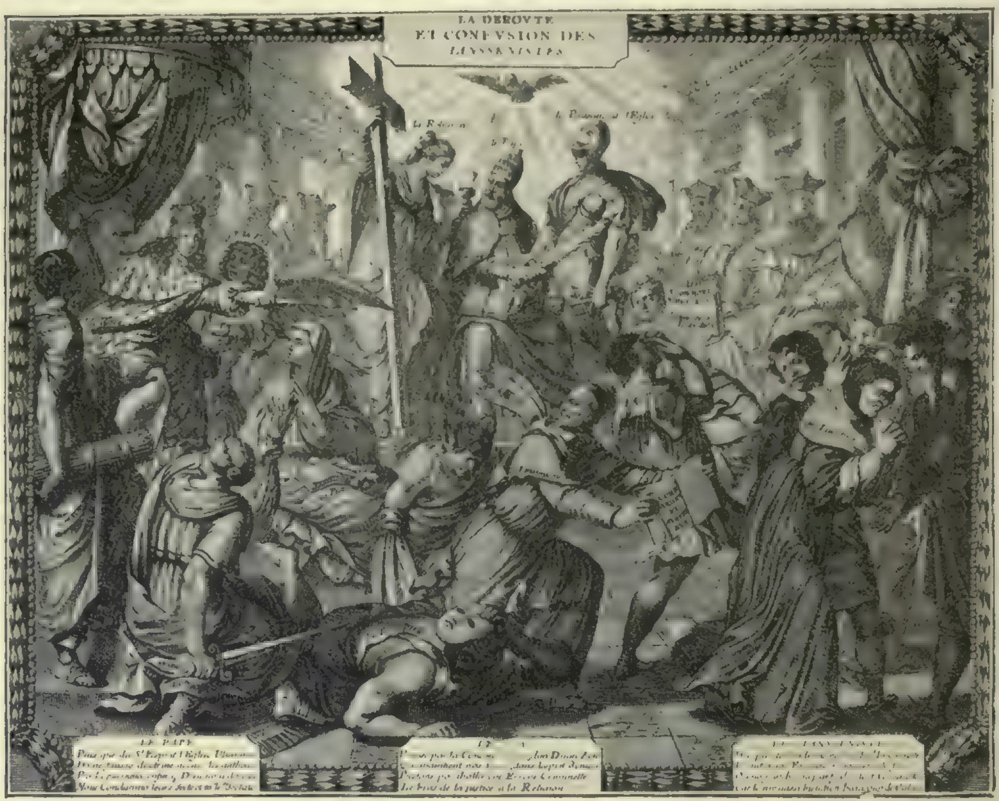


A JANSENIST SATIRE UPON THE CONSTITUTIONS OF THE POPES (1661–1665).

(From an engraving in the Cabinet of Prints.)

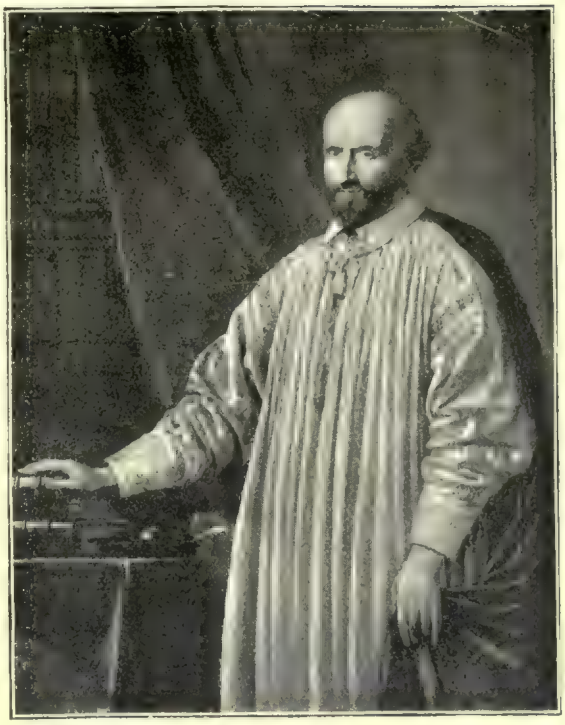
A priest of Saint-Sulpice refused absolution to the Duc de Liancourt-Dondeauville because it was said that he did not believe the five propositions were in Jansen's work, and that he had heretics in his house. This was a new scandal, a fresh subject for Arnauld's pen. He immediately declared in a letter to a duke and peer, real or imaginary, that the condemned propositions of Jansen were not in Jansen, but that they were to be found in the works of Saint Augustine and other Fathers. He added, "Saint Peter was a just man to whom grace, without which one can do nothing, was wanting."

It is true that Saint Augustine and Saint John Chrysostom had said the same thing; but circumstances, which alter cases, convicted Arnauld. The Faculty assembled; the Chancellor (Séguier) attended on behalf of the King. Arnauld was condemned, and excluded from the Sorbonne, in 1654. The presence of the Chancellor among theologians had an air of despotism that displeased the public, and the number of doctors who crowded the hall caused Pascal to remark in his "Lettres Provinciales," that "it was easier to find monks than reasons."



DEFEAT OF THE JANSENISTS BY THE POPE, RELIGION, AND LOUIS XIV.
(After an Almanac of 1653.)

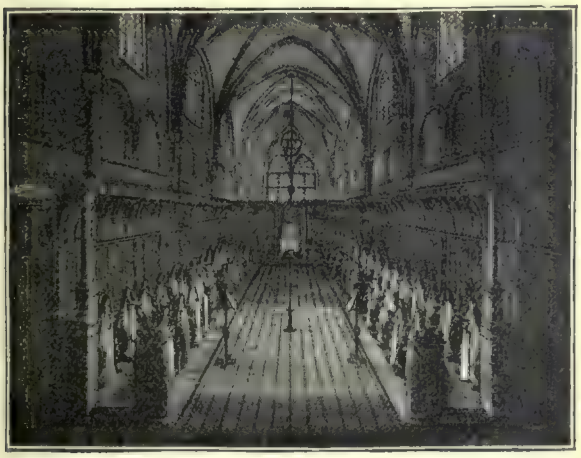
The greater number of these monks denied the peculiar doctrines of Molinos; but they maintained a "grace sufficient," to which the will can consent, and never consents; a grace efficacious, which the will can resist, and does not resist; and they explained this clearly by saying that the will can resist that grace in the divided, and not in the composite sense.



DUVERGIER DUHAURANNE, ABBÉ DE SAINT-CYRAN.

(Original portrait by Philippe de Champagne.—Musée de Versailles.)

The opinion of Arnauld and the Jansenists seemed to approach pure Calvinism too closely. This was precisely the ground of the quarrel between the Gomarists and the Arminians. That quarrel divided Holland, as Jansenism divided France; but in Holland it became a political faction rather than a learned discussion, and led to the execution of Jan de Barnevelt, Grand Pensionary of Holland. This atrocious deed is now deplored by the Dutch, whose eyes have been opened to the absurdity of these disputes, the horrors of persecution, and the necessity for toleration, which is the resource of wise rulers against the vehement passion of disputants. In France the dispute produced only episcopal pastorals, Bulls, "lettres de cachet," and pamphlets, because the country had more important quarrels on hand.

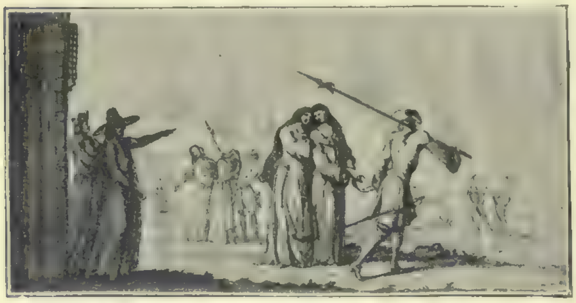


NUNS IN CHAPTER.—THE CHOIR OF PORT-ROYAL DES CHAMPS.

(Copied from an anonymous print.)

Arnauld was then merely excluded from the Faculty. This petty persecution secured him a number of friends, but he and the Jansenists had the Church and the Pope against them always. One of the first proceedings of Alexander VII., who succeeded Innocent X., was to renew the censures upon the five propositions. The bishops of France, who had already drawn up a formula, drew up a second, which concluded as follows: "I condemn with heart and voice the doctrine of the five propositions contained in the book of Cornelius Jansen; the doctrine is not that of Saint Augustine, which Jansen has misconstrued."

Afterwards this formula had to be subscribed; and each of the bishops presented it to all suspected persons in his diocese. The nuns of Port-Royal of Paris and Port-Royal des Champs were called upon to sign it. These two houses were the sanctuary of Jansenism: Saint-Cyran and Arnauld governed them.



THE SISTERS OF PORT-ROYAL EXPELLED BY ORDER OF THE KING.

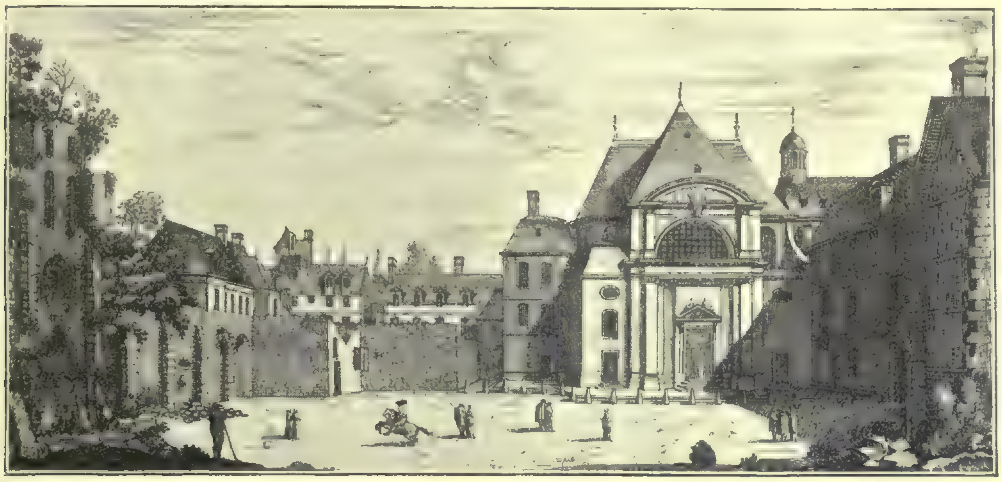
(From a print of the time.)

Close by the Monastery of Port-Royal des Champs, they had established a house in which several excellent and learned, but wrong-headed men, united by their common opinions, lived in retirement, engaged in the teaching of select pupils. From this school came Racine, the poet, who of all poets best knew the human heart. Pascal, first of French satirists, for Boileau but was the second, was intimately associated with these illustrious and dangerous solitaries. The formula was presented to the nuns of Port-Royal of Paris and Port-Royal des Champs for their signatures. They replied that they could not conscientiously affirm with the Pope and the bishops that the five propositions were in the book written by Jansen, which they had not read; that no doubt his meaning had been mistaken; that the five propositions might be erroneous, but Jansen was not in the wrong.

Their obstinacy made the Court angry. Civil Lieutenant d'Aubray (there was not as yet a Lieutenant of Police) went to Port-Royal to turn out all the recluses who had retired thither, and all the youths whom they were educating. The demolition of the two monasteries was threatened: a miracle saved them.

Mademoiselle Perrier, a pupil at Port-Royal of Paris, and niece of the celebrated Pascal, was suddenly cured of a malady of the eyes, which had been pronounced hopeless, by kissing a relic of the Crown of Thorns that had been for some time in the possession of the nuns of Port-Royal. It was asserted that the cure had been instantaneous, but the lady lived until 1728, and persons who lived for a long time with her have assured me that cure in her case was remarkably slow. However, the miracle established the credit of the nuns, who persisted in repeating that either Cornelius Jansen had not written the lines which are attributed to him, or that he had not intended them in the imputed sense.

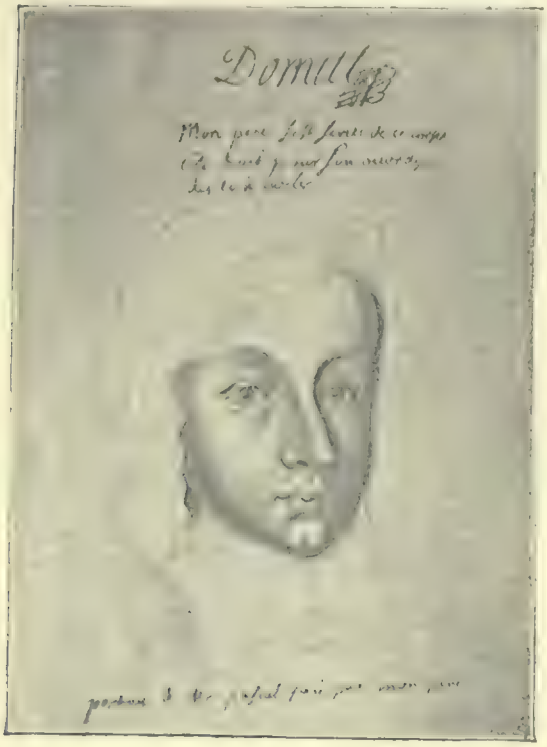
The miracle became so famous that the Jesuits wrote against it. Père Annat, the confessor of Louis XIV., published "Le Rabat-joie des Jansénistes, à l'occasion du miracle qu'on dit être arrivé à Port-Royal, par un docteur catholique." Père Annat was not a "doctor," nor was he learned (*docte*). He attempted to demonstrate that if a thorn taken from the Holy Crown in Judea had cured the little Perrier girl in Paris, the fact was a proof that Christ had died for *all*, not for *several.* Everybody laughed at Père Annat. The Jesuits had no chance: the Jansenists were all the fashion. Some years afterwards the latter proclaimed a second miracle. A certain Sister Gertrude was cured at Port-Royal of a swelling in her leg. This prodigy fell flat: time had passed, and Sister Gertrude was not the niece of a Pascal.



THE CHURCH OF THE MONASTERY OF THE HOLY SACRAMENT, OR PORT-ROYAL OF PARIS (FAUBOURG SAINT-JACQUES).
(A print by Marot.)

The Jesuits had popes and kings on their side, but they were of no account among the people anywhere. Old stories, such as the assassination of Henri IV., their banishment from France and Venice, the Gunpowder

Plot, and the bankruptcy of Seville were raked up against them. Every means was employed to make them odious; but Pascal did worse: he made them ridiculous. His "Lettres Provinciales" which appeared at that time were a model of eloquence and humour. The best comedies by Molière are not more witty than the first "Lettres Provinciales;" Bossuet has not equalled the last in sublimity.



PASCAL AS A CHILD.

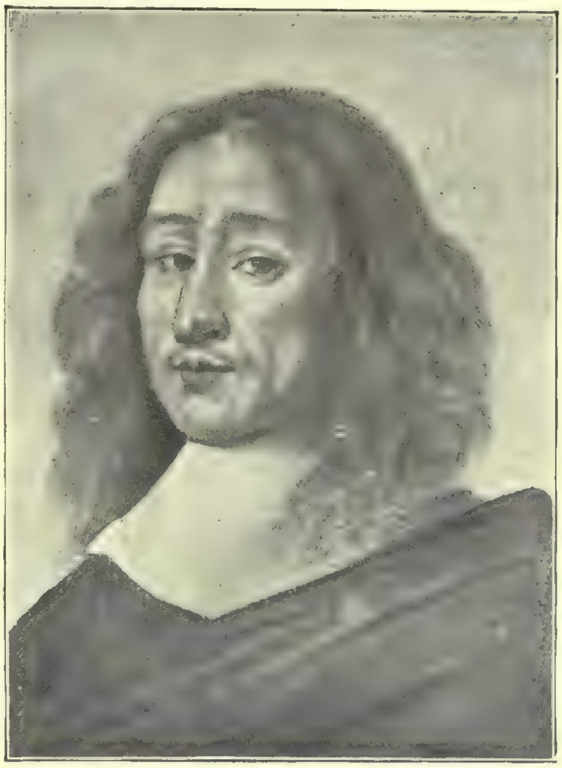
(From an original drawing by Domat, found in a *corpus juris* in his library by his son.)

It is true that the whole book was destitute of foundation. The extravagant notions of some Spaniards and Flemings among its members were imputed to the whole Society of Jesus. These notions might have been discovered as readily among the Dominican and Franciscan casuists; but Pascal aimed at the Jesuits only. The famous letters attempted to prove that the definite purpose of the Society of Jesus was to corrupt the morals of mankind—a design which no sect, no society has ever entertained and cannot entertain; but the matter in hand was not to be in the right, it was to amuse the public.

The Jesuits, who had no good writer at that time, could not get rid of the opprobrium with which the most ably-written book that had yet appeared in France covered them; but almost the same thing occurred in their quarrels that had happened to Cardinal Mazarin. Blot, Marigny, Barbançon, and others had made all France laugh at his expense, and he was the master of France. The Jesuits had influence enough to get the "Lettres Provinciales" burned by a decree of the parliament of Provence, but they were none the less ridiculous for that, and the fact made them more hateful to the nation.

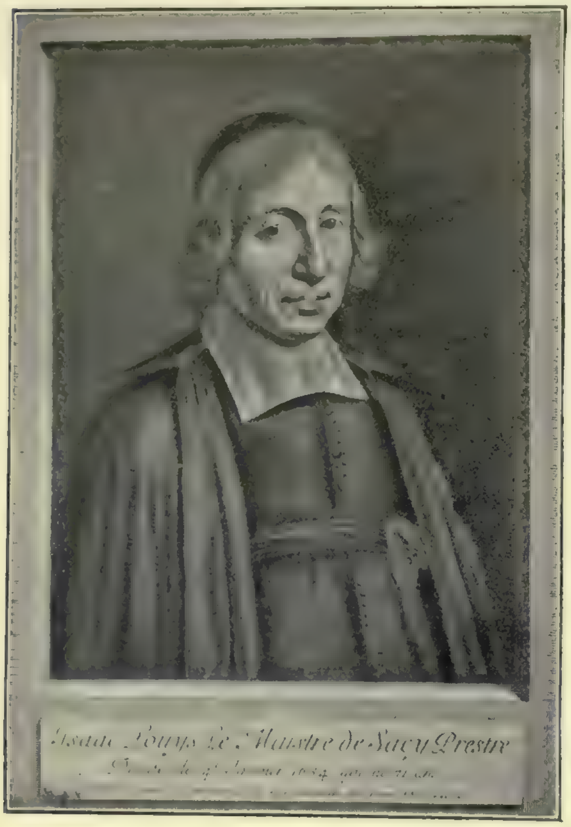
The principal nuns of the Abbey of Port-Royal of Paris were removed under escort of two hundred guards, and dispersed among other convents: only those who consented to sign the formulary were permitted to remain. All Paris was astir at the dispersion of these nuns. Sister Perdreau and Sister Passart, who signed and made others sign, were made the subject of jests and songs by the sort of idlers who never see any but the funny side of things, and who go on amusing themselves, while true believers groan, malcontents vociferate, and the Government acts.

The Jansenists throve on persecution. Four prelates, Arnauld, Bishop of Angers, the doctor's brother; Buzenval, Bishop of Beauvais; Pavillon, Bishop of Aleth, and Caulet, Bishop of Pamiers (he who afterwards resisted Louis XIV. in the matter of the regalia) declared against the formulary. This was a new formulary composed by Pope Alexander VII. himself; its grounds were the same as the former in every respect; it was accepted in France by the bishops, and even by the parliaments. Alexander VII. was indignant, and appointed nine French bishops to try the four refractory prelates. On this the public mind became more than ever excited.


PASCAL.

(From an anonymous coloured drawing which might be attributed to Edelinck, in the Cabinet of Prints.)

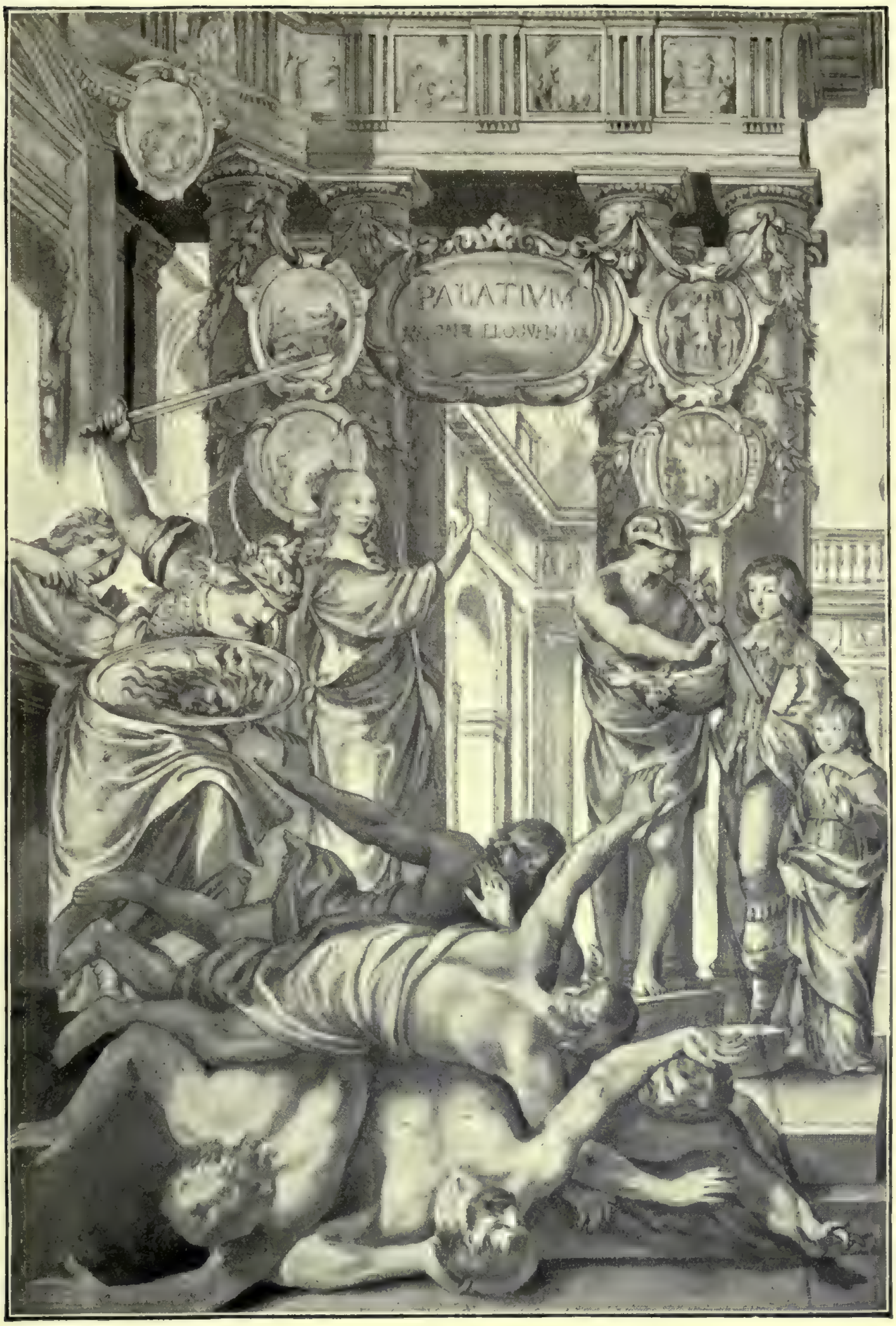
But, just as everybody was in a fever to know whether the five propositions were or were not in the writings of Jansen, Cardinal Rospigliosi became Pope, under the name of Clement IX., and pacified everything for some time. He induced the four prelates to sign the formulary "sincerely," instead of "purely and simply;" so that it seemed to be allowable to believe, while condemning the five propositions, that they were not taken from Jansen. The four Bishops gave some feeble explanations; and Italian affability quieted down French vivacity. One word substituted for another effected that peace which was called "the peace of Clement IX.," and even "The peace of the Church," although the existence of the dispute was hardly known outside of France. It appears that since the time of Baïus the Popes had always tried to suppress these controversies, in which no understanding can be reached, and to induce the two parties to inculcate a uniform morality, which everybody understands. Nothing could be more reasonable; but the Popes had to deal with men.


Isaac Louys Le Maistre de Sacy Prestre

ISAAC LOUIS LE MAISTRE DE SACY (1613–1684.)
(After a print of Van Schuppen.)

The Government liberated the Jansenists who were imprisoned in the Bastille, and among them Sacy, author of "La Version du Testament." The banished nuns were brought back; they signed "sincerely," and believed the word to be a triumph for them. Arnauld emerged from his retreat and was presented to the King, received by the Nuncio, and regarded by the public as a Father of the Church. He undertook to fight none but Calvinists henceforth; for fight he must. This period of tranquillity produced his book entitled, "La Perpétuité de la Foi," in which he was assisted by Nicole (Jansenist, theologian, and moralist). Their joint work was the subject of the great controversy between them and Claude (the French protestant minister, controversialist, and author), in which each party claimed the victory as usual.

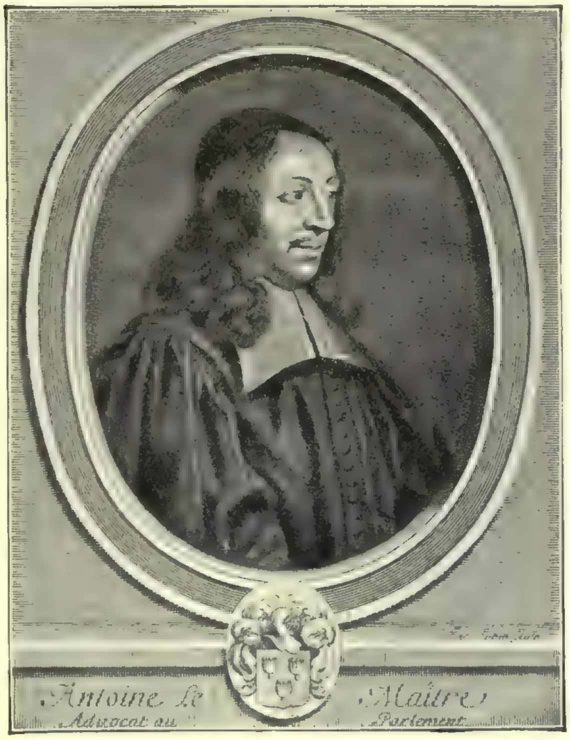
The peace of Clement IX. was but a temporary truce. Cabals, intrigues, and reciprocal accusations continued on both sides.



MADAME DE LONGUEVILLE URGING HER BROTHERS, THE PRINCES DE CONDÉ AND DE CONTI, AS CHILDREN, TO CULTIVATE LITERATURE AND ELOQUENCE.

(From a composition by Greg. Huret.)

The Duchesse de Longueville, sister of the Great Condé, had become devout late in life, and as she hated the Court, but could not live without scheming, she turned Jansenist, built a house for herself at Port-Royal des Champs and occasionally retired thither with the recluses. This was their most flourishing period. Arnauld, Nicole, Le Maistre, De Sacy, Herman, and many other men of great descent and reputation, although less celebrated, assembled at her abode. The wit which Madame de Longueville brought from the Hôtel de Rambouillet they supplemented by serious conversation, and that manly, vigorous and lively spirit which characterized their books and their discourses. They contributed not a little to the spread of taste and eloquence in France; but they were unfortunately more intent on propagating their opinions. They afforded in themselves a proof of that fatality which they were blamed for teaching; for they seemed to be bent on courting persecution by pursuing chimerical ideas, while they might have lived happily, in the highest consideration, if they would only have refrained from vain disputes.

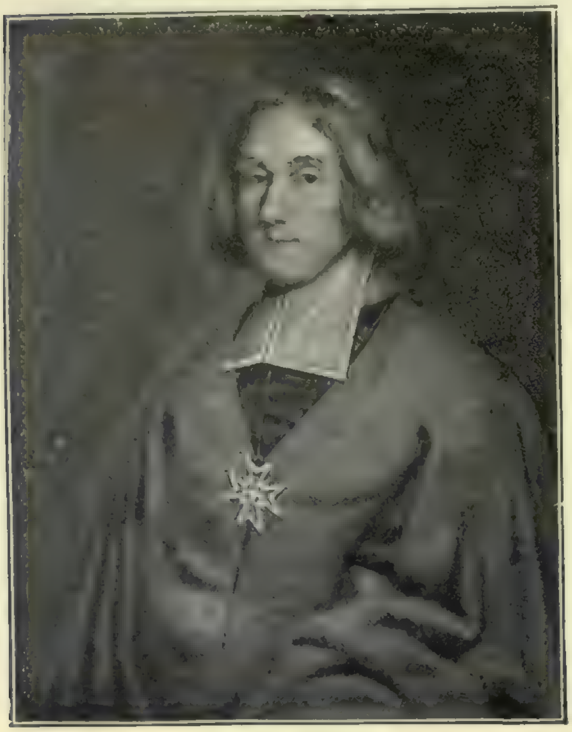


ANTOINE LE MAÎTRE, ATTORNEY TO THE PARLIAMENT (1608–1653.)
(From a print by Lubin.)

(1679). The Jesuits, still smarting under the "Lettres Provinciales," worked hard against the Jansenists. The Duchesse de Longueville, not having the Fronde to scheme for, schemed for Jansenism. Meetings were held in Paris, now at her hôtel, again at Arnauld's. The King, who had already resolved to extirpate Calvinism, would not tolerate a new sect. He began to threaten, and at length, Arnauld, being deprived of the support of Madame de Longueville by her death, and in dread of enemies armed with the royal authority, made up his mind to leave France. He went to live in the Low Countries, in obscurity, without fortune, without servants—he who might have been a Cardinal, and whose nephew had been a Minister of State. The pleasure of writing in full freedom made up to him for everything. He lived until 1694, in a retreat known to his friends only, a philosopher always, superior to evil fortune, constantly writing, and to his last hour setting the example of a pure, strong and resolute mind.

His party was still persecuted in the Catholic Low Countries—those that are called "of obedience," and where papal Bulls are sovereign laws. It was even more persecuted in France.

It is strange that the question whether the five propositions really were in Jansen's writings was still the sole pretext for this state of petty civil war. All minds were occupied with the distinction between the *fact* and the *right*. At last, in 1701, a theological problem, which was called "the case of conscience *par excellence*," was propounded as follows: "Might the sacraments be given to a man who had signed the formulary while believing in his heart that the Pope, and even the Church, may be mistaken on the fact?" Forty doctors signed that absolution might be given to such a man.



CARDINAL ANTOINE DE NOAILLES.

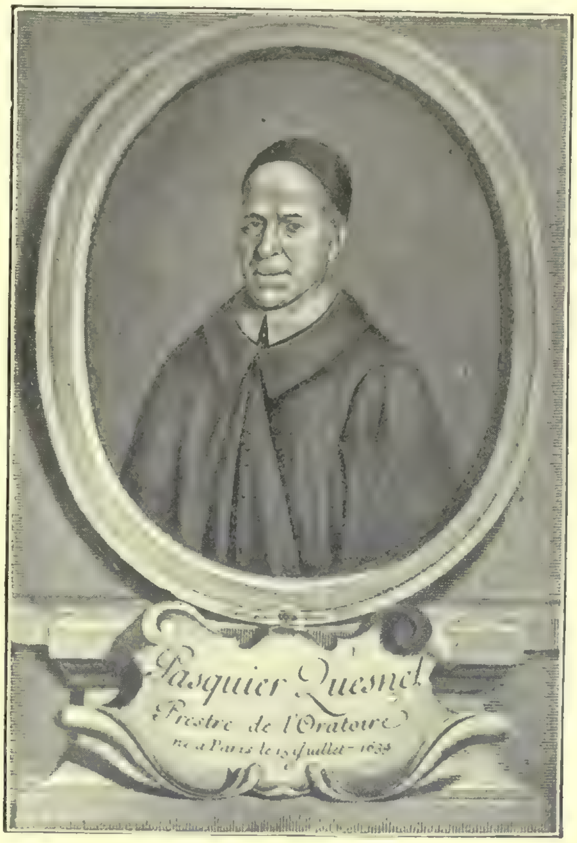
(After an anonymous portrait in the Musée de Versailles.)

The war began again immediately. The Pope and the bishops desired that they should be believed on the facts. Cardinal de Noailles proclaimed that the *right* was to be believed by a divine faith, and the *fact* by a human faith. The others, and even the Archbishop of Cambray (Fénelon), who was not pleased with M. de Noailles, required divine faith for the *fact*. It would perhaps have been better to take the trouble of quoting the pages of the book; this, however, never was done.

Pope Clement XI. issued the Bull *Vineam Domini*, in 1705, by which he declared that the fact was to be believed, without explaining whether it was to be believed by a divine or a human faith.

It was quite new to the Church to make nuns sign Bulls, yet that honour was done to the nuns of Port-Royal des Champs. Cardinal de Noailles was obliged to send the Bull to them to test them. They signed, *without derogating from the peace of Clement IX.*, and took refuge in a respectful silence concerning the *fact.*

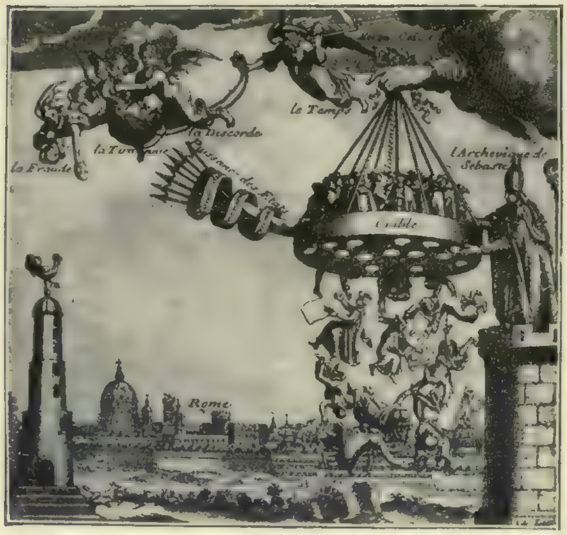
The King asked for a Bull from the Pope for the suppression of their convent. Cardinal de Noailles deprived them of the sacraments. Their counsel was sent to the Bastille. All the nuns were removed to less disobedient convents. The Lieutenant of Police had their house entirely demolished in 1714, and the bodies which were buried in the church in the cemetery were disinterred, and carried away elsewhere.



PÈRE QUESNEL.

(A portrait by Pitau.)

The troubles were not destroyed with the convent. The Jansenists were still bent on caballing, and the Jesuits on making themselves necessary. Père Quesnel, a priest of the Oratoire, and a friend of the celebrated Arnauld, who was his companion in retirement to the very last, composed a book of Reflections on the text of the New Testament. This book contains some passages which might appear favourable to Jansenism; but they are mingled with so much that is holy and full of that unction which wins hearts, that the work was received with universal applause. Good abounds in it on every side, and evil has to be closely sought for. Several bishops bestowed the greatest praise upon it at its birth, and confirmed this when the book had received the last perfecting touches from its author. I know that the Abbé Renaudot, one of the most learned men in France, when he was in Rome during the first year of the pontificate of Clement XI., went to see the Pope, and found him reading the work. "Here," said His Holiness, "is an excellent book. We have no one at Rome who would be capable of writing this. I wish I could have the author with me here." The same Pope afterwards condemned the work. We must not, however, regard the praise of Pope Clement XI. and the censure that followed that praise as a contradiction. One may be struck by the beauties of a book at a first reading, and afterwards discover its serious faults. Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, was one of the prelates who had most sincerely praised the work of Père Quesnel. He announced himself as its patron when he was Bishop of Châlons, and it was dedicated to him. The Cardinal, who abounded in knowledge and in virtues, and was the gentlest and most peace-loving of men, patronised some of the Jansenists without agreeing with them, and had no liking for the Jesuits, but neither feared nor harmed them.

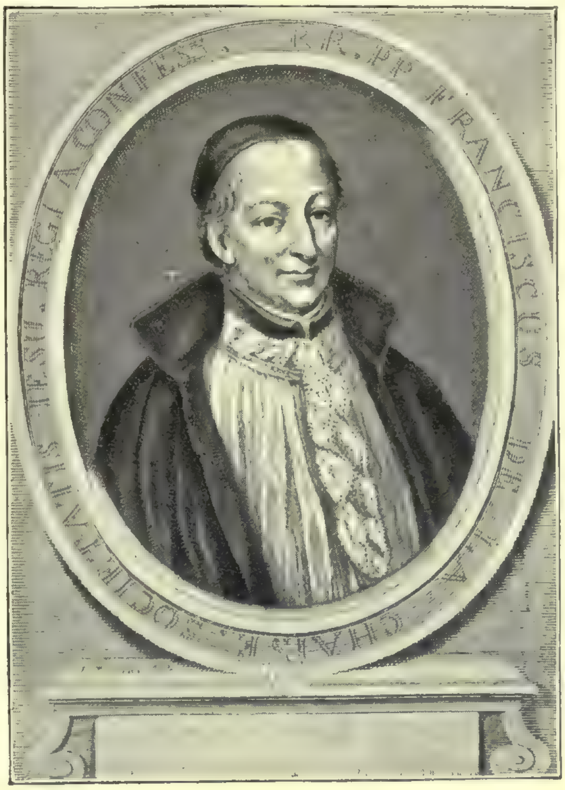


TIME CHASES AWAY TYRANNY, FRAUD, AND DISCORD: THE ARCHBISHOP OF SÉBASTE RECOGNISES GOOD JANSENISTS BY PASSING THEM THROUGH A SIEVE.

(From a Jansenist print of 1706.)

The Jesuits had been advancing in reputation since Père de La Chaise, the director of Louis XIV., had become virtually the head of the Gallican Church. Père Quesnel, who was afraid of them, had retired to Brussels with the learned Benedictine Gerberon, a priest named Brigode, and several others of the same party. He had become its chief after the death of the famous Arnauld, and enjoyed like him the pleasure and triumph of establishing a secret empire for himself, independent of sovereigns; of reigning over consciences, and being the soul of a faction composed of persons of high intelligence. The Jesuits, who were more widely-spread and more powerful than his faction soon unearthed Quesnel in his solitude. They injured him with Philip V., who was still master of the Low Countries, as they had injured Arnauld, his master, with Louis XIV. They obtained an order from the King for the arrest of these solitaries (1703): Quesnel was put into the Archbishop's prison in Mechlin. A gentleman, who thought the Jansenist party would make his fortune if he could deliver the chief, broke through the wall, and got out Quesnel, who retired to Amsterdam, where he died at a great age in 1719, after he had assisted in forming a few Jansenist congregations. The flock was one of weaklings, however, and fell off day by day.

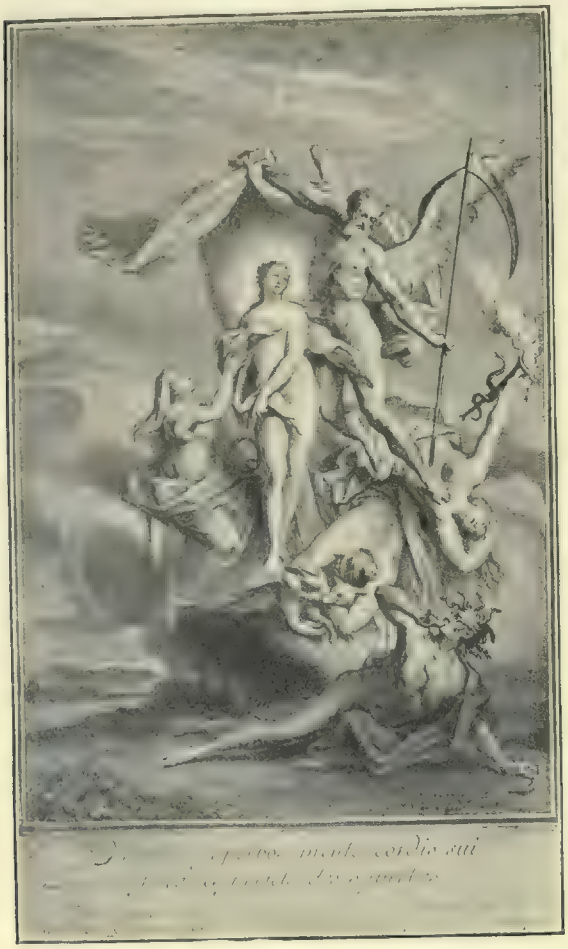
When he was arrested his papers were seized, and found to contain all the indications of a regularly constituted party. There was among them a copy of an old contract made by the Jansenists with Antoinette Bourignon, a famous visionary and a rich woman, who had bought the island of Nordstrand, near Holstein, in the name of her director, for the purpose of forming a settlement for a sect of mystics which she desired to establish.


R. P. FRANCISCUS ... REGIA CONFESS... SOCIETATIS IESU

PÈRE DE LA CHAISE.
(From a print by Trouvain.)

Bourignon printed nineteen big volumes of pious meditations, and expended half of her money in making proselytes. She had done nothing except to make herself ridiculous, but she had met with some of the annoyances which attend every innovation. At length, in despair of settling down in her island, she sold it to the Jansenists, who did not settle down any more than herself.

A second plan, which would have been more culpable than the first, had it not been insensate, was found in the papers taken from Quesnel. In 1684, Louis XIV., having sent the Comte d'Avaux to Holland fully authorised to make a truce of twenty years with the powers who might desire to enter into it, the Jansenists, under the name of "The disciples of Saint Augustine," proposed to have themselves comprehended in that truce, as if they had been in reality a formidable party such as the Calvinists were for so long. This idea had not been acted on, but proposals of peace between the Jansenists and the King of France had actually been drawn up in writing. Such a project proved their desire to make themselves out very important; this was enough to criminate them in appearance, and Louis XIV. was easily persuaded to believe that they were dangerous.

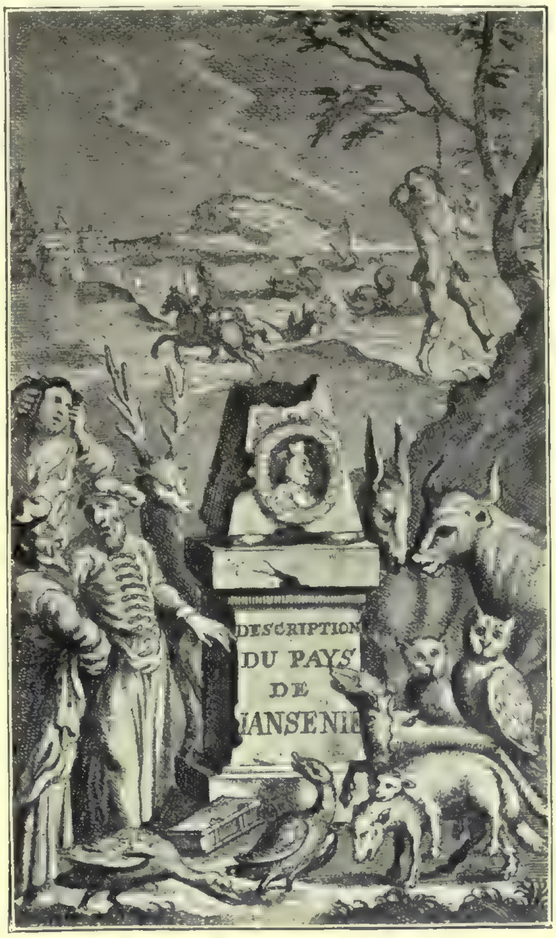


GOD CONFOUNDS THE DESIGNS OF THE PROUD.

(A Jansenist print by Jardieu.)

The King was not sufficiently instructed to know that vain speculative opinions will of themselves come to nothing, if they be left to their futility. To make them matters of State was to give them an unreal weight and importance. It was not difficult to cause the book Père Quesnel had written to be regarded as culpable, after its author had been treated as seditious. The Jesuits induced the King himself to demand the condemnation of the book from Rome. This was, in fact, to have Cardinal de Noailles, who had been its most active patron, condemned. In 1708, Pope Clement XI. did issue a decree against the approbation lavished on Quesnel. Temporal affairs, however, interfered with the success of this spiritual matter. The Court was displeased with Clement XI., who had recognised the Archduke Charles as King of Spain, after having recognised Philip V. The decree was not received in France; and quarrels were suspended until the death of Père La Chaise, an amiable man with whom the way to conciliation was always open, and who protected the ally of Madame de Maintenon in the person of the Cardinal de Noailles.

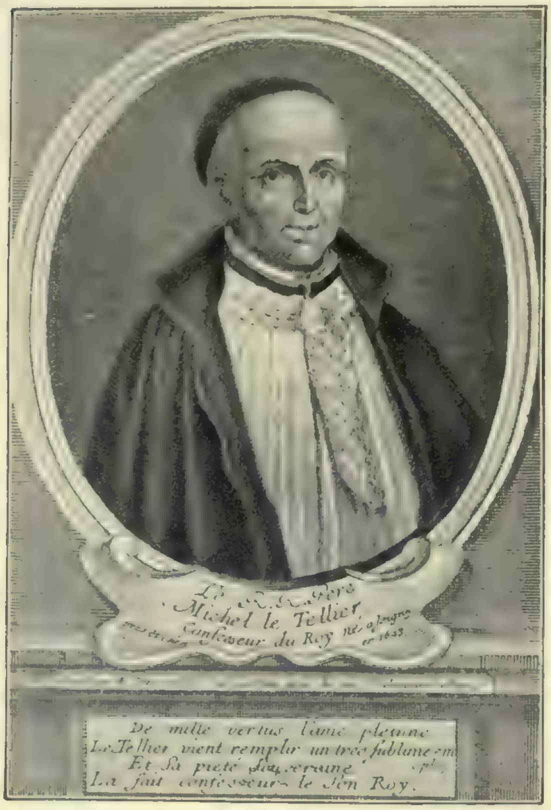
The Jesuits were in a position to appoint a confessor to the King, and, indeed, they could do the same in the case of almost all the Catholic princes. That prerogative was due to the constitution of their society, by which they renounced ecclesiastical dignities. This rule, which their founder established from humility, had helped them to greatness. As Louis XIV. advanced in years, the place of his confessor assumed more and more of a ministerial character. The post was given to Le Tellier, who was the son of a magistrate at Vire, in Lower Normandy, a gloomy, ardent, inflexible man, who concealed violent impulses under a phlegmatic appearance. He did all the harm that he could do in his important position, where it was easy for him to suggest his own wishes, and to ruin his enemies. He had certain personal injuries to avenge. The Jansenists had succeeded in getting one of his books condemned. He was on bad terms with Cardinal de Noailles, and he was quite deficient in tact. He stirred up the whole Church of France, and in 1711 drew up letters and pastorals which the bishops were to sign. He sent them accusations against Cardinal de Noailles,



A DESCRIPTION OF THE LAND OF JANSENISM.
(Cabinet of Prints.)

directing them to affix their signatures to those documents. In profane matters such doings are punished; these were discovered, and succeeded none the less.

The King's conscience was alarmed by his confessor, as keenly as his pride of authority was hurt by the idea of a rebellious party. In vain did Cardinal de Noailles demand justice for "these mysteries of iniquity:" the confessor persuaded him that he had used human means to ensure the success of things that were divine, and, as in fact he was defending the authority of the Pope and the unity of the Church, appearances were favourable to him. The Cardinal-Archbishop addressed himself to the Dauphin (Duc de Bourgogne), but he found himself forestalled by the letters and the friends of the Archbishop of Cambray. Human weakness has a place in every heart. Fénelon was not yet sufficiently philosophic to forget that Cardinal de Noailles had contributed to his condemnation; and then Quesnel paid for Madame Guyon.

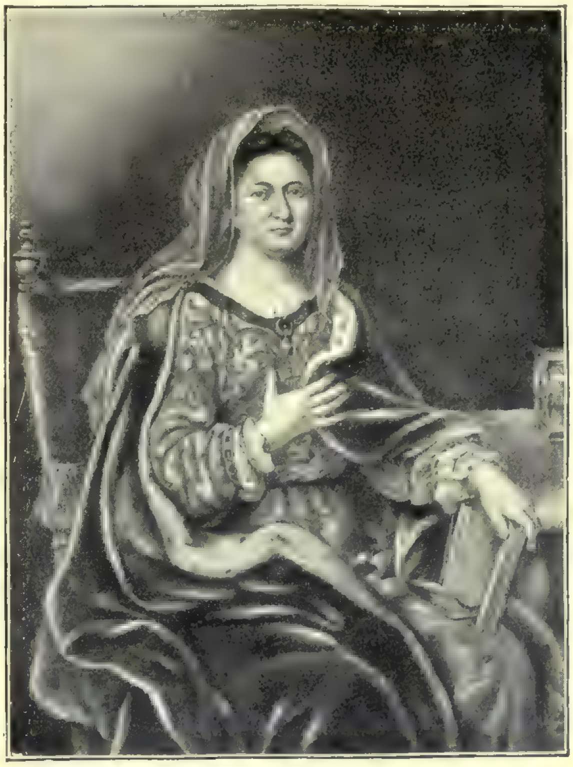

Michel le Tellier,
Confesseur du Roy
De mille vertus l'ame pleine
Le Tellier vient remplir un tres sublime em
Et sa pieté souveraine
La fait confesseur de son Roy.

PÈRE MICHEL LE TELLIER.
(From a print by Desrochers.)

The Cardinal fared equally ill with respect to Madame de Maintenon. The character of that lady might have been read by the light of this affair only: she had no feelings of her own, and was exclusively occupied in adapting herself to those of the King. Three lines written by her to Cardinal de Noailles teach us exactly what we ought to think of her, the duplicity of Père Le Tellier, the King's ideas, and the conjuncture. "You know me enough to know what I think on the matter of the new discovery; but several reasons must restrain me from speaking. It is not for me to judge and to condemn; I have only to be silent and to pray for the

Church, for the King, and for you. I have given your letter to the King; it has been read: that is all I can say to you about it, for I am cast down with sadness."

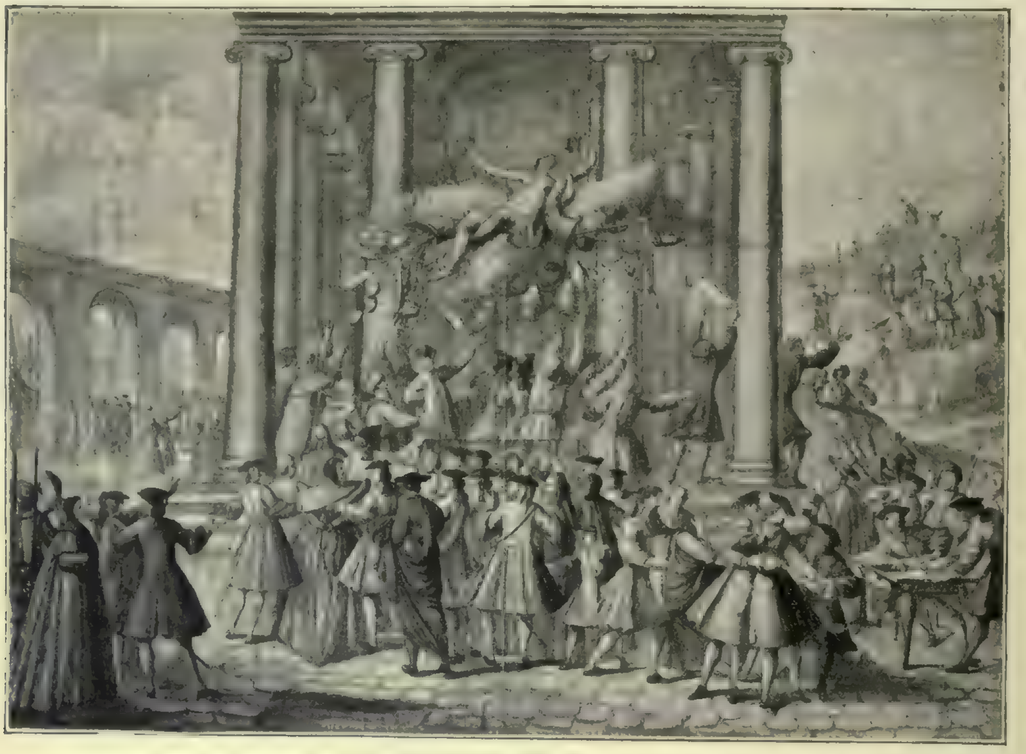
The Cardinal-Archbishop, being oppressed by a Jesuit, deprived all the Jesuits, except a few of the most prudent and moderate among them, of faculties to preach and hear confessions. His office gave him the dangerous right of preventing Le Tellier from hearing the King; but he dared not irritate his enemy to that point. "I fear," he wrote to Madame de Maintenon, "that I am showing too much submission to the King in giving faculties to that person who deserves them the least. I pray God to make him know the peril he incurs in entrusting his soul to a man of such character."



MADAME DE MAINTENON AS SAINT FRANCES OF ROME.
(Original Portrait by Pierre Mignard.—Musée de Versailles.)

It is recorded in several memoirs that Père Le Tellier said either one or the other of them — the Cardinal and himself—must lose his place. It is very likely he thought this, but not at all likely that he said it. When men's minds are full of enmity, both parties are certain to make mistakes. Partizans of Père Le Tellier, bishops who hoped to be made cardinals, employed the royal authority to fan the sparks, that might have been extinguished, into flame. Instead of following the example of Rome, which had imposed silence on both parties several times, Louis XIV. thought fit to solicit a declaration of war from Rome himself, and the famous constitution, *Unigenitus*, which embittered the rest of his life, was the result.

Le Tellier and his party sent three hundred propositions to Rome to be condemned. The Holy Office proscribed one hundred and one of these. The Bull was issued in September, 1713, and almost all France rose against it. The King had asked for it in order to prevent a schism, and it was likely to cause one. The clamour was general, because everybody saw that some of the condemned propositions conveyed the most innocent meaning and the purest morality. A convocation of bishops, numerously attended, was held at Paris. Forty of the prelates accepted the Bull for the sake of peace; but at the same time they gave explanations of it, to quiet the scruples of the public. The acceptation pure and simple was sent to the Pope; the modifications were kept for the people. It was expected that the Pontiff, the King, and the multitude would be satisfied by this course; but Cardinal de Noailles and seven other bishops who joined him would have neither the Bull nor its corrections. They wrote to the Pope, asking for these corrections from His Holiness himself. This was an affront respectfully offered, and the King would not suffer it. He prevented the despatch of the letter, sent the bishops back to their dioceses, and forbade the Cardinal-Archbishop to appear at Court. The


A SATIRICAL COMPOSITION BY JANSENISTS AGAINST THE CONSTITUTIONISTS WHO REMAIN IN THEIR PARTY SOLELY FOR THE SAKE OF TEMPORAL GAIN (1713).
(Cabinet of Prints.)

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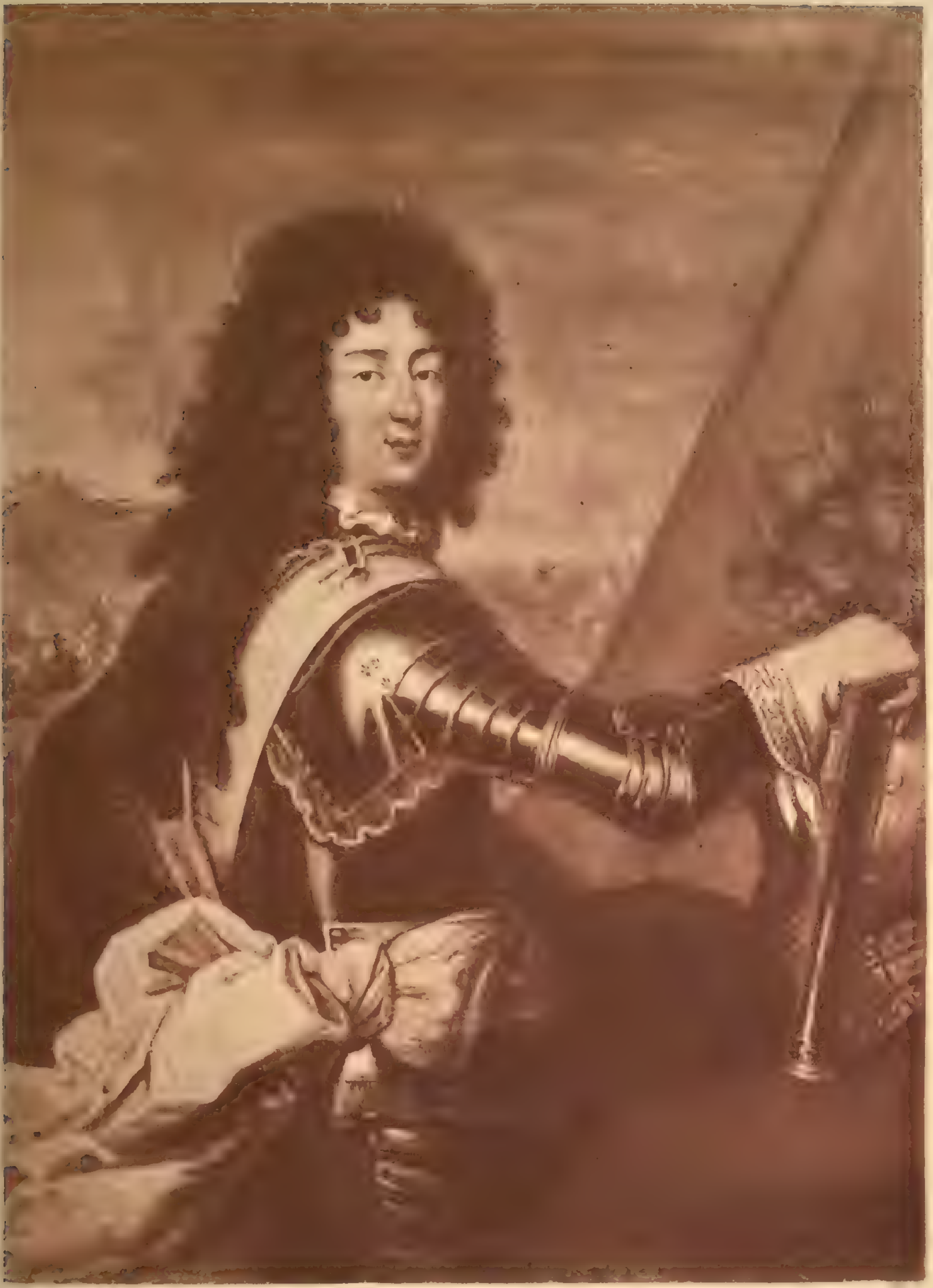


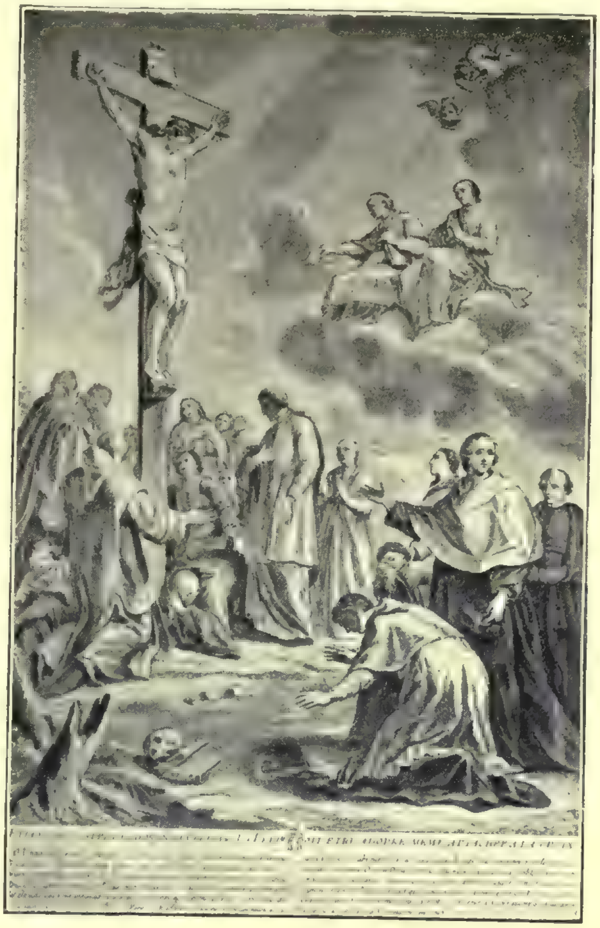
Philippe de France, Duc d'Orléans

d'après Michel Corneille (Musée de Versailles)

Archbishop, being persecuted, became at once an object of increased respect and consideration to the public. Seven other bishops came over to his side. There was a division in the episcopate, in the clergy, in the religious orders. Everybody acknowledged that the fundamental truths of religion were not concerned at all; nevertheless there was a civil war in men's minds, just as though the overthrow of Christianity were in question, and on both sides political springs were set in motion as they might have been in the most mundane matter.

These springs were worked to make the Sorbonne accept the constitution. The plurality of votes was not for it, and yet it was registered. Its opponents were sent to prison by "lettres de cachet," or banished, in large numbers.

(1714.) The Bull, *Unigenitus*, had been registered at the parliament, with reserve of the ordinary rights of the Crown, the liberties of the Gallican Church, the power and jurisdiction of bishops; but the public voice made itself heard, notwithstanding this obedience. Cardinal de Bissy, one of the most ardent defenders of the Bull, admitted, in a letter, that even at Geneva it could not have been treated with more indignity than in Paris.

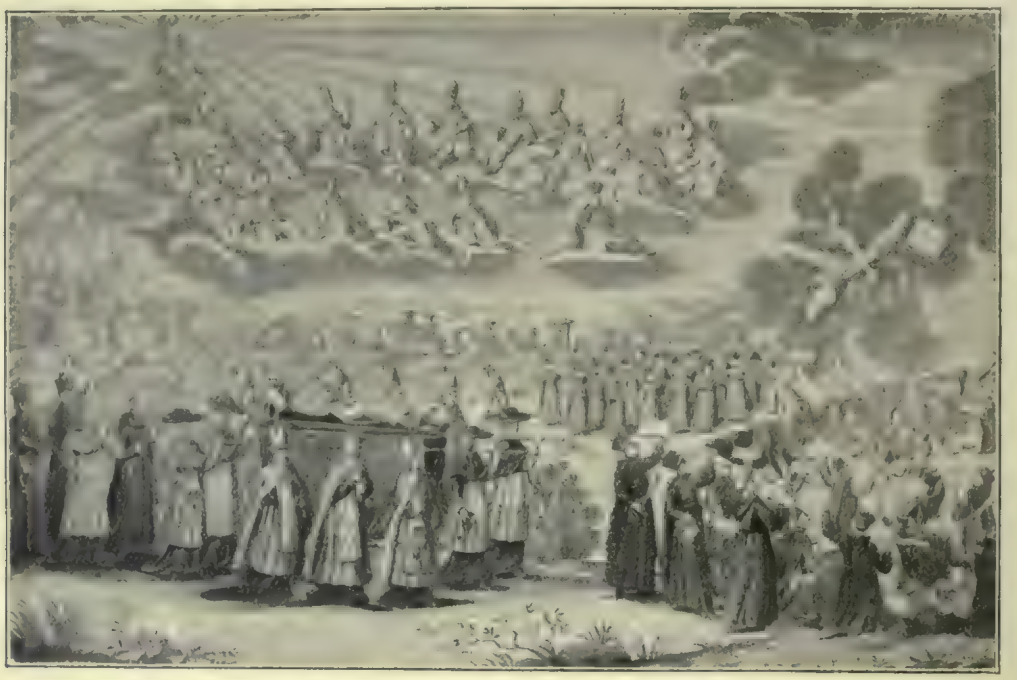


FRONTISPIECE OF THE PROTEST OF PÈRE QUESNEL AGAINST THE CONDEMNATION OF HIS PROPOSITIONS.

(Cabinet of Prints.)

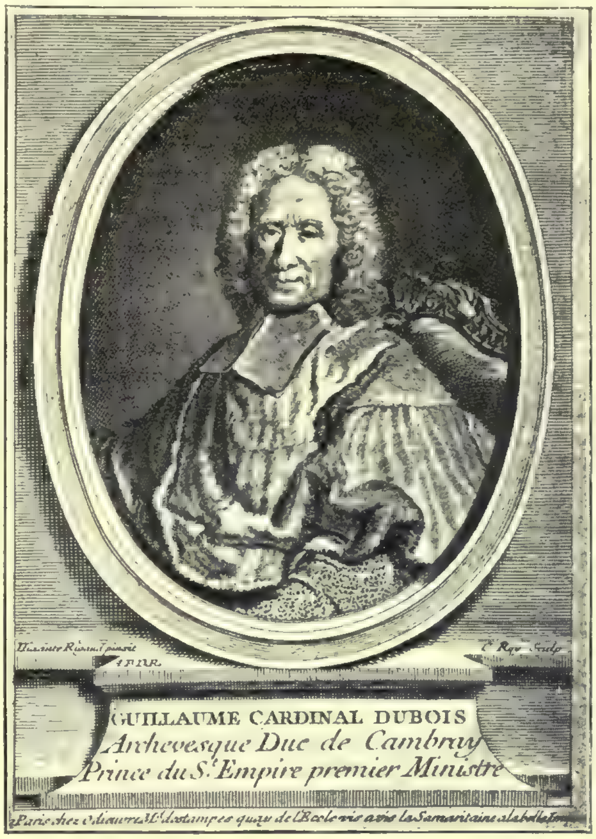
The anger of the people was chiefly directed against Père Le Tellier. The prisons had been filled for some time past with citizens accused of Jansenism. Louis XIV., who was very ignorant in these matters, was made to believe that it was the duty of a Most Christian King to persecute heretics, and that he could expiate his sins by this means only. The most shameful proceeding of all was that copies of the "interrogatories," in the cases of those unfortunates, were sent to Le Tellier. Never was there a more flagrant betrayal of justice. In 1768, after the Jesuits had been expelled by all the parliaments of the kingdom, by the desire of the people, and by an edict of Louis XIV., the papers were found in their house.

Le Tellier ventured to presume upon his credit to the extent of proposing that Cardinal de Noailles should be deposed by a national council.



A SATIRICAL COMPOSITION BY THE JANSENISTS AGAINST THE CONSTITUTIONISTS WHO ARE KEPT IN THEIR PARTY BY THE LOVE OF WEALTH ONLY (1713).
(Cabinet of Prints.)

As a preliminary of this council, at which the deposition of a prelate who had won the hearts of Paris and of France, by the purity of his morals and the gentleness of his nature, and still more because he was persecuted, was to be debated, Louis XIV. was induced to have a declaration registered by the parliament by which a bishop who had not accepted the Bull *purely and simply* should be obliged to subscribe to it, on pain of being prosecuted according to the canons. Voisin, the Chancellor, a hard and despotic man, had drawn up this edict. D'Aguesseau, who was better versed than Voisin in the laws of the kingdom, and then possessed the courage of youth, absolutely refused to take charge of the document. The first president, De Mesme, pointed out the consequences of it to the King. The matter was then allowed to drag on unsettled. The King was dying; these wretched disputes troubled and hastened the close of his life. His pitiless confessor wearied him in his weakness by continual exhortations to conclude a work which was not likely to endear his memory to his people. The King's servants indignantly refused twice over to admit Le Tellier; and at last they entreated him not to speak of the constitution to the King. The sovereign died, and everything was immediately changed.


GUILLAUME CARDINAL DUBOIS
Archevesque Duc de Cambray
Prince du S.t Empire premier Ministre
C. Roy Sculp

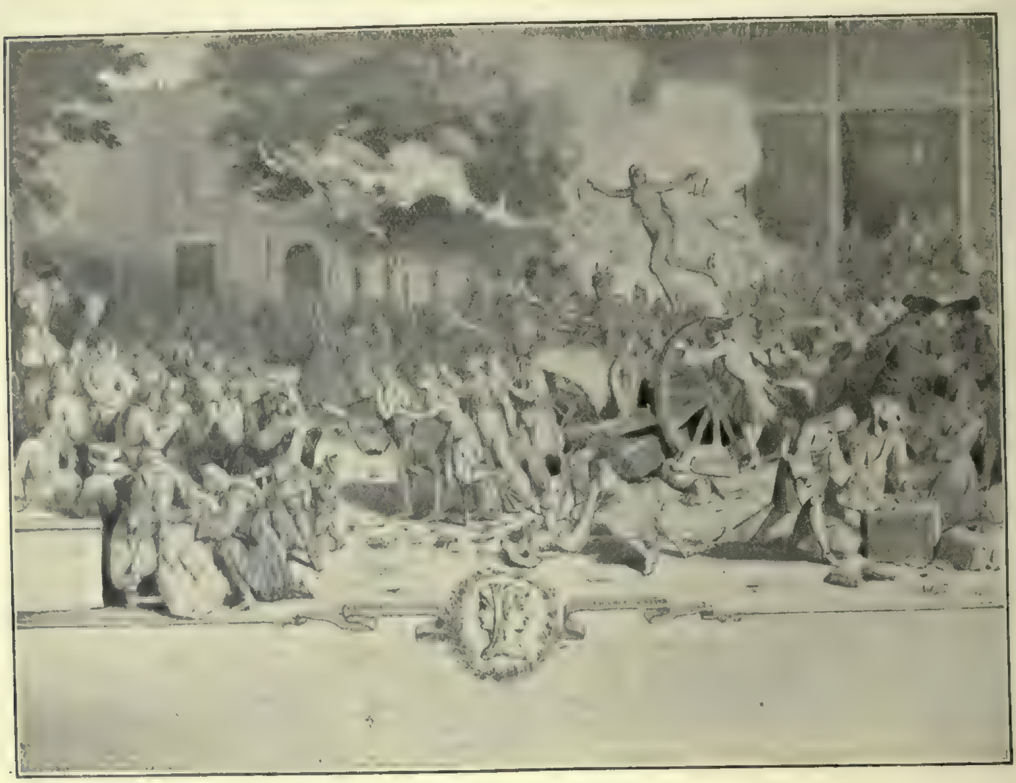
CARDINAL DUBOIS.

(From the portrait by Rigaud, engraved by C. Roy.)

The Duc d'Orléans, Regent of the kingdom, began by entirely doing away with the form of the government of Louis XIV. Having substituted councils at the offices of the Secretaries of State, he formed a Council of Conscience, with Cardinal de Noailles as president. Le Tellier was banished, laden with obloquy by the public, and little loved by his brethren.

The bishops who opposed the Bull appealed to a future council, though such a council might never be held. The Sorbonne, the curés of the diocese of Paris, and several religious communities did the same; and finally Cardinal de Noailles made his appeal in 1717, but he would not give publicity to it at first. The Church of France was divided into two factions, the "acceptors" and the "refusers." The acceptors were the five bishops who had adhered under Louis XIV. with the Jesuits and the Capuchins. The refusers were fifteen bishops and the whole country. The acceptants prided themselves on Rome; the others on the universities, the parliaments, and the people. Volume upon volume, letters upon letters were printed, and the opprobrious epithets "heretic" and "schismatic" were freely interchanged.

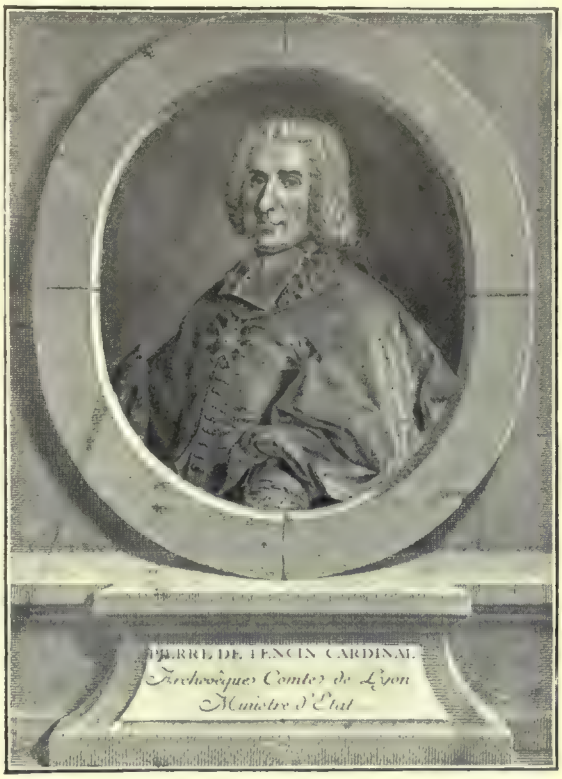
An Archbishop of Rheims (Mailly), who was strong on the side of Rome, put his name to two documents which the parliament of Paris ordered to be burned by the public executioner. The Archbishop, on learning this, had a *Te Deum* sung in thanksgiving for the outrage inflicted upon him by schismatics. He was made a cardinal. A Bishop of Soissons (Languet), having been similarly treated by the parliament, informed that body that it "was not for it to judge him, even for a crime of high treason," and was condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand livres. But the Regent would not allow him to pay the fine, "lest," he said, "the Bishop of Soissons should also be made a Cardinal."



MONUMENT ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE FOLLY OF LAW'S SYSTEM.

(From a Dutch satire of the time.)

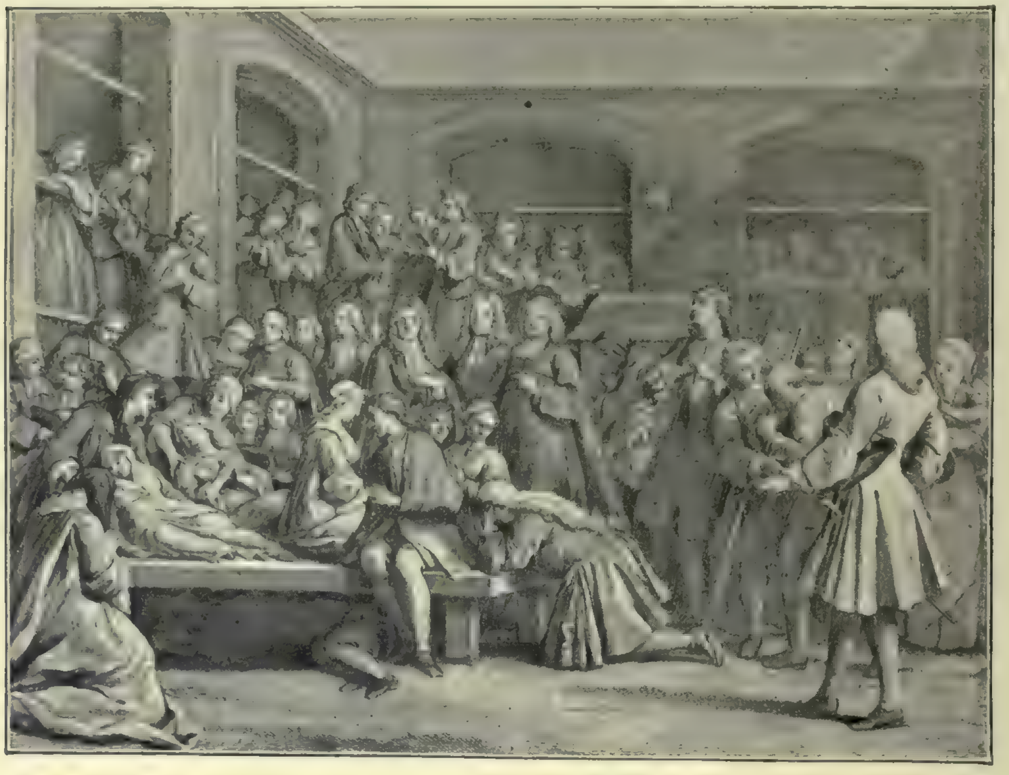
The folly of the system of national finance had more to do with restoring peace to the Church than is generally known. The public rushed so eagerly into speculation in shares at this point, the bait held out to cupidity by the transactions of Law was so ravenously swallowed, that thenceforth those who talked about Jansenism and the Bull *Unigenitus* found none to listen to them. Paris was no more concerned with these things than with the war that was being waged on the frontiers of Spain. The rapid and incredible fortunes that were then made, the luxury and enjoyment of life, carried to the greatest excess, silenced the ecclesiastical disputes, and that which Louis XIV. had failed to do, pleasure accomplished.



CARDINAL DE TENCIN.
(From the portrait by Heilmann, engraved by J. G. Wille.)

The Duc d'Orléans availed himself of this conjuncture to re-unite the Church of France in the interests of his own policy. He lived in dread of a time when he might have Rome, Spain, and one hundred bishops against him.

The Regent's task was not easy. The first necessity of the case was that Cardinal de Noailles should be induced not only to accept the constitution which he regarded as scandalous, but to retract his appeal which he regarded as legitimate. The Regent would have to obtain from the Cardinal more than Louis XIV., his benefactor, had asked in vain. He would also have to encounter the strong opposition of the parliament, which he had banished to Pontoise; nevertheless he got the better of all these difficulties. A "body of doctrine" was composed which almost contented both parties. The Cardinal was induced to give his word that he would "accept." The Duc d'Orléans went in person to the Great Council with the princes and the peers to procure the registration of an edict which directed acceptation of the Bull, suppression of the appeals, unanimity, and peace. The parliament, being annoyed by the carrying of declarations which it was qualified to receive to the Great Council, and threatened besides with being transferred from Pontoise to Blois, registered what the Grand Council had registered, but with the customary reservations, that is to say, the maintenance of the liberties of the Gallican Church and of the laws of the kingdom.

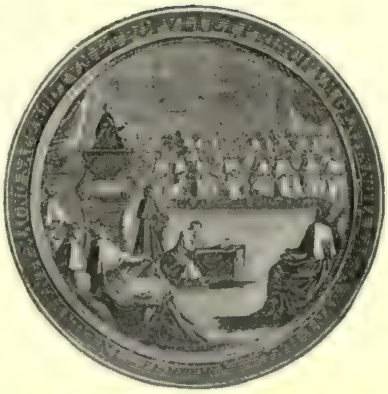


THE TOMB OF BLESSED FRANÇOIS DE PARIS, DIED 1ST MAY, 1717, AND ILLUSTRIOUS FOR UNTOLD MIRACLES.

(Print in the Series of *Les Miracles du Diacre Paris.*)

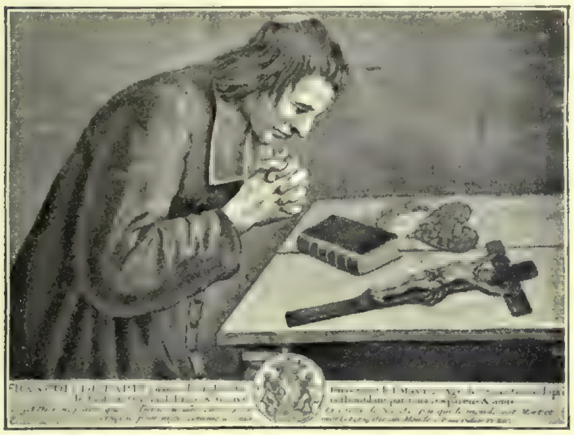
The Cardinal-Archbishop, who had promised to retract when the parliament should obey, was then obliged to keep his word, and his pastoral of retractation was issued on the 20th of August, 1720.

From that time forth Jansenism, Quietism, and all theological quarrelling sensibly declined in France. It is not necessary to the illustration of the Great Century to pursue the subject of Jansenism farther, but the episode of the "Convulsionnaires" is so strange a feature of the time that it must find brief mention here.



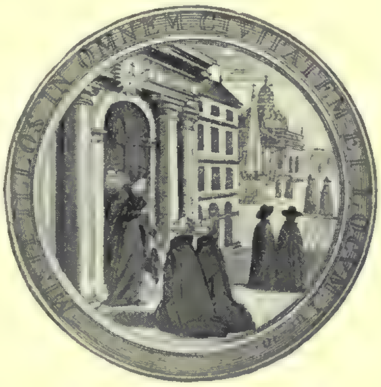
A MEETING OF THE JESUITS.
(Fragment of an Almanac, engraved by Lepautre.)

In 1727, when the party of Jansenism was declining rapidly, it occurred to certain enthusiasts that a deacon named Paris, brother of a counsellor of the parliament, who was buried in the cemetery of Saint-Medard, might work miracles. Some persons belonging to the party went to pray at his tomb, and, in the excited state of their fancy, were seized with slight convulsions. The tomb was immediately surrounded by people; presently a crowd filled the spot day and night, and extraordinary scenes took place. The government allowed this epileptic malady to run its course for a month, but the concourse increased with the stories of sight restored to the blind, hearing to the deaf, and speech to the dumb, and, with the concourse, the convulsions; so that it became necessary to close the cemetery and place a guard over it. The tomb of the "Diacre Paris" was, in fact, also that of Jansenism, which was no longer supported by such men as Arnauld, Pascal, and Nicole.



LE DIACRE PARIS AT PRAYER.
(From a print of the time.)

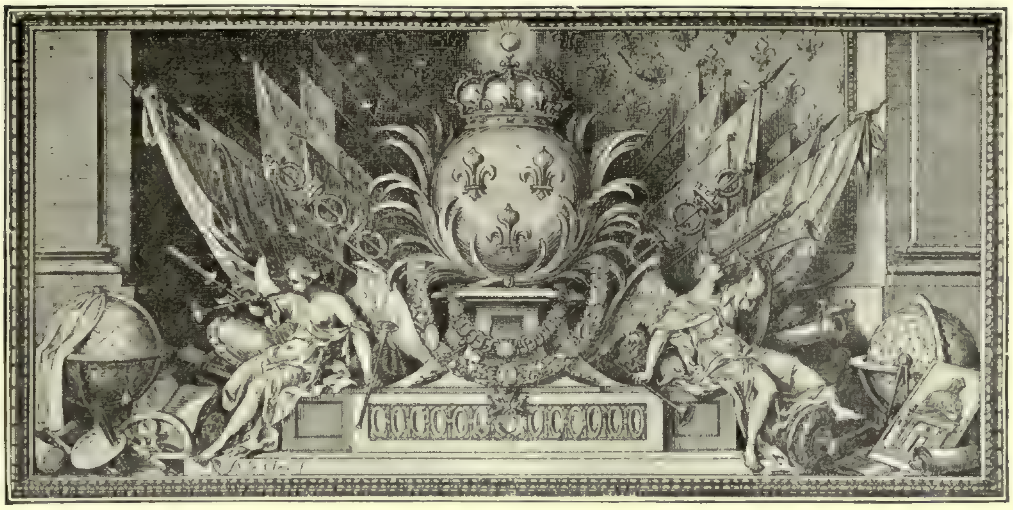
It was during the period of the Regent's conciliatory and successful efforts to settle the great historical quarrel that two very different men came into view. One was Pierre de Tencin, Archbishop of Embrun, afterwards Cardinal, who was appointed by Cardinal Fleury to preside over a council assembled to try a Jansenist bishop eighty years old. The other was Cardinal Dubois, who succeeded Fénelon as Archbishop of Cambray,


IN OMNEM CIVITATEM ET LOCUM

THE JESUITS.
(Fragment of an Almanac, engraved by Lepautre.)

and was a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, and Prime Minister. It was this prelate who persuaded Cardinal de Noailles to give the promise which he had to redeem by his famous retractation. The history of each of these eminent churchmen and politicians stretches beyond our bounds, but their portraits are fitly placed in this volume.

FAME GLORIFYING LOUIS XIV.
(Composition by S. Leclerc.)



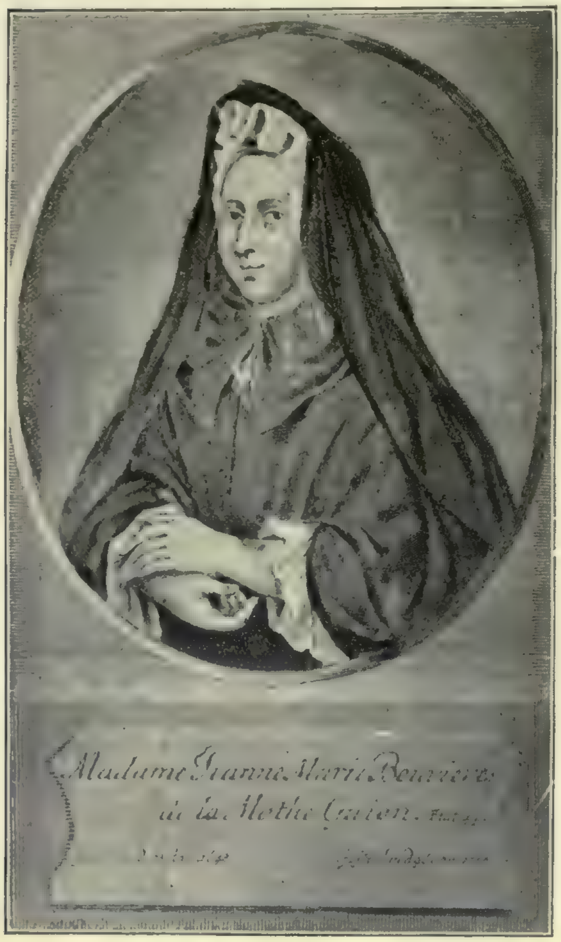
THE GLORIOUS ARMS OF LOUIS XIV.
(Composition by Sébastien Leclerc.)

## IV

## QUIETISM.

AMID the factious disputes of Calvinism and the quarrels of Jansenism, yet another division took place in France on the score of Quietism. It was an unfortunate result of intellectual progress in the Century of Louis XIV. that everyone strove to pass the limits that are set to our human knowledge in almost all things; or rather, it proved that progress to be as yet insufficient.

The controversy concerning Quietism would have left no trace in the memory of men but for the illustrious names of the two great rivals who were engaged in it. A woman of no importance or ability had set the two greatest men then in the Church by the ears, by her extravagant imagination. Her name was Jeanne Bouvier de la Motte. Her family originally came from Montargis. She had married a son of that Guyon who engineered the canal of Briare, and became a widow while quite young. With a good fortune, beauty, and a mind made for the world and society, she flung herself eagerly into "spirituality." A Barnabite monk, named Lacombe, from Annécy, near Geneva, was her director, and this man, who died insane, encouraged his penitent in the mystic reveries to which she was inclined. Her strong desire to be a Saint Teresa in France prevented her from seeing how widely French genius differs from Spanish genius, and made her go much farther than Saint Teresa. Ambition to make disciples, perhaps the strongest of all ambitions, laid hold of her.



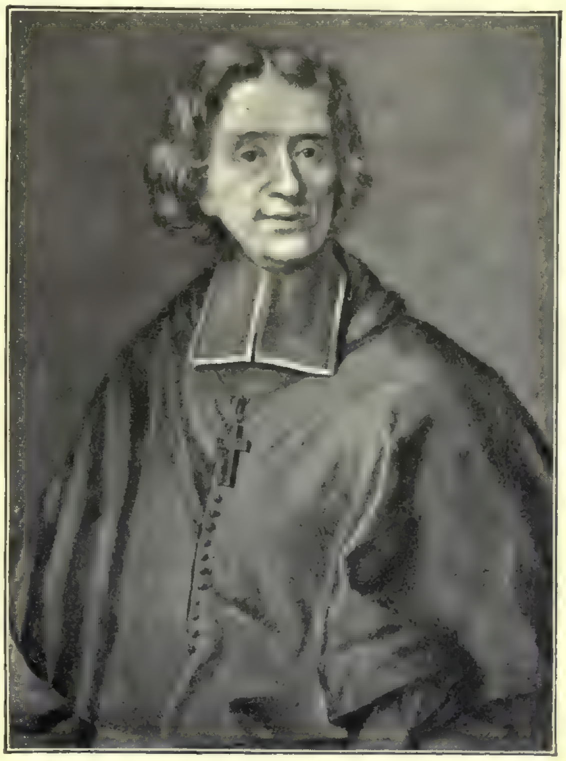
MADAME GUYON AT THE AGE OF FORTY-FOUR YEARS.

(From the print by V. Broen.)

Lacombe took her to his native place, Annécy, in Savoy, where the titular Bishop of Geneva resides. The young widow acquired some influence at Annécy by her profuse almsgiving. She held conferences; she preached the entire renunciation of self, the silence of the soul, the suppression of all its powers, inward worship, and the pure and disinterested love that is neither debased by fear nor animated by the hope of reward.

The tender and vivid imaginations of some women and some young monks were fired by the preaching of the Word of God by a young and fair woman, and they were fascinated by her eloquence. She persuaded the more or less predisposed among her hearers, and made proselytes. The Bishop of Annécy procured the expulsion of Madame Guyon and her director from Annécy. They went to Grenoble; there she distributed a little book entitled "Le Moyen Court," and a second under the name of "Les Torrents," written in the fervid style of her discourses, and was shortly obliged to leave the place.

She now flattered herself that she ranked among confessors, had a vision, and prophesied. She sent her prophecy to Père Lacombe. "All hell," she said, "will band itself together to hinder the progress of the interior life and the formation of Jesus Christ in souls. The storm will be such that no stone shall rest upon another, and it seems to me that in all the earth there shall be trouble, war, and overturning. The woman shall be pregnant by the interior spirit, and the dragon shall uprear himself before her."



FRANÇOIS DE SALIGNAC DE LA MOTHE-FÉNELON

(From the original painting by Joseph Vivien, Musée de Versailles.)

The prophecy came true in part; hell did not band itself together; but she and her director returned to Paris, and both of them having preached dogmatically in 1687, the Archbishop of Paris (Harlay de Chanvallon) obtained an order from the King to have Lacombe imprisoned as a deceiver, and Madame Guyon placed in a convent as a person of unsound mind who needed cure. But before this befell her Madame Guyon had secured certain useful patronage. In the newly-established convent-school of Saint-Cyr she had a cousin, Madame de La Maisonfort, who was a favourite of Madame de Maintenon; she had also insinuated herself into the confidence of the Duchesse de Chevreuse and the Duchesse de Beauvilliers. All her friends complained loudly that Archbishop du Harlay should persecute a woman who preached the love of God only.

The all-powerful influence of Madame de Maintenon imposed silence on the Archbishop of Paris, and restored Madame Guyon to liberty. She went to Versailles, introduced herself at Saint-Cyr, and attended the "conférences" given by the Abbé de Fénelon, after having dined *en tiers* with him and Madame de Maintenon. The Princesse d'Harcourt, the

Duchesse de Chevreuse, the Duchesse de Beauvilliers, and the Duchesse de Charost had the privilege of attending the "conférences."

The Abbé de Fénelon, tutor to the Children of France, was the most fascinating man at Court. He possessed a tender heart, brilliant and graceful imagination, and a mind fed with the "fine flower" of elegant literature. His tastes were refined and gracious; he preferred the sublime and the touching in theology to the sombre and the difficult. With all this, something romantic in him inspired him, not with the mysticism of Madame Guyon, but with an inclination to spirituality according to her ideas.

His imagination was inflamed by innocence and virtue, as others are inflamed by their passions. His passion was the love of God for Himself. In Madame Guyon he beheld a pure soul filled with a similar aspiration, and he became her friend without scruple. It was strange that he should have been attracted by a woman of revelations, prophecies, and such-like ineptitudes, who was so "suffocated with interior grace" that she had to be unlaced, and who could "empty herself" (so she declared) of the superabundance of grace and make it swell the body of the elect person seated by her side. But Fénelon, with his mystic ideas, overlooked all this, and dwelt only on the conformity of the sentiments that had so charmed him with his own.

Madame Guyon, sure and proud of her disciple, whom she called her son, and reckoning even on Madame de Maintenon, spread her ideas through Saint-Cyr. Godet, Bishop of Chartres, in whose diocese Saint-Cyr is situated, took alarm at this and complained. The Archbishop of Paris threatened to renew his former proceedings.

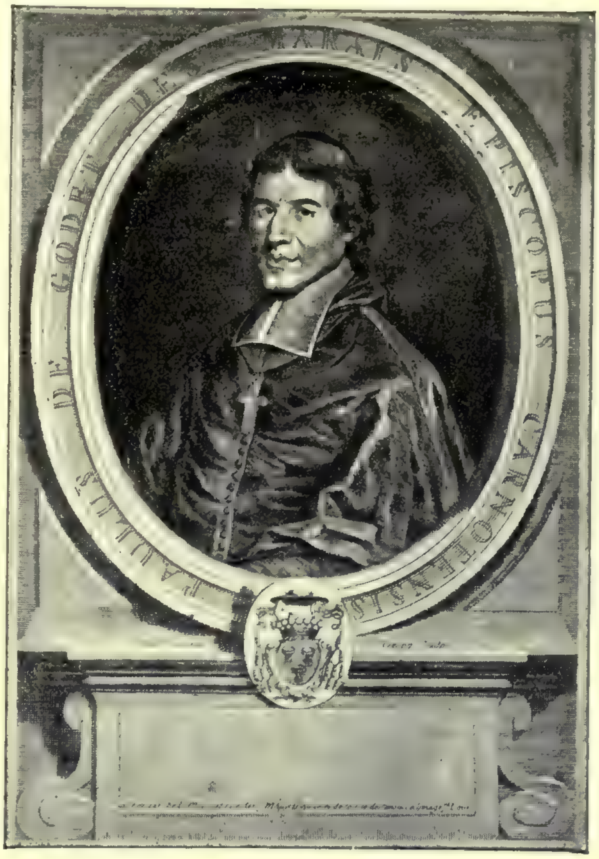
Madame de Maintenon, whose only desire was to make Saint-Cyr an abode of peace, who knew how much the King disliked any novelty, and did not require to put herself at the head of a sect in order to obtain consideration; who was, in short, solely concerned for her own interests, and her own repose, broke off all intercourse with Madame Guyon, and forbade her to come to Saint-Cyr.

The Abbé de Fénelon saw that a storm was brewing, and was afraid of losing the high preferment to which he aspired. He advised his friend to put herself into the hands of the celebrated Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, who was regarded as a Father of the Church. She submitted herself to the direction of the great prelate, received Holy Communion from his hand, and gave him all her writings to examine.

The Bishop of Meaux, with the consent of the King, selected the Bishop of Châlons (afterwards Cardinal de Noailles) and the Abbé Tronson, Superior of Saint-Sulpice, as his associates in this examination. They met secretly at the village of Issy, near Paris. The Archbishop of Paris, who was displeased that others should act as judges in his diocese, had a public censure of the books under examination posted up. Madame Guyon retired to the city of Meaux itself, consented to everything that Bossuet wished, and promised to dogmatise no more.

In the meantime Fénelon had been appointed to the Archbishopric of Cambray (in 1695), and consecrated by the Bishop of Meaux. It seemed most unlikely that a slumbering scandal, which had hitherto been simply and solely ridiculous, should ever be roused up again.

But Madame Guyon, being accused of continuing to preach dogmatically after she had promised to be silent, was removed from Meaux by order of the King in that same year (1695) and imprisoned at Vincennes, as though she had been a person dangerous in the State. This she could not be, and her pious musings were not worth the sovereign's attention. At Vincennes she composed a big volume of mystic verses worse than her prose; she even parodied the rhymes of the librettos of operas. She frequently sang, for instance :—

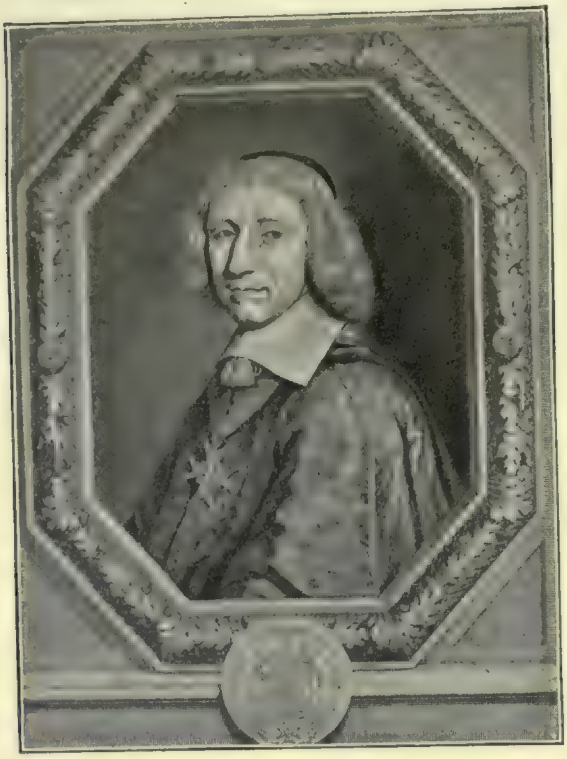

PAULUS DE GODET DES MARAIS EPISCOPUS CARNOTENSIS

GODET DES MARAIS, BISHOP OF CHARTRES.

(From the portrait by Paul Bria, engraved by Crespy.)

L'amour pur et parfait va plus loin qu'on ne pense ;
On ne sait pas, lorsqu'il commence,
Tout ce qu'il doit coûter un jour.
Mon cœur n'aurait connu Vincennes ni souffrance,
S'il n'eût connu le pur amour.

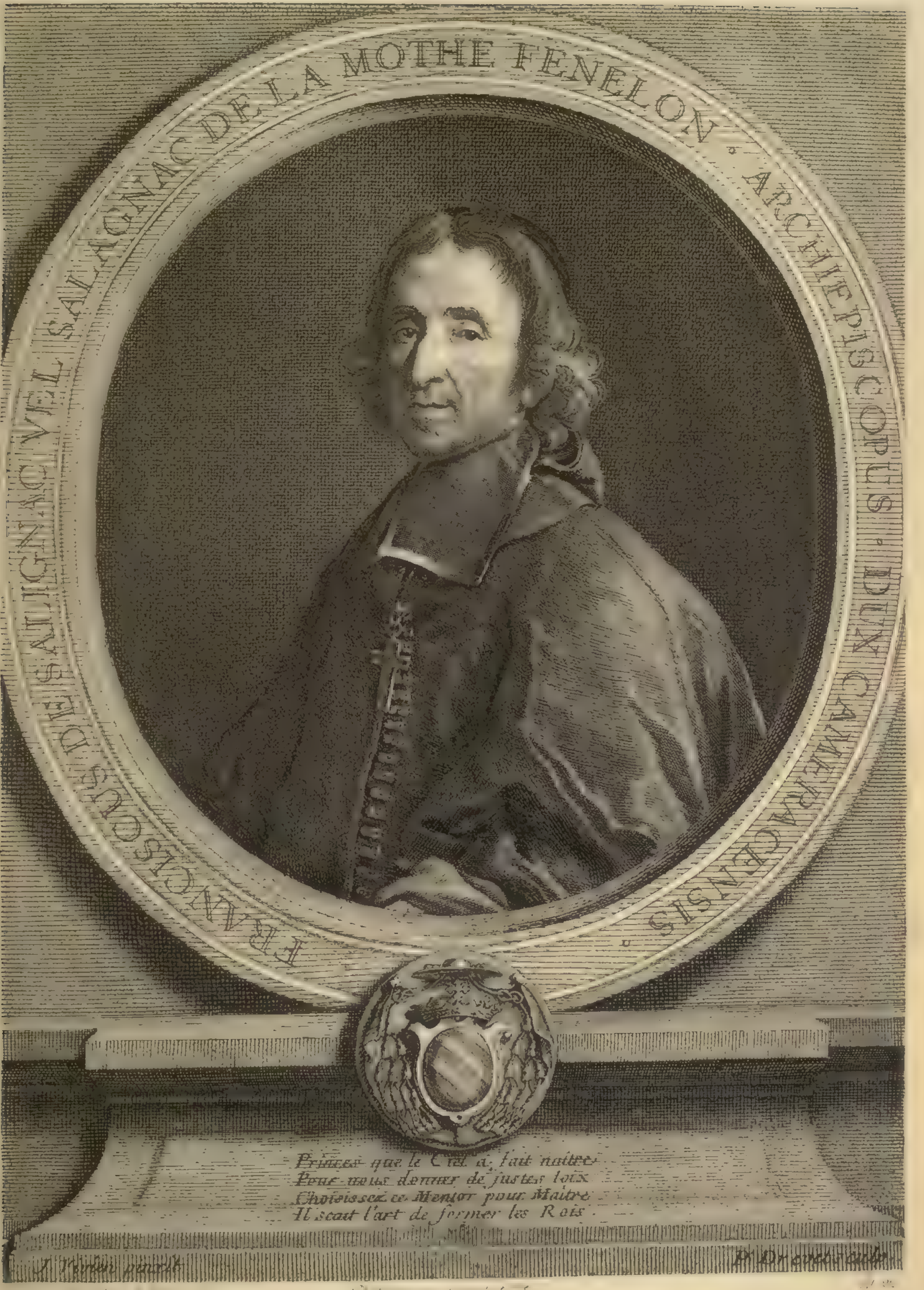
Bossuet, who had regarded himself for a long time as the father and teacher of Fénelon, had become jealous of the reputation of his disciple, and being desirous of keeping up his ascendency over all his fellows, he required the new Archbishop of Cambray to join him in condemning Madame Guyon and to endorse his pastoral instructions. Fénelon would not sacrifice either his sentiments or his friend. The Archbishop of Cambray, on leaving Meaux for his own diocese, sent "Les Maximes des Saints" to Paris to be printed. By this work he intended to rectify all that his friend was reproached with, and to develop the orthodox ideas of pious contemplatives who elevate themselves above the senses, and aim at a state of perfection to which ordinary souls do not aspire. The Bishop of Meaux and his friends opposed the book and denounced it to the King. The King questioned Bossuet, whose talent and reputation he respected, and Bossuet begged the King's forgiveness for not having warned him earlier of the fatal heresy of the Archbishop of Cambray.



P. DE HARLAY DE CHANVALLON, ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS.
(From a portrait by Lenfant, 1671.)

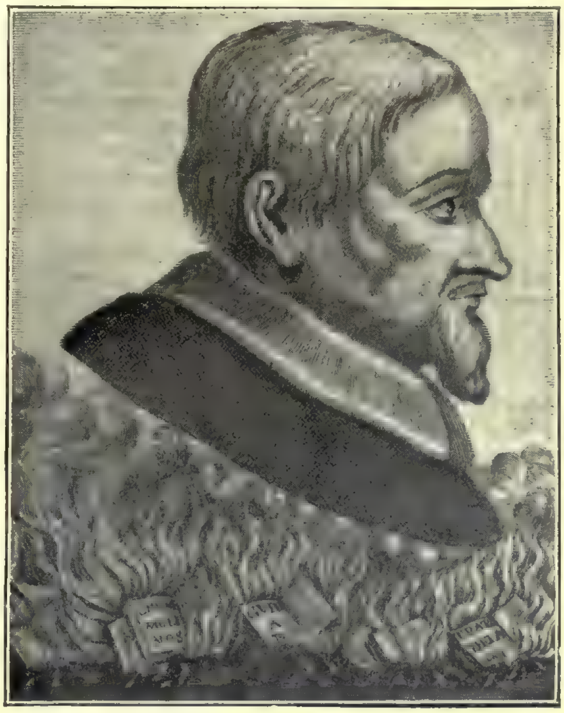
The King and Madame de Maintenon immediately consulted Père de La Chaise, who replied that the Archbishop's book was very good, that all the Jesuits were edified by it, and that only the Jansenists disapproved of it. The Bishop of Meaux was not a Jansenist, but he was deeply read in their best writings. The Jesuits did not like him, and he did not like them.

The Court and the Town were divided, and the turning of all attention to this vexed question allowed the Jansenists to breathe. Bossuet wrote against Fénelon. Both writers sent their works to the Pope, Innocent XII., and left them to his decision. The circumstances did not seem favourable


FRANCISCUS DE SALLIGNAC VEL SALAGNAC DE LA MOTHE FENELON · ARCHIEPISCOPUS · DUX CAMERACENSIS
Princes que le Ciel a fait naitre
Pour nous donner de justes loix
Choisissez ce Mentor pour Maitre
Il scait l'art de former les Rois.
J. Vivien pinxit
P. Drevet sculp.

to Fénelon: Quietism, of which the Archbishop of Cambray was accused, had recently been severely condemned in the person of the Spaniard Molinos. It was Cardinal d'Estrées, the French Ambassador to Rome, who had prosecuted Molinos to please the enemies of that unfortunate priest. He had even induced the King to solicit his condemnation at Rome; and this was easily obtained; so that Louis XIV. found himself, without knowing it, the most formidable enemy of the "Pure Love" of the Mystics.

Nothing is more easy in these delicate matters than to find passages in a book on its trial resembling those in a book already proscribed. The Archbishop of Cambray had for him the Jesuits, the Duc de Beauvilliers, the Duc de Chevreuse, and Cardinal de Bouillon, the recently-appointed Ambassador of France to Rome. The Bishop of Meaux had his great name and the adhesion of the principal prelates of France. He brought the signatures of several bishops and a great number of doctors, who all declared against "Les Maximes des Saints."

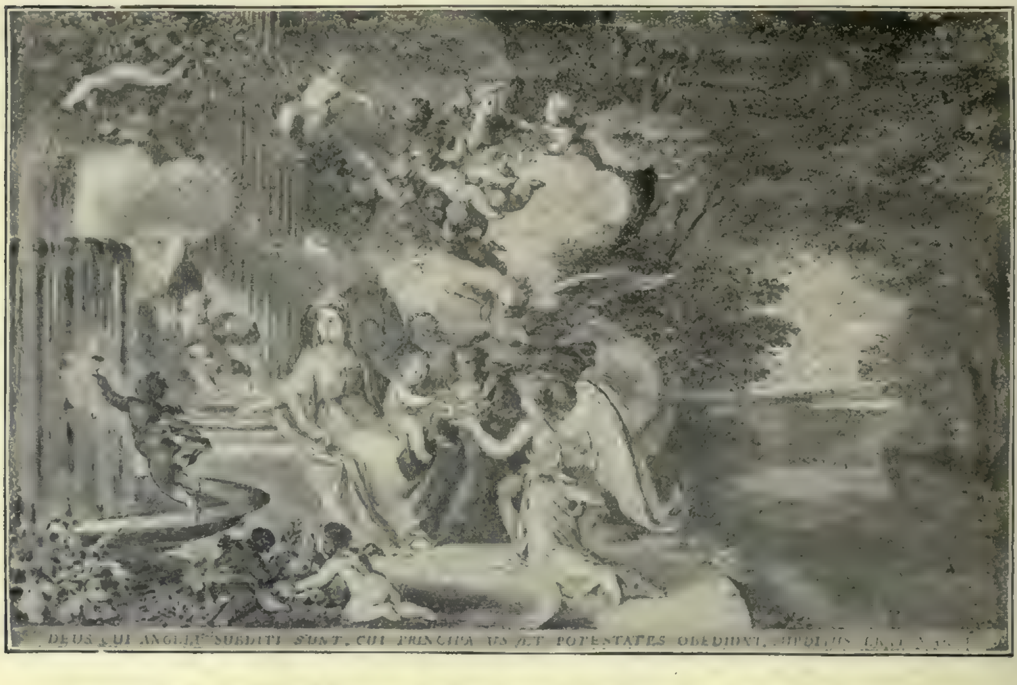


MICHEL MOLINOS AND HIS WORKS AT THE STAKE.
(From a popular print of the time.)

Such was the authority of Bossuet that Père de La Chaise did not venture to support the Archbishop of Cambray with the King, his penitent, and Madame de Maintenon absolutely forsook her friend. The King wrote to the Pope that the book written by the Archbishop of Cambray had been brought before him as a pernicious work, that he had caused it to be placed in the hands of the Nuncio, and that he urged His Holiness to give judgment.

It was alleged, indeed publicly said at Rome, and the rumour still has supporters, that the Archbishop was persecuted thus only because he had opposed the declaration of the private marriage of the King and Madame de Maintenon. The inventors of anecdotes asserted that Madame de Maintenon had urged Père de La Chaise to press the King to acknowledge her as Queen: that the Jesuit had adroitly transferred the hazardous commission to Fénelon, and that the tutor of the Children of France, preferring the honour of France and of his disciples to his own fortune, had knelt to the King beseeching him to abstain from a step which would do him greater harm with posterity than it would bring him happiness during his life.

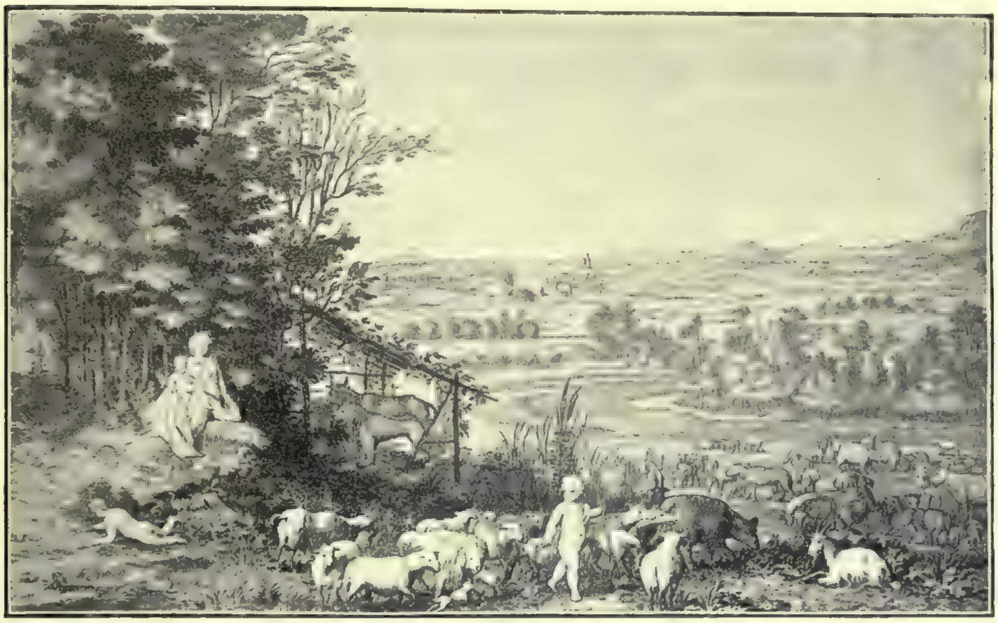
It is very true that, as Fénelon had continued to conduct the education of the Duc de Bourgogne after he became Archbishop of Cambray, some idle talk about his spiritual relations with Madame Guyon and Madame de La Maisonfort had reached the King, who also believed that Fénelon was inspiring the Duc de Bourgogne with austere maxims, and with principles of government and morals, which might become an indirect censure in the future upon the grandeur, the thirst for fame, the wars so lightly undertaken, and the love of fêtes and pleasure which had characterized the reign of the prince's grandfather. Louis XIV. wished to have a conversation with the new Archbishop on his political principles. Fénelon, full of his own ideas, allowed the King to detect a little of the spirit


DEUS CUI ANGELI SUBDITI SUNT, CUI PRINCIPATUS ET POTESTATES OBEDIUNT,

MADAME GUYON WITH THE FEATURES OF THE VIRGIN, "TO WHOM GOD HIMSELF IS SUBJECT."

(Composition by S. Leclerc.)

which was afterwards revealed in "Télémaque," in passages dealing with government, which contain maxims more appropriate to the Republic of Plato than to the method of ruling men. After this conversation the King said that he had been talking with the man of finest and flightiest wit in all his kingdom. The Duc de Bourgogne was informed of this saying of the King's. He repeated it some time after to M. de Malezieu, who taught him geometry. This I have from M. de Malezieu himself, and also from Cardinal de Fleury.



THE GOLDEN AGE COME BACK TO EARTH, UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE DUC DE BOURGOGNE, THE SHEPHERD OF THE PEOPLE, AND MADAME GUYON, A NEW INCARNATION OF THE VIRGIN.
(From a print by S. Leclerc and F. Silvestre.)

After that conversation the King was ready to believe that Fénelon was as romantic in matters of religion as he was in politics.

It is certain that Louis XIV. was personally annoyed with the Archbishop of Cambray. Godet des Marais, Bishop of Chartres, influenced the King against him, and the King actually made this ridiculous matter, which he did not understand at all, his particular business. No doubt he was very glad to have done with it when shortly afterwards it collapsed of itself; but it made such a noise at Court that he became more afraid of a cabal than a heresy. This was the real origin of the persecution of Fénelon.

The King by his letters of the month of August, 1697, commanded Cardinal de Bouillon, then his Ambassador at Rome, to solicit the condemnation of a man who was to be made out a heretic if possible. He wrote with his own hand to Pope Innocent III., pressing him to decide. The congregation of the Holy Office named a Dominican, a Jesuit, a Benedictine, a Franciscan, a Feuillant, and an Augustine to prepare the statement of the case. These were called in Rome the consulters.

The consulters examined, in thirty-seven conferences, thirty-seven propositions, and pronounced them erroneous. The Pope, at the head of a congregation of cardinals, condemned them by a brief, which was published and posted up in Rome on the 13th March, 1699.

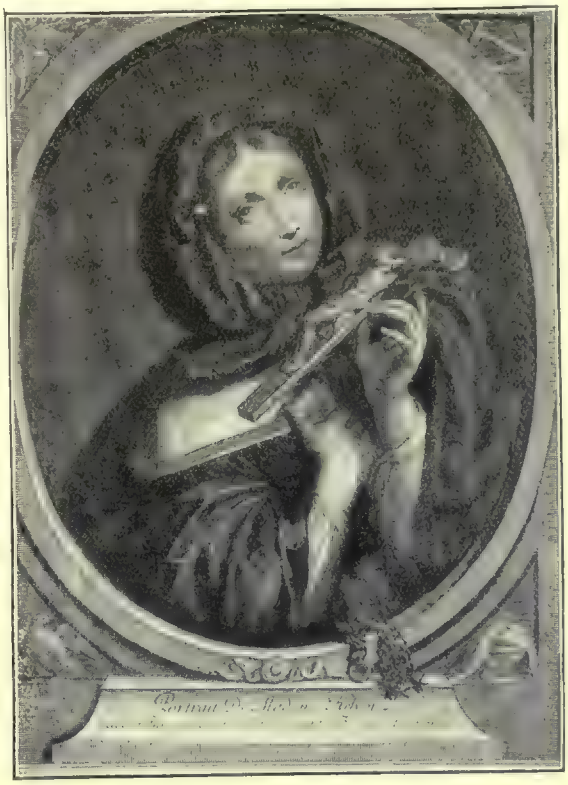
The Bishop of Meaux triumphed, but the Archbishop of Cambray extracted a finer triumph from his defeat. He made submission without restriction and without reserve. He condemned his own book from his own pulpit at Cambray. He prevented his friends from defending him. This unique example of the docility of a *savant* who might have made a great party for himself out of persecution, this act of either simplicity or high art won all hearts for him, and made the victor almost hated. Fénelon lived thenceforth in his diocese, as a wise and worthy prelate and a man of letters. Persecution and his "Télémaque" procured for him the veneration of all Europe. The English, who were making war in his diocese, were eager to give testimony of their respect for him. The Duke of Marlborough took care that the Archbishop's lands were not molested. He was always dear to the Duc de Bourgogne (the Dauphin), whom he had brought up, and he would have had a share in the government had that prince lived.

Even in his philosophic and honourable retirement he still felt that it was very hard to leave such a Court as that of Louis XIV.: there are other Courts which several celebrated men have quitted without regret.

He always spoke of the Court with liking, and his interest in it showed through his resignation. Much writing on philosophy, theology, and belles-lettres was the fruit of his retirement. The Duc d'Orléans, afterwards Regent of France, consulted him on some difficult points which concern all men, but which few men consider. He asked whether the existence of a God could be demonstrated, whether that God desires worship, what is the kind of worship He approves, and whether He can be offended by an erroneous choice. The prince put many questions of this kind, as a philosopher seeking instruction; the Archbishop answered as a philosopher and theologian.

It would have been better had he refrained from mixing himself up with the quarrels of Jansenism after his defeat; but he did not refrain. Cardinal de Noailles had taken the side of the strongest against him: the Archbishop of Cambray treated the Cardinal in the same way. He hoped to be recalled to Court and consulted there: so hard is it for the human mind to detach itself from affairs when once they have fed its natural restlessness. His desires were however moderate, like his writings, and towards the end of his days he came to despise all disputes. The Archbishop of Cambray (who would believe it!) made the following parody on an air by Lulli:

Jeune, j'étais trop sage,
Et voulais trop savoir:
Je ne veux en partage
Que badinage,
Et touche au dernier âge
Sans rien prévoir.

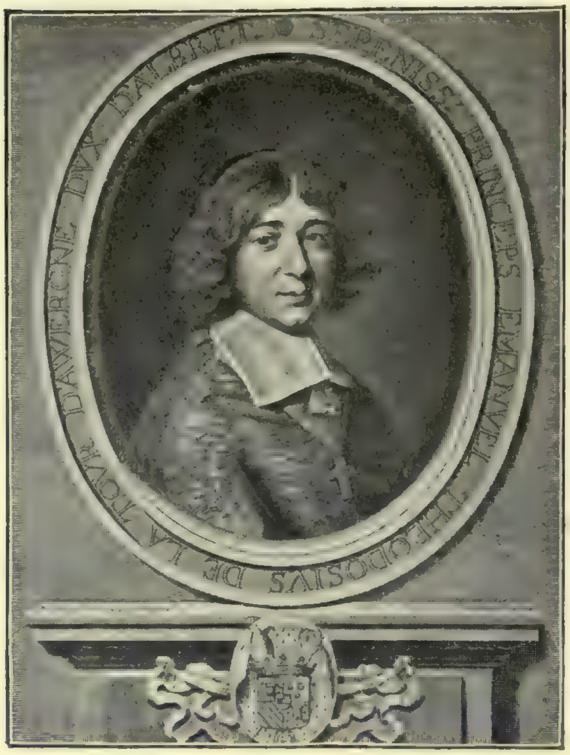


A SAINT AND A MYSTIC IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(Madame Helyot.)

He wrote these lines in the presence of his nephew, the Marquis de Fénelon, afterwards ambassador at the Hague. I got them from him. I pledge myself to the authenticity of this fact, which would be of little importance did it not prove how very differently we regard, in the sad tranquillity of old age, that which seemed so great and so interesting at the period when the more active mind is the plaything of its desires and its illusions.

The disputes on which the attention of France was fixed for so long have vanished in the track of many others born of idleness. We are astonished now that they should have produced so much animosity. The philosophic spirit, which gains ground day by day, tends to secure public tranquillity; and the very fanatics who rise up against the philosophers owe to them that peace which they enjoy and are seeking to destroy.

The question of Quietism, which was so unhappily important under Louis XIV., and is now forgotten, ruined Cardinal de Bouillon with the Court. He was the nephew of the celebrated Turenne, to whom the King had owed his safety in the Civil War, and afterwards the aggrandisement of his kingdom.


EMMANVEL THEODOSIVS DE LA TOVR DAWERGNE DVX DALBRET SERENISS PRINCEPS

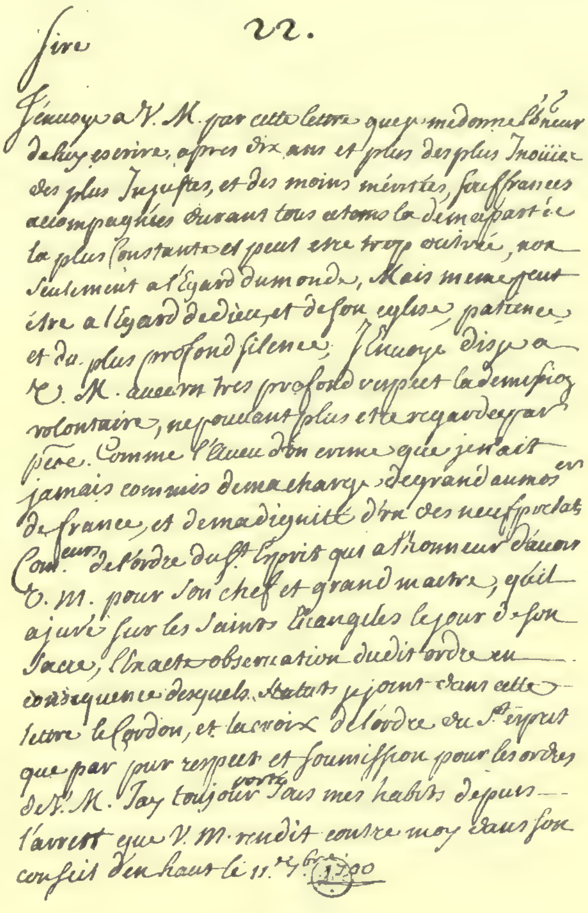
ABBÉ THÉODORE, OF TOUR D'AUVERGNE, DUC D'ALBRET.
(Cardinal Bouillon in his youth, after the portrait from life by Nanteuil.)

The tie of friendship bound him to the Archbishop of Cambray; the commands of the King obliged him to act against him; he endeavoured to reconcile these two duties. It is clear from his letters that, while he remained faithful to his friend, he never betrayed his charge. He urged on the Pope's sentence, it is true, according to the orders of his Court; but at the same time he endeavoured to bring both parties to a reconciliation.

An Italian, named Giori, who was a spy of the opposing faction, told off to watch the Cardinal, got into his confidence and calumniated him in his letters; then pushing perfidy to the uttermost, he asked him for a gift of one thousand crowns. The Cardinal gave him the money, and never saw him more.

The letters of this wretch ruined Cardinal de Bouillon. The King overwhelmed him with reproaches as though he had betrayed the State. Nevertheless, it appears from all his despatches that he had conducted himself with equal wisdom and dignity.

He obeyed the King's command by demanding the condemnation of some piously absurd maxims of the mystics, who are the alchemists of religion, but he was faithful to friendship by warding off the blows that were aimed at Fénelon in person. The King, however, wanted to have Fénelon condemned; whether from spite against him, which seems beneath a great King, or from subjection to the opposite party, which would still less become the dignity of the throne. On the 16th of March, 1699, he wrote a letter of very mortifying reproach to Cardinal de Bouillon. In that letter he states that he desires the condemnation of the Archbishop of Cambray; it is the letter of an aggrieved man. "Télémaque" was making a great stir in Europe just then, and "Les Maximes des Saints," which he had not read, were punished on account of the maxims sown broadcast in "Télémaque," which he had read.



Sire 22.

J'envoye a V. M. par cette lettre que je me donne l'honneur
de luy escrire, apres dix ans et plus des plus Inouïes
des plus Injustes, et des moins méritées, souffrances
accompagnées durant tous ce temps la de ma part de
la plus constante et peut estre trop outrée, non
seulement a l'Egard du monde, Mais meme peut
estre a l'Egard de dieu, et de son eglise, patience,
et du plus profond silence; J'envoye dis je a
V. M. avec un tres profond respect la demission
volontaire, ne voulant plus estre regardé par
[illegible]. Comme l'aveu d'un crime que je n'ait
jamais commis de ma charge de grand aumosnier
de france, et de ma dignité d'un des neuf prelats
Commandeurs de l'ordre du St. Esprit qui a l'honneur d'avoir
V. M. pour son chef et grand maistre, y [illegible]
ajuré sur les Saints Evangiles le jour de son
Sacre, l'Exacte observation dudit ordre en
consequence desquels statuts je joint dans cette
lettre le Cordon, et la croix de l'ordre du St. esprit
que par pur respect et soumission pour les ordres
de V. M. J'ay toujour portés sous mes habits depuis
l'arrest que V. M. rendit contre moy dans son
conseil d'en haut le 11. 7bre 1700

FACSIMILE OF THE LETTER OF RESIGNATION OF CARDINAL DE BOUILLON TO THE KING.

(In the Cotte Collection.—Cabinet of Prints.)

Cardinal de Bouillon was immediately recalled. He set out on his journey, but having learned, when only a few miles from Rome, that the senior Cardinal (*doyen*) was dead, he was obliged to return in order to take possession of the decanal dignity. It belonged to him of right, as, although a young man, he was the senior cardinal. It was no offence to the King that he should assume his right, and then set out immediately; nevertheless, his doing this was regarded as an irretrievable offence. The Cardinal was exiled on his arrival in France, and his banishment lasted ten whole years. At length, weary of his prolonged disfavour, he resolved to leave France for ever, in 1710, when Louis XIV. seemed to be overwhelmed by the allies, and the kingdom was threatened on all sides.

Prince Eugène and the Prince d'Auvergne, his relatives, received him on the frontier of Flanders, where they were victorious. He returned the Cross of the Order of the Holy Ghost to the King, with his resignation of the office of Grand Almoner of France, and wrote to him in these words: "I resume the liberty which is mine by my birth as a foreign prince, son of a sovereign, independent of all but God, and my dignity of Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church and dean of the Sacred College. . . I shall endeavour to labour for the rest of my days to serve God, and the Church in the first place after the supreme."

His claim to be an independent prince was well founded, not only on the axiom of several jurists who maintain that "whoso renounces all is no longer bound to anything," and that every man is free to choose his place of abode, but upon the fact that he was born at Sedan during the time that his father was still sovereign there. He regarded his status as an independent prince as immutable; and, as regarded the title of cardinal-dean, he was justified by the example of all his predecessors, who have always had precedence of kings at the ceremonies in Rome.

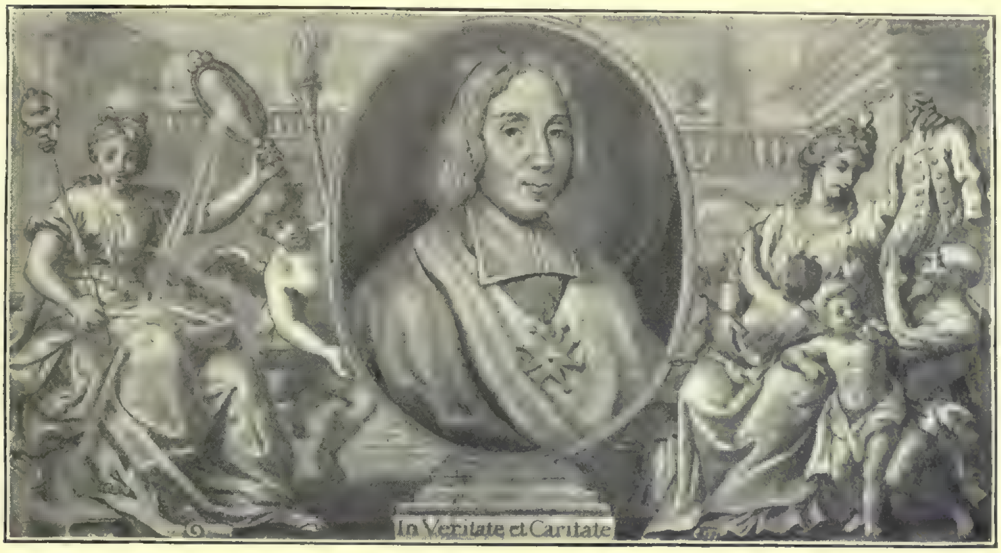
The Court and the parliament of Paris acted on entirely different rules. D'Aguesseau, the procurator-general, afterwards chancellor, indicted the Cardinal before the assembled Courts. The issuing of a decree for the arrest of his person and the confiscation of all his property was the result. He lived in Rome in poor circumstances, and died there, a victim to Quietism, which he despised, and to friendship, which he had nobly reconciled with his duty.

It must be mentioned here that, when he left the Low Countries for Rome, the French Court feared he might be elected to the papal throne. I have in my hands the King's letter to La Trémouille, written on the 26th of May, 1710, in which he expresses apprehension on this point. "Everything may be presumed," he says, "of a subject who holds the opinion that he is independent of all but himself. Only let the place which now fills Cardinal de Bouillon with pride appear to him inferior to his birth and his talents, and he will think any means allowable by which he may reach the first place in the Church once he has had a closer view of its splendour."

The decree against Cardinal de Bouillon, and the order *to put him* *into the prison of the Conciergerie if he could be taken,* were then the results of fear lest he should ascend a throne which all Catholics regard as the greatest in the world, and that, by joining with the enemies of Louis XIV., he might avenge himself even more thoroughly than Prince Eugène had avenged him. The armed forces of the Church could indeed do nothing of themselves, but they could do much with the aid of those of Austria.

⁂

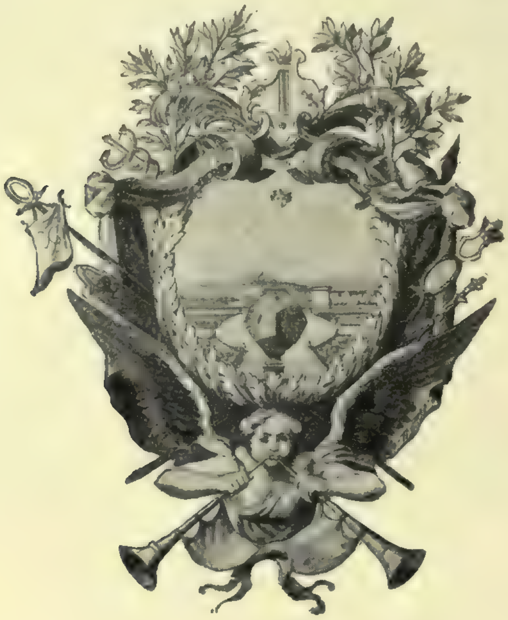
Voltaire connects the history of the differences of Cardinal de Bouillon with Louis XIV. with the quarrel concerning Quietism. It is certain that the Cardinal-Ambassador of France to the Court of Rome had not obeyed the King, or striven hard to secure the condemnation of Fénelon enough to please him: this was an act of insubordination added to several others which had already incurred the anger of Louis XIV. The Cardinal was, so to speak, an improvised priest; he was one of the "grand seigneurs" of the Fronde who mistook their epoch, and availed themselves of the end of the reign to renew the discord and disobedience of its beginning. His exile was rather a political penalty than a religious condemnation.



CARDINAL DE BOUILLON BETWEEN CHARITY AND TRUTH.

(Composition by Vernansal, engraved by Thomassin.)

It may indeed be said, in conclusion, that the severity with which Louis XIV. treated his subjects in matters of conscience was frequently due to political motives. His desire—nay, his firm resolution—never to permit the repetition of the troubles of the Fronde, and the idea of his ministers that the internal unity of his kingdom could be secured by unity of faith, partly explain, although they cannot justify, the persecution to which the Protestants and the Jansenists alike were subjected. *Lex una sub uno* was the motto of the reign and the formula of the century.



"LEX UNA SUB UNO."
(Design by Leclerc.)

FRAGMENT OF A PIER-GLASS IN THE KING'S CHAMBER.
(Château de Fontainebleau.)

# ALPHABETICAL LIST

AND

# INDEX

# ALPHABETICAL LIST

OF THE

## PRINCIPAL PAINTERS, SCULPTORS, ENGRAVERS, ARCHITECTS, MEDAL ENGRAVERS, DRAUGHTSMEN, AND CARVERS OF OBJECTS OF ART

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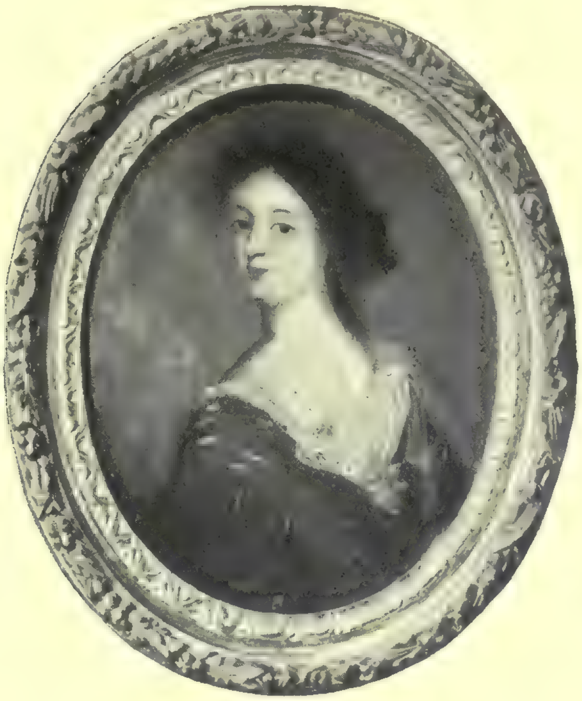
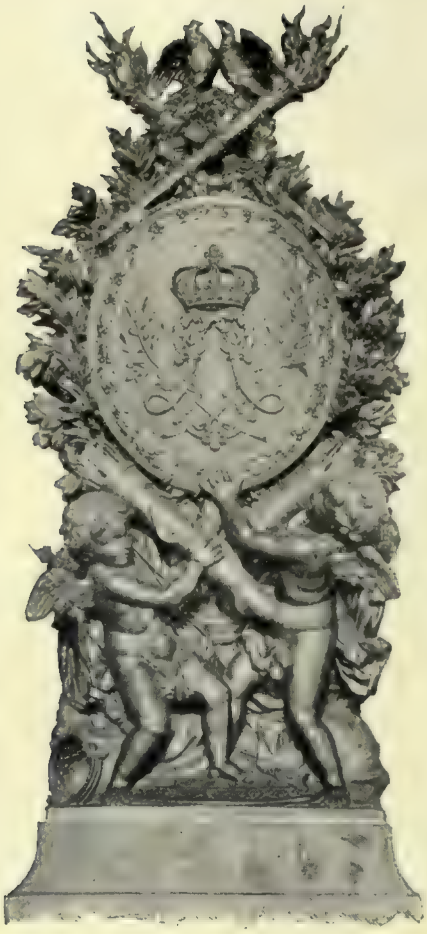


MADAME SCARRON, BY MIGNARD, 1659.
(After a portrait by M. Penjon.)



GROUP IN GILT METAL, BY MASSOU.

Loves bearing quivers and supporting an escutcheon with the King's monogram.

(Staircase leading to the Queen's apartments, Château de Versailles.)

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